Rethinking Relocation in the Context of Informal Areas

Critical Analysis of Processes and the Quality of Life: the Case of Istabl Antar (Cairo)

A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

by
Friederike Thonke

Supervised by

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Disclaimer

This dissertation is submitted to Ain Shams University, Faculty of Engineering
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credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Relocations occur worldwide with increasing frequency. However, if they are not planned as complete resettlements, they tend to end up as forced evictions, which are internationally considered as violation of human rights. One possible reason that can make a relocation inevitable is a natural disaster, like the one which happened in 2008 in an informal settlement in Cairo, where a rockslide killed more than 110 people. Following that accident, several other areas, located in similar hazardous locations on cliffs, have been classified as unsafe and life threatening. The present thesis investigates the process of relocation, which followed thereafter, by interviewing stakeholders involved, ranging from different governmental institutions to civil society organisations to affected inhabitants. Obstacles faced by all these groups and their partially contradictory aims and intentions were analysed and compared. After this step of examining the process before and during the eviction/evacuation, the living situation of both the already relocated people and the ones still awaiting relocation from the selected case study area, Istabl Antar (district of Old Cairo) was evaluated by performing a Quality of Life (QoL) study. The resulting findings revealed among others, an insufficient supportive legislative system, scarce material and human resources, a hindering institutional configuration, a distracting compensation system, and an absence of independent monitoring. According to international guidelines, these factors lead to a classification of the conducted process as forced eviction. The focus was therefore set on the reasons and root causes for these shortcomings and deviations by contextualising and examining them. The QoL study suggested a possible influence of urban planning on the tendency of inhabitants to leave or to stay in the relocation site offered. Based on the analysed shortcomings and deviations initial acupuncture-like interventions are proposed, that could help to bring future conducted evictions and evacuations closer in line with international human right standards, as acknowledged by Egypt.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the International Context of Relocation

At least two million people are involuntarily relocated and evicted every year, while further millions are threatened by it – this alarming number was presented by UN-Habitat in its Global Report on Human Settlements (2007). Jean du Plessis, former deputy of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), emphasises that the whole world – southern and northern hemisphere - are facing a "global epidemic of forced evictions on an unprece¬den¬ted scale" (2005: 125). This happens even though forced evictions are defined as "gross violation(s) of human rights" – especially violating the right to adequate housing (OHCHR, 1993:2). A significant amount of research, publications, fact sheets, principles and guidelines were therefore consecutively developed and published over the last decades by different entities, ranging from financing institutions like the World Bank to UN-Habitat and affiliated committees like the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) to human rights organizations and academics.

The reasons for evictions are manifold: develop¬ment, infra¬struct¬ure and beautification projects, international events, conflicts, market forces and natural disasters (du Plessis, 2005; Cernea, 04; Huchzer¬meyer, 2013; OHCHR, 1997). To minimise negative outcomes and impacts, the aforementioned guidelines should be applied and integrated into national law. A further problem, however, is that even if guidelines exist, they are often not followed, as was for example recently stated in many cases for World Bank financed projects (Chavkin et al., 2015). Therefore, monitoring conducted by an independent national body is crucial (OHCHR, 2007: para. 70).

1.2 Introduction to the Egyptian Context

Between 1997 and 2013, around 41 thousand families living in urban areas in Egypt were relocated - mainly from inner to outer city districts (Shawkat, 2013). The reasons for these relocations can be found within the previously mentioned spectrum. However, since 2008, most of them are related to a natural disaster, namely a rockslide that happened in the area of Duweiqa, an informal settlement in the East of Cairo. After this event, around 17,000 Cairo families were relocated from places classified as unsafe and life threatening (Shaat, 2015a). As outlined above, independent monitoring of all eviction processes is required by international guidelines, but not applied in the latter cases of eviction. The national law and regulation situation in Egypt pertaining evictions doesn't currently support this kind of oversight. The current legal state will be discussed in chapter 2.3.

1.3 Research Problem

The present research focuses on one of the aforementioned life threatening areas, namely Istabl Antar (Cairo), and on the two outer city areas, Haram City and Masaken Othman, where people were relocated.

The UN Facts Sheet 25, concerning forced evictions, requires that evictions be carried out in "conformity with (...) international human right treaties", whereby the steps provided in the guidelines are requested to be followed (OHCHR, 2014:5). A report written by Amnesty International (AI) in 2011 labelled all relocations following the rockslide in 2008 - among these the one of Istabl Antar – as "forced evictions". Therefore, the first approach of the present thesis is to clarify, examine, discuss, analyse and evaluate in detail and independently the *fundamental question* preceding all other questions raised later:

Did the relocation of Istabl Antar follow international guidelines?

The literature review (cf. 2.1.3.2) led to the formulation of an evaluation table with subsets of two major guidelines concerning relocations and natural disasters. The first guideline, developed by the UN, is called 'Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement' (OHCHR, 2007); the second, established by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, is called 'Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters'

(IASC, 2011). Within the developed examination table, further case or country related specific boundary conditions were not taken into account, since this is not demanded by the guidelines applied. However, this de-contextualisation will be questioned at a later point, when reasons for occurred deviations will be discussed.

The main aspects found in this evaluation of the fundamental question are summarised in the subsequent table 1-1, which displays the assessment of requested process steps before, during and after eviction. The results demonstrate that the general evaluation by Amnesty International is grounded. The information provided by the approached governmental entities, the affected inhabitants, and the Civil Society Organisations (CBOs) indicate that the relocation process of Istabl Antar has to be classified - according to these international guidelines - as forced eviction. Significant shortcomings are marked within the assessment column with "1" (not complied). Aspects which were partly complied are indicated by the number "2", and components which were fully complied are marked by the number "3". The "?" expresses that a final assessment was not possible, since contradicting state¬ments of different stakeholders interviewed could not be resolved. The detailed step-by-step analysis, which provided the information for the table, can be found in chapter 5.1.

1.4 Research Aim

The above anticipation of the result of the first fundamental research question took place to display the research problem and to foster the focus of the thesis on the two emerged research aims. The first aim is a deeper understanding of the relocation process. After confirming in general that it actually was a forced eviction, from an international perspective, the aim is to determine in detail the reasons why certain deviations from international guidelines occurred. To achieve this, the process was analysed with all the obstacles and outcomes (intentional and unintentional) found to have occurred in practice. This precise analysis necessitated the inclusion of the divergent and partly contradicting views of different stakeholders. Therefore it was required to listen carefully to all parties involved: administrative authorities, inhabitants, and civil society representatives from different entities, hierarchies and locations. This targeted contextualisation allows a much deeper insight than a simple cross-check with international guidelines.

Overview: required process components

Before Eviction

1. Genuine consultation & participation:
- public hearing and discussion on proposed plan/ forced evacuation
- possible alternatives by state & inhabitants
- *technical assessment of the degree of risk*
- *information on the expected risk*

2. Notification:
- written (in local language)
- to all affeed people
- administrative or judical review
- sufficiently in advance ('normal' case 90days)
- detailed justification - proof unavoidability
- details of proposed plans provided

3. Timely access to legal counsel, without payment *(symplified procedure)*
- facilitate legal & technical advice about rights

4. Conducting of eviction impact assessment

5. Adequate compensation and other remedies: tangible and intangible

During Eviction

1. Provision of clear information on the action

2. *If urgent: providing of emergengy and transitional shelter*
- *involvement in further planning*

3. Salvaging & free transporting of belongings & protection of these left behind

4. Should not take place during night and bad weather

5. No threat of health and life should occur and the dignity has to be respected

6. Clearly identifyable authorities are present & and neutral observers

After Eviction

1. No one should be rendered homeless

2. Relocation site, fully functional before moving in: adequate housing
- security of tenure
- service availability
- affordability
- habitability
- accessability
- location
- cultural adequacy

3. Monitoring (short, medium& long term): - impacts of relocation

4. *Offer training and skill development and employment opportunities*

5. Enable feedback possibilities

6. *Monitoring of post disaster area* - *protection against danger*

Assessment: 1: not 2: partly 3: fully complied	Comments	Source of information
1	- no public hearing, no proper information, claim no time	- El-Tibi (2015); inhabitants (2015) Shaat (2015a); Shaheen (2015)
1	- no offers -> 'no options'	- Maguib (2015), Shaat (2015a)
2/3	- done (however partly questioned)	- Shaat, Shaheen, Mohami (2015)
1	- no information published	- (Shaheen (2015); Shawky (215)
?	- contradicting statements	- Azim; inhabitants (2015); Shaat (2015c)
2	- not in person	
3	- administrative order	- El-Tibi(2015);Azim(2015);Shaat(2015c)
1	- exception:'claimed evacuation', ~2 days	- inhabitants
1	- not provided to affected persons	- Azim (2015), Mohami (2015)
1	- not provided	- inhabitants; Shawky (2015)
2	- possible, but no stop of eviction	- El-Tibi (2015); Shaat (2015c)
1	- not provided by official side	- El-Tibi (2015); Azim (2015)
1	- no	- Mansour (2015); Shawky (2015)
2	- one flat per family	- Mansour, Shaat (2015a), inhabitants
2	- not provided	- Zayed; El-Tibi; inhabitants (all 2015)
-	- was not considered in the displayed case; houses were directly bought	.
-		.
2	- partly space scarcity, some paid	- inhabitants 25, 18, 8, 29, 35 (2015)
3		
3	- nothing serious reported	
2/1	- authorities present but partly indicated - none of interviewed CSOs present	- inhabitants (2015) - all interviewed CBOs
2	- homelessness was experienced by some	- inhabitant 19(2015)
?	- contradicting statements	- all inhabitans &CBOS vs. Shaat (2015d)
2	- mainly, but some still not	- site visits, Soad (2015), inhabitants
3	- no rent, water and electricity is payed	- all relocated inhabitants (2015)
3	- however water leakages	- Mansor; Shawky; inhabitants (all 2015)
2	- housing distribution randomly	- Shaat (2015b), all inhabitants (2105)
1	- very remote	- site visits
3	- gender separation possible	- site visits
2	- Governorate not done; ISDF partly, but no providence of detailed information	- Shaat (2015c); Algohery (2015); Soad (2015)
1	- Areas not included in ISDF program	- Razek (2015)
2	- only local district, but often involved	- Shaat (2015c)
1	- nothing done	

Table 1-1 Evaluation of the relocation process according to international guidelines
Source: Author ("components" based on OHCHR, 2007:8- 14; and IASC, 2011: 15-53 ; aspects retrieved from IASC written in italic)

Finally, and most importantly, this contextualisation enables the identification of future opportunities for interventions and modifications, which might - applied in an acupuncture manner - significantly improve future processes and bring them much closer to what was internationally acknow¬ledged and agreed upon in the guidelines for relocations. The reflection part of chapter 6 therefore aims at suggesting such possible acupuncture-like interventions. For example, one of the possible improvements concerns the actually applied compensation system for the evacuated flats, which appeared to be an incentive for illegitimate behaviour from all sides. A second one are the partly questionable roles and power relationships of different actors and institutional entities involved in the process, which call for reflection and rearrangement.

The second main field of the thesis aims at exploring the current living situation of the affected people – either those already relocated or those still awaiting relocation. The information that shortcomings occurred in the living areas were already partly demonstrated - as outcome of the fundamental research question - in the table above. Consequently, an even more detailed analysis was performed: on the one hand of the physical situation, and on the other hand of the personal and economic situation of the inhabitants affected. Besides analysing the initial and current outcomes/ consequences of the relocation, it was investigated if there have been steps undertaken by other parties to examine and improve the situation until the present. These investigations showed, that the present and former inhabitants of Istabl Antar did not yet receive specific attention. Some follow-up surveys were reportedly conducted by the Informal Settlements Development Fund (ISDF). The independency requested by international guidelines, however, is thereby not ensured, especially since the reports and results are not published. Civil society organisations and urban activists, like the Egyptian Centre for Civil and Legislative Reform (ECCLR) in collaboration with the Cairo branch of the Housing and Land Rights Network (HIC), or the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (Cawtar) did some additional investigations on one relocation site (Haram City). These were partly limited in their scope or concentrated on specific inhabitant groups, but as mentioned, not on the former inhabitants of Istabl Antar. Furthermore some of the reports were not made available to the public – at least to date. Two last aspects to mention here are: the interesting approach of a comparison of former to current living situations of affected people did not yet take place; nor has the question of how

the affected people judge their own living been yet tackled in a systematic way. Due to these reasons and the aim to explore in detail the living situation of former or current inhabitants of Istabl Antar, a quality of life (QoL) study was conducted in all three case study related areas (the relocation sites Haram City and Masaken Othman and Istabl Antar, where some inhabitants are still awaiting relocation), investigating the current living situation of the affected people on an individual basis. Additionally the investigation aims at two aspects. Firstly, to evaluate the tendency and motivations of the inhabitants interviewed to stay in their new/ current place or to move (back), and secondly to clarify the influence of (urban) design of the relocation sites on the individual tendency to leave the place.

Based on the results of the objectives stated, the last aim was to strive for the development of a set of recommendations.

1.5 Research Questions

The following questions and related sub-questions guide the research to achieve the aims described above.

The *fundamental question* inquires:

Did the relocation of Istabl Antar follow international guidelines?
    Related is the following sub-question:
- Which stakeholders were/ are involved and what was/ is their role?

The *first main question* builds upon the result of the fundamental question and analyses in depth:

Why did deviations from the international guidelines occur?
    A sub-question that needs to be answered in this context is:
- What were and are the obstacles and constraints faced by the different stakeholders, and how could these be overcome?

The *second* resulting *main question* explores in detail the impacts of the relocation by focusing on the aspect if the people were able to settle down in the new relocation site. Therefore it is important to understand and identify:

Do the displaced people live in 'adequate housing' situations?
>   These sub-questions follow:
>   - What impacts and problems were and are they facing?
>   - How do the people judge their living situation themselves – also compared to their former one?
>   - How could the situation be improved, if necessary?

1.6 Research Structure

For the analysis and reflection of the different aspects indicated, the thesis is organised in seven chapters. Following this introduction, the worldwide scope of evictions and their theoretical background is presented, including international laws and guidelines, based on a literature review. The third chapter builds up a conceptual framework focusing on the Egyptian relocation context and embeds into this the case of Istabl Antar. The applied methodologies will be presented in chapter four, preparing for the subsequent part of the research. The fifth chapter analyses in depth the process of relocation and the current living situation within the three areas. The penultimate chapter, number six, reflects on the process, focusing on the obstacles observed, and develops first recommendations on both case study and nation-wide level. The seventh and final chapter strives towards conclusions and poses further research needs.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Worldwide Issue of Relocation, Resettlement and Forced Eviction

The problem of forced evictions is not limited to any region or country, it is a worldwide problem that affects millions of people every year. However, forced evictions are more noticeable in the southern hemisphere, since mainly larger groups are facing them (du Plessis, 2005; CESCR 1997, para.4). The most regularly used name under which the phenomenon of displacements are globally dealt with, especially on a legal basis, is (forced) eviction. For the following first overview, the thesis will therefore use this terminology, until in chapter 2.2 a more detailed differentiation between the terms is undertaken. To start with, an understanding of the diverse reasons for the occurrence of evictions is important to be provided.

2.1.1 Causes

The causes for evictions are manifold. Driving forces can be either one or a combination of different factors. The following key aspects and reasons can be found in a diverse literature body ranging from sources by academics, human rights activists, newspapers, governments and national and international institutions.

The following list will name the key aspect reasons:

1. **Development based projects**, such as infrastructure projects like water supply plants, transport systems, energy and agricultural expansion
2. **Large international events**, including sports events (e.g. Olympic Games) and worldwide conferences

3. **Urban redevelopment and 'beautification'**: Slum and informal settlement clearance processes fall often under this category, regularly in connection with the reason of a lack of security of tenure

4. **Property market forces**: Privatisation and/ or speculation, often resulting in 'gentrification' and expulsion of poorer residents

5. **Political and ethnic conflicts**

6. **Natural disasters and their mitigation**

(OHCHR, 2014; Huchzermeyer, 2013; HIC, 2012; UN-Habitat, 2011; Langford & du Plessis, 2006; du Plessis, 2005; COHRE, 2002; Otiso, 2002; CESCR, 1997)

Whereas the first five reasons are mentioned in all cited documents, the last one, namely natural disaster (also in relation to climate change) appears only in some of the documents. However, a further revision of more specific literature puts the factor clearly on the list as key reason by stating that societies all over the world are increasingly affected by natural disasters (OHCHR, 2014:12; UN-Habitat, 2011:35, OHCHR 2011; UNFPA, 2010:9). Ms. Raquel Rolnik, Special Rapporteur of the UN on adequate housing, wrote in 2011 a report, which specifically "focuses on the realisation of the right to adequate housing in post-disaster settings" (OHCHR 2011:2). This document states that specifically in these cases the compliance with "strict procedural requirements relating to the conduction of evictions", following human right standards, is essential to avoid negative impacts by inadequate government planning (ibid; IASC 2011:2).

A few examples for recent evictions will be displayed here to give an impression of the current worldwide situation and its dimension. First of all, dam projects, falling under the category of major infrastructure projects, are one of the main causes for mass evictions. For example, in India (which has a significant number of displaced people) around 250 000 people were replaced for the construction of a single dam project named Sardar Saorvar, which was quite controversially discussed (Langford & du Plessis 2006). The Olympic Games, which took place in Beijing, China in 2008 caused a loss of homes for an estimated number of 300,000 people (Langford & du Plessis 2006). Also, the following Olympic Games in London in 2012 demanded many displacements and threats of eviction. There, many tenants were also evicted by their property owners out of profit reasons (COHRE, 2007). Urban redevelopment projects often include the

clearing of informal settlements. In the case of Port Harcourt in Nigeria, up to 300 000 inhabitants were and remain evicted, making place for a business area with entertainment complex (UN-Habitat 2011: 41). In Nairobi, Kenya, more than 300 000 settlers along railway, street reserve lines and under electrical power lines are threatened and were evicted with the argument that they reside in hazardous areas (UN-Habitat, 2011:36).

The argumentation for infrastructure, urban redevelopments and beautification projects as well as international events are often justified and carried out in the name to serve the 'public interest' or 'public good' (UN-Habitat, 2011: 101; Cernea cited by Everett, 2001:465). The case of evictions following natural or man-made disasters, like the creation of a buffer zone along the coast after the tsunami in Sri Lanka, 2004, were conducted under safety aspects, and were widely accepted as inevitable. But even these post-disaster situations might be used as excuse for evicting and displacing people (ibid; UN General Assembly, 2011). Therefore, officially mentioned reasons like 'public good', hazardous areas and others, leading to evictions have to be scrutinised in many cases. A very critical assessment of possible impacts of evictions is supposed to be done with focus on marginalised groups. The UN Fact Sheet 25 emphasises this issue by noting that very often "evictions (…) do not benefit those most in need" (CESCR, 2014:2). In every case of displacement - especially if it is done in a forced way - most likely severe negative impacts occur.

2.1.2 Possible Impacts

Jean du Plessis, former deputy director of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) warns against "disastrous consequences for those evicted" (2005:123). The impacts for individuals, families, but also whole communities, cannot be over-emphasised, irrespective if the displacement was conducted with or without resettlement (Everett 2001:456). The fields of possible impacts are multiple: economical, social, health, political, psychological and educational (CESCR, 2014; du Plessis, 2006; Cernea, 2003; Otios, 2002; Everett, 2001). Consequences of displacements on the economical level are frequently loss of livelihood, property, employment, development opportunity, and higher trans¬port¬ation costs. This in turn can lead to a further impoverishment of the affected people. Secondly, social networks are as recognised by many social scientists "a critical survival tool for the urban poor, who must constantly [persist]

(....) economic fluctuations and uncertainty" (Everett 2001: 456). If these break away, the consequences are incalculable (du Plessis, 2005). Social inequality and segregation is often increased as well (OHCHR, 2007). Thirdly, health aspects are affected frequently, either because direct violence is employed during the displacement process, or because services as hospitals, doctors, safe water and food are afterwards no longer accessible or affordable (OHCHR, 2014:1). Fourthly, political impacts can occur, for example if the right to vote is harmed after people are evicted (ibid; du Plessis, 2006). Fifthly, the education of children might be interrupted, for example due to unaffordable amounts that would need to be spent to reach the next school (Khalil, 2012). At last, the psychological consequences can be considered as a combination of the aforementioned ones, resulting among others out of the possible insecure tenure situation or even homelessness, the economical struggle, the loss of home and social network.

Despite these significant impacts,

> *"Not all evictions [are] prohibited under international human rights law. The prohibition of forced eviction does not apply to evictions carried out both in accordance with the law and in conformity with the provision of international human rights treaties. For instance, it may be necessary to displace people from hazard-prone land to protect lives."*
>
> (OHCHR, 2014:5)

The case study area chosen for this thesis, Istabl Antar, is partly located on a cliff, which is categorized as unsafe, and can therefore be considered as hazard-prone land. But as mentioned in the above citation, *forced* evictions cannot be seen as an "inevitable side effect". "Even under these [hazardous] circumstances, the eviction should be in line with national law and relevant international standards, including due process" (OHCHR, 2014:5).

Therefore the first approach and the preceding question of the present thesis was, as explained in chapter 1 to discuss and analyse the alignment of the process of the case study. Due to this, a familiarisation with international and national laws and guidelines is undertaken in the next sub-chapters.

2.1.3 International Law and Guidelines

2.1.3.1 Forced Evictions and Adequate Housing

In 1993, a resolution (1993/77) pertaining to forced evictions was affirmed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, describing forced evictions as "gross violation of human rights" (OHCHR, 1993). This statement emphasises the interrelations and interdependency of several human rights, which actually are or might be violated during evictions. Among them are the rights to food, privacy, work, health, life, education, and security of person affected (OHCHR, 2014:6). Among these, the right to adequate housing is stated directly in combination with the aforementioned formulation, specifying that "forced evictions are gross violation of human rights, in particular the right to adequate housing" (ibid). Therefore, forced eviction and the right to adequate housing are inseparably connected.

Right to adequate housing:
The right to adequate housing was mentioned already in article 25 in the 1948 UN Declaration on Human Rights. Affirmation and addressing of the several aspects of the right to adequate housing was achieved in a vast number of documents: among others, the Convention on the Right to the Child (article 27;3), Declaration on Social Progress and Development (article 10) and the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (section 3;8). The most important description for 'adequate housing' can be found in article 11.1 of the **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)**. It was established in 1966 and entered into force in 1976. Egypt signed the treaty in 1976 and ratified it 1982. The content of article 11.1 is, therefore, binding, and Egypt has to ensure through continuous steps the realisation of the following right:

> *"The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions."*

> (UN General Assembly, 1966; article 11.1)

In 1991, the **General Comment No. 4** was issued by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR). General Comments seek to clarify, interpret and define in more detail the human rights obligations on states

parties - like the beforehand mentioned one (OHCHR, 2012). It is important to mention that, "General Comments are an authoritative source (…), even if the General Comments are not strictly binding in a legal sense" (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, 2015).

The term 'adequate housing' itself is rather unspecified, thus Paragraph 8 of the General Comment No. 4 specifies the seven factors "which must be taken into account in determining whether particular forms of shelter can be considered to constitute adequate housing" (CESCR, 1991). The following itemisation is shown in its full length, because it will be used in the course of this research as basis to judge the adequacy of the offered buildings and location to the relocated people from Istabl Antar.

a) *Legal security of tenure*
Tenure takes a variety of forms, including rental (public and private) accommodation, cooperative housing, lease, owner-occupation, emergency housing, and informal settlements (including occupation of land or property). Notwithstanding the type of tenure, all persons should possess a degree of security of tenure, **which guarantees legal protection against forced eviction,** harassment, and other threats.

b) *Availability of services, facilities, and infrastructure*
An adequate house must contain certain facilities essential for health, security, comfort, and nutrition. All beneficiaries of the right to adequate housing should have access to natural and common resources, safe drinking water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, means of food storage, waste disposal, site drainage, telecommunication, and emergency services.

c) *Affordability*
Personal or household financial costs associated with housing should be at such a level that the attainment and satisfaction of other basic needs are not threatened or compromised. The percentage of housing-related costs should, in general, be proportionate to income levels, through housing subsidies and finance mechanisms. Tenants should also be protected against unreasonable rent levels or rent increases.

d) *Habitability*
Adequate housing must be liveable and provide adequate space for its inhabitants. It should also be structurally intact and provide protection from cold, dampness, heat, rain, wind or other threats to health.

e) *Accessibility*

Disadvantaged and marginalized groups must be accorded full access to adequate housing resources. Thus, groups such as the elderly, children, the physically and mentally challenged, the terminally ill, victims of natural disasters, people living in disaster-prone areas and other groups should be given priority consideration in the housing sphere.

f) *Location*

Adequate housing must be in a location that allows access to employment options, health-care services, schools, child-care centers, and other social facilities. This is true both in large cities and in rural areas where the temporal and financial costs of getting to and from the place of work can place excessive demands upon the budgets of poor households. Similarly, housing should not be built on polluted sites or near pollution sources that can threaten the health of the inhabitants.

g) *Cultural adequacy*

The way housing is constructed, the building materials used and the policies in place must appropriately enable the expression of cultural identity and diversity of housing. Housing initiatives, either public or private, should ensure that the cultural dimensions of housing are not sacrificed and that facilities are technologically appropriate and adequate.

Table 2-1 Adequate housing criteria
Source: CESCR 1991, para. 8, highlighting (bold) done by author

In 1997, the UN published a further document on adequate housing – **Fact Sheet No. 21**, which discusses the key aspects of adequate housing, incorporating their application on specific groups, and the states' obligations as well as monitoring aspects. The document emphasises that: "Protection against forced evictions is a key element of the right to adequate housing" (CESCR 1997:4).

Forced eviction:
The reasoning that the right to adequate housing is massively neglected is illustrated by the fact that, "at least 2 million people in the world are forcibly evicted every year", while millions are threatened with forced evictions" (ibid). This statement from 1997, written in the later document – the Fact Sheet No. 21 - emphasises the need for further action. Consequently, in the same year a further **General Comment** - **No.7** was issued. "The document was groundbreaking", describe Langford and du Plessis by explaining that this and the thereupon developed **Fact Sheet No. 25** allow a deeper analysis, and at the same time specify more duties for states to prevent and remedy forced evictions (2006: 13). Both documents carry the title 'Forced Evictions' and refer to the right to adequate

housing stated in article 11.1 of the ICESCR. The context of these includes: impacts and reasons for forced eviction, a terminology discussion, potential violations of other human rights, and national obligations. The Fact Sheet No. 25 incorporates, in its reviewed version of 2014, for the first time, detailed guideline-steps, which were adopted from an UN guideline developed in 2007.

This guideline and further ones, established by different entities require on the one hand the avoidance of evictions and on the other - if evictions are inevitable – they aim to provide assistance to keep them in line with international agreements by outlining steps and necessary procedures. The most relevant guidelines, pertaining the analysis of the case study, will be discussed in the following chapter.

2.1.3.2 Guidelines

Two of the very early developed guidelines concerning evictions were provided around 1990, even before the General Comments and Fact Sheets on adequate housing and forced eviction were published. The World Bank published guidelines named 'Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects' in 1988, and has since revised them several times. The OECD followed in 1991 with 'Guidelines for Aid Agencies on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement in Development Projects'. Both guidelines concentrate, as the titles indicate, on development-based projects. Agreements for projects that are funded, for example by the World Bank require, that the process of the respective project follows the World Bank guidelines, otherwise a stop of the funding can be the consequence. Despite naming these World Bank guidelines an international "key document", Longford and Plessis question on the one hand the existence of an incorporated human rights approach, and on the other hand criticise that "there is no strict criteria or, most importantly, process for determining when involuntary settlement should be carried out" (2006: 17).

The UN itself, respectively a group of experts, developed in 1997 'Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Eviction and Displacement' (hereafter *UN Guidelines*). These were reworked and expanded based on other UN documents, like the 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement', by the then Special Rapporteur on adequate housing (Miloon Kothari) in 2007. Owing to the fact, that this document can be seen as the international key document, notable for its "detailed prescriptions on adequate resettlement and compensation" (Langford

and du Plessis, 2006:16), it will be used as basis for the analysis of the case study in this research.

The document itself states in paragraph 9: "displacement resulting from (…) natural (…) disaster (…) may (…) involve an additional set of considerations that the present guidelines do not explicitly address, though they can also provide useful guidance in those contexts" (OHCHR, 2007:4). To fill in the gaps of the specific given context of natural disaster and hazardous-prone areas, different guidelines or frameworks were revised. In 2011 Raquel Rolnik, then Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, submitted a report to the General Assembly "on the realization of the right to adequate housing in post-disaster settings" (UN General Assembly, 2011:2). She notes that relatively few written guidelines are available for post-disaster situations, which emphasise the right on adequate housing. She refers to two documents: the first, 'Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters', by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (hereafter: *IASC Guidelines*), a committee responsible for the coordi¬nation of humanitarian assistance; and the second, 'Principles on Housing and Property Restitution for Refugee and Displaced Persons' (Pinheiro Principles). Since the applicability of the second document to post-disaster situations is controversially discussed, it will not be considered in this work in a deeper way (ibid, 2011:6). The first document, the *IASC Guidelines*, was therefore reviewed to extract aspects, which were not mentioned or emphasised in the *UN Guidelines*.

The steps that were retrieved from the two selected guidelines, *UN Guidelines* and *IASC Guidelines*, were combined and used as framework for the process analysis and evaluation of the chosen case study. During the analysis, which will be presented in chapter 5, it is emphasised *which* steps of the relocation process of Istabl Antar differed from the ones requested in the two combined international guidelines. An overview of the results of this analysis was already displayed as anticipation in form of an evaluation table in chapter 1.3 (cf. table 1-1). Within this table, the left column shows the requested steps organised in three time periods: before, during and after eviction (aspects, which stem from the *IASC Guidelines*, are written in italic). Examples of requested steps and components are: a genuine consultation and participation; a timely notification; an adequate compensation (cf. chapter 2.3.2); an adequate housing situation and a short- medium and long-term monitoring.

Noteworthy is that, besides the chosen and above named guidelines, some further ones were developed by individuals like Badri et al. (2006) and Langford and Plessis (2006). These are based on a combination of the above mentioned documents and few further ones, as well as best-practice experience. Though they are not included in the detailed discussion here, because they lack new significant information.

The shortcoming of the two selected international (and several other) guidelines to take into account the specific local circumstances of the process conducted, leads to the necessity to consider further aspects. Thus, it is not sufficient, in an evaluation done after an eviction to simply state if it was a forced eviction or not. To develop amendments and suggestions, it is also necessary to investigate, if there were, in the specific context, perhaps justifiable reasons for deviating from international guidelines, and to evaluate these from the perspective of different stakeholders. An overview of analysed and stated reasons can therefore be found in chapter 6.1, followed by case specific and nation-wide recommendations.

2.2 Definitions

The term 'forced evictions' was defined in 1993 by the United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) as "the involuntary removal of persons from their homes or land, directly or indirectly attributable to the state" (OHCHR, 1993). Four years later the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) described forced evictions in the General Comment No. 7 as the:

> *"permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection."*

> (CESCR, 1997: para. 3)

The CESCR conceives forced evictions prima facie as violations of the right to adequate housing and emphasises, that they are only justifiable in the most exceptional circumstances, and then only if conducted in compliance with the relevant principles of international law (CESCR, 1991, para. 18). Overall forced

evictions are seen as a "gross violation of [a wide range of] human rights" ranging inter alia from violation of the right to education, employment, equality, health to adequate housing (UNHCHR, 1993).

Despite this given definition by UNHCHR, the term *forced eviction* is controversially discussed (UN-Habitat 2011: 81). However, due to the lack of another, more appropriate term, it was decided to keep it (CESCR, 1997, para. 3). This decision notwithstanding, the use of the word is within the majority of the mentioned documents and in further ones not entirely consistent. This is especially noticeable in the sense that a variety of words are used – mostly without providing a definition - leaving open the specific meaning or legal background. Common expressions are: displacement, resettlement, relocation, evacuation, and just eviction. Having a look at the headlines of documents from different entities dealing with the topic of (forced) evictions, this variety becomes obvious: The World Bank titled its guidelines 'Involuntary Resettlement... (1988, 2004)', the UN is talking about 'Guidelines on ... Evictions and Displacement' (2007), and the OECD named their protocol 'Guidelines on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement' (1991). Within the documents the different expressions are sometimes given a specific notion with adding words like arbitrary, involuntary, voluntary, forced, unlawful, immediate (OHCHR, 2014, 2009; CESCR, 1997, 1991; OHCHR, 2007). One additional example shall be cited to show the occurring impreciseness. One UN-Habitat document states: "In exceptional cases where forced evictions are carried out in compliance with international law (...)" (2011:81). Here it is written about forced evictions, but mentioning at the same time, that they have been conducted according to international law, which in turn should lead to the consequence that the word "forced" in front of "evictions" is not used.

Considering the above mentioned variety, a greater consistency or respectively clearly stated definitions in all documents is recommended. Through¬out the thesis, the subsequent terms, with the following definitions will be used:

Relocation:
"The physical transfer of individuals or groups from their original home to another location" (GLTN and UN-Habitat 2010:156). Relocation may be voluntary or involuntary. The situation that follows after the act of moving is not predefined, it can be either:

a) temporary: a return to the original place or to another area is intended or

b) permanent: in this case the provision of basic services and assistance to establish a durable solution is requested (IASC, 2011: 58).

Resettlement:

A permanent resettlement is a completely planned holistic process, incorporating the provision of alternative housing and basic infrastructure and services, following international standards for the right to adequate housing and further human rights. This implies, as well, the assistance in restoring the cultural and socioeconomic conditions of the relocated people. As a result, a full rehabilitation of the affected people is achieved.

Within the thesis, this approach is defined as the one to strive for.

The reasons that lead to a relocation or resettlement can be various, as show in chapter 2.1.1. The initial consequence of different reasons is however always the 'clearing' of the respective area. This will be named as:

Removal:

The word removal will be used as a generic term for the 'clearance' of an area. A sub-category is for example an evacuation out of an area prone to natural or man-made hazards. The removal can be seen as the point whereupon homelessness, a relocation or a resettlement can follow, whereby the two latter cases need, in general, a genuine preparatory phase beforehand.

> *Evacuation:*
> Evacuation is the removal of individuals or groups in case of absolute necessity under the circumstances to protect life, health or the physical integrity of the affected persons. An evacuation is not considered arbitrary or unlawful if it is done in accordance with the law, and - to the extent the emergency allows - in proper consultation with the affected population. A further process is supposed to follow (IASC, 2011:7).

Forced Evictions:

The terminology will be used as defined by the UNHCHR and CESCR, as stated above. Two things are important to emphasise again: First, it is the state's responsibility to prevent forced evictions. Second, forced eviction, as

under¬stood by the author, is not a process by itself. The inconsistency with international laws can happen at any point of the two processes "relocation" and "resettlement". Therefore, both processes can turn into forced evictions at any time by disrespecting international guidelines (see Fig. 2-1).

Eviction:

The pure term 'eviction' will be used in this thesis to name the whole process, without preliminary distinguishing or defining if it was a resettlement, relocation, or forced eviction. The term is used without negative connotation.
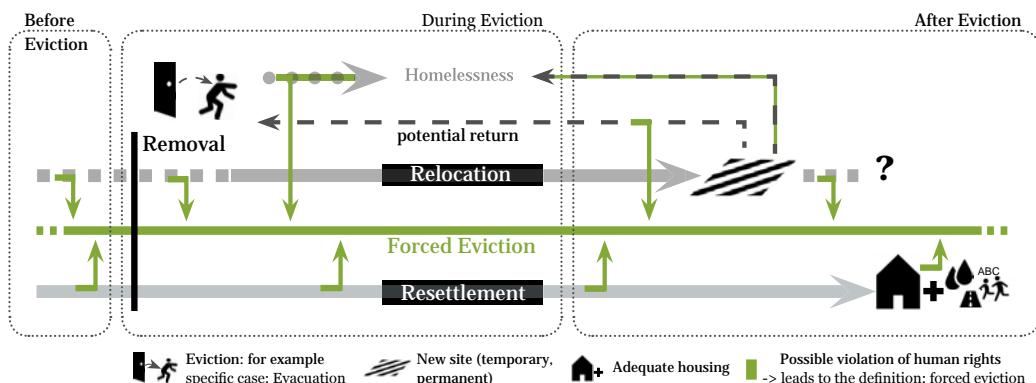
Figure 2-1 Definition of terms
Source: Author

During the review and analysis of the terminology of forced eviction, a research/ definition gap was realised, which is the following: When is it possible and appropriate to name a process forced eviction? Is it reasonable to do so if just one step requested by international guidelines was not fulfilled? Or should different steps and factors be weighted according to their significance? Is it possible at all to speak about minor factors within human rights violations? For example: is it equivalent if there is no eviction notice provided in advance compared to the case where the property left behind was not protected? Consequently, is a process once classified as forced eviction able to 'get back on track' and be reclassified as relocation or resettlement? These are questions that should be further defined and elaborated within the international community. Within the thesis it shall be agreed on, that not following once a necessary step, required by international guidelines, leads to the classification of the whole process as a forced eviction, from an international perspective.

2.3 Egyptian Law

With the ratification of the ICESCR in 1982, the Egyptian government signed the right to adequate housing (which incorporates protection against forced eviction), and as stated in article 2.1, that it will "by all appropriate means" strive for the progressively full achievement and realisation of the rights determined in the Covenant" (1966:2). This has to happen "particularly [through] the adoption of legislative measures" into the national law (ibid). This request was consequently repeated and specified in further international documents. Paragraph 9 of the General Comment No. 7 states for example: "it is clear that legislation against forced evictions is an essential basis upon which [it is possible] to build a system of effective protect¬ion", thereby the "state itself must (…) ensure that the law is enforced" (CESCR, 1997, para.8). This legislation should include measures that are "designed to control strictly circumstances under which evictions may be carried out" (ibid). If this requested anchoring exists in national law, and if further specification really took place in Egypt will be elaborated on in the next two sub-chapters.

2.3.1 New Constitution

The right to adequate housing was manifested for the first time in Egypt in the constitution of 2012. The most recent Constitution, from the beginning of 2014, includes article 78 on housing. The translated wording is: "The state shall ensure the citizens' right to adequate, safe and healthy housing in a manner which preserves human dignity and achieves social justice" (Arabic Republic of Egypt, 2015; the used translation is an unofficial translation, thus provided by the Egyptian Government). Missing here, is however, a definition of the term 'adequate housing', as inter alia remarked in 2013 within the 'Concluding Observations' by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCE, 2013).

A positive novelty in the 2014 Constitution is the article 63. For the first time it is written, that all forms of arbitrary forced migration shall be prohibited. Noteworthy in this context is however, that the word *migration* (تهجير - *tahgeer*) and not eviction (اخلاء - *ächla*) was used, which considerably reduces its jurisdiction (Azim, 2015; El-Tibi, 2015). Several Egyptian housing rights organisations, who jointly requested in 2013 within the so called 'Habitation Constitution' the insertion of "the prohibition and criminalization of forced evictions" (2013:6)

animadvert, that this article can be "utilized with mass displacements that occurred with Nubians and Bedouins, however it does not address [as requested] other forms of forced eviction" (Tadamun 2013b). But still most representatives of the organisations being part of the 'Habitat Constitution' acknowledge, that it is a first step into the right direction (El-Tibi, 2015; Mansour, 2015; Zayed, 2015). In general, constitutional articles are positioned above law articles; nevertheless they require a translation into national law articles in order to be enforced. Yet, this did not happen with the two above mentioned articles.

The same problem becomes obvious regarding article 93 in the Constitution of 2014, which admits the commitment of the state to abide "international human rights agreements, covenants and conventions ratified by Egypt" (Egyptian Constitution 2014, article: 93). This could be seen for the time being as sufficient, because one could assume, that thereby the international guidelines are completely acknowledged and meant to be applied. The Egyptian lawyer Mohamed Azim, specialised in housing rights, clarifies, however, that this article exists since several decades within the last constitutions. He emphasises, that this alignment and acknowledgement is only existing "on the paper" (2015). He points out, that within the last four decades only one court acknowledged, in one case, an international law that was not specifically mentioned within national legislation, even if mentioned in the constitution (ibid).

2.3.2 Compensation

The compensation of affected people by evictions is a crucial point, which determines the basis and preconditions for a successful resettlement. The resettlement has to aim at, and is requested to meet, a "better off" situation of the inhabitants after the relocation, instead of leaving relocated people "worse off" (Cernea, 2003:19).

Laws, currently regulating evictions and compensations of people in Egypt can be found firstly in the "Civil Code", secondly in the "Law on Building", and thirdly in the "Law on Expropriation for the General Interest". The latter (law No. 10 from 1990) allows for an expropriation in case of development projects like roads, bridges, water-installations and so on, but also grants the Prime Minister the power to order evictions in cases like touristic projects that he/she defines as aligned with the 'general interest'. As steps to be conducted, this law requests

a written notification five months in advance (in justified situations less), and a compensation according to current prices, conducted in a partly participative manner (AI, 2011:32). The Building Law of 2008 tackles in the articles 24 and 25 the development of unplanned areas. This law requests an involvement of the civil society to identify the most important projects, and assures a negotiation with property owners about com¬pen¬sations based on the value of the land for its further use.

However, both laws, the "Law on B¬uilding" as well as the "Law on Expropriation", guarantee the compensation only in the case of occupation of privately owned land (Azim, 2015). But the vast majority of settlements classified as unsafe and life-threatening are located on state owned land. In these cases the inhabitants receive therefore an administrational eviction order, according to the law No. 970 of the Civil Code, which prohibits the infringement of state-owned land. Mohammed Azim, a housing rights lawyer explains, that this infringement on state-owned land is even defined as crime under criminal law 372, and can be punished with several years of jail – even if the enforcement of this is apparently not prosecuted (2015). Under the law 970 the state is not obliged to provide any kind of compensation for squatters on state owned land, like the residents of the life-threatening area in Istabl Antar.

Regarding the compensation, the Cairo Governorate claims, that despite no compensation being "included in the legislation", relocated "squatters have been compensated as a result of political sensitivity" (Governorate Cairo, 2015: 13). However, the compensation provided for relocated inhabitants was widely criticised by interviewed CSOs representatives (Azim, 2015; El-Tibi, 2015; Ibrahim, 2015; Mansour, 2015; Shawkat, 2015). The arbitrary distribution of flats with random sizes in remote areas was not regarded as adequate and sufficient by them. Therefore, they demand an alignment with international standards that requests "full and fair" compensation - regardless of the ownership-title situation (OHCHR, 2007, para.21, 61), and not only a compensation which aims to avoid "social unrest" (AI, 2011:31).

At this point it is crucial to ask, what does a "full and fair compensation" as required, for example, in the UN-Guidelines in paragraph 21 and 61, entail? The terms "effective, adequate, appropriate, just, real, fair and full" are used in the General Comments No. 4 and 7, in the UN Fact Sheets 21 and 25 and in the

UN Guidelines and *IASC Guidelines* in front of the noun "compensation". These adjectives provide a notion into which direction a compensation should aim, but miss out the chance to give further guidance. One paragraph written in the same wording in the UN Fact Sheet No. 25 and in the UN Guidelines is therefore of particular interest:

> *"Compensation should be provided for any economically assessable damage, as appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case, such as: loss of life or limb; physical or mental harm; lost opportunities, including employment, education and social benefits; material damages and loss of earnings, including loss of earning potential; moral damage; and costs required for legal or expert assistance, medicine and medical services, and psychological and social services. Cash compensation should under no circumstances replace real compensation in the form of land and common property resources."*
>
> *(OHCHR, 2007, para. 60; OHCHR, 2015:33)*

This explanation incorporates the request to compensate not only tangible, but also intangible losses, yet stays on the level of demanding an "appropriate and proportional" compensation (ibid). Both cited documents ask additionally for an Eviction Impact Assessment (EvIA) (OHCHR, 2007, para. 32, 33; OHCHR, 2015:28, 29). This approach, which requires the calculation of "the real costs" of an eviction could help to assist defining an 'appropriate' compensation (OHCHR, 2015:28). However, the Habitat International Coalition (HIC) notes: "While the *UN Guidelines* present the need for such an assessment to be conducted, they do not specify the components or indicators of such a tool" (HIC, 2012:4).

Therefore, HIC developed with experts and the former "UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing" principles for a framework for reparation (OHCHR and UN-Habitat 2014: 15, HIC, 2012:4). This reparation, which is not just a pure compensation, as emphasised by Ahmed Mansour (representative of HIC, 2015), includes as core object a *Loss Matrix*, which provides the possibility to calculate and determine all the expected and the experienced losses. Material losses as well as nonmaterial ones, including aspects like loss of future development opportunities and psychological effects, are - as far as possible – quantified, and the incalculable losses are "reported in narrative terms" (HIC, 2012:6).

This approach of the *Loss Matrix,* which can be seen as part of the requested EvIA in the *UN Guidelines* (para. 32,33), would be suitable to be taken into consideration for the development and calculation of an 'adequate compensation' or better 'reparation' for the affected inhabitants, who had to be relocated due to the hazardous nature of their living area in Egypt.

As a last remark it is noteworthy, that the "calculation of compensation is [in general] problematic" (OHCHR, 2014:33). Besides establishing and applying a common system (like the *Loss Matrix*), which guarantees or at least strives for a full compensation, it should also be taken into consideration, if a deliberate distinction between different cases and circumstances, depending on the particular situation of the people who need to be relocated, would even be more appropriate and more fair. As an example might be taken the people relocated from life-threatening areas. They are in general some of the most marginalised groups, since they even cannot afford to live in areas in the informal settlements not located directly at a slope that is often difficult to access and might be prone to landslides. In case these people need to be relocated, the question appears, if they might need even more support and compensation - compared to those relocated from a well-situated neighbourhood (in cases of urban development or other projects). Therefore inhabitants from informal areas, and especially the most marginalised among them, would need to be given priority, to relocate them for example as close as possible, to conserve their economic and social ties, because they rely even more on them to survive compared to people, who are in general better off. Another point is, that they should receive as compensation for example even more and better public transportation than relocated people from higher social classes, who all own a private car. The life of people, who are relocated from hazardous areas is completely changed. But they cannot get themselves out of poverty. Therefore, human development, perhaps even with obligatory attendance, should be provided specifically to this group. This is necessary to enable them to afford their new life circumstances and to avoid even further impoverishment.

This proposed distinctions of compensation pertaining different recipient groups is currently neglected. Only one statement within the discussed international documents can be found, that is pointing into this direction. UN Fact Sheet 25 states: "where those affected are unable to provide for themselves, the state party

must take all appropriate measures, to the maximum of its available resources" (OHCHR, 1997, para. 16) – however, also there a further elaboration is missing. Therefore an inclusion in future discussions in literature as well as on ground would be recommended.

In conclusion, the two last sub-chapters explain on the one hand the general law situation in Egypt, which concerns forced eviction and adequate housing, and on the other hand the compensation situation. For the first issue, the law situation, it can be said, that the few achievements within the last years, which are supposed to regulate or better prohibit (forced) evictions can be seen just as first steps on a way towards improvements, clarifications, definitions, development of procedural steps, and towards their necessary anchoring within national law. The discussion of the second issue, the compensation system, shows that adequate regulations need to be found especially for marginalised people living on state-owned land. These, in turn, need to be also anchored in national law. In general, a further international and national debate to define the adequacy, appropriateness, and justness of compensation is recommended.

2.4 'Quality of Life' Study

The above displayed legislative regulations and guidelines are essential as framework for the preceding research question of the thesis. This is to understand, which steps were aligned to international standards, and which were not. Afterwards, the results can be used to discuss and answer the first main research question, that asks why deviations from requested steps occurred. This contextualisation into the given circumstances and aims, strived at by different stakeholders, contributes to provide a realistic picture and possible meaningful recommendations.

The second main objective of the thesis is, as stated within chapter one, to examine the current living situation in the places of relocation Haram City and Masaken Othman, as well as in comparison with the situation in the original site of Istabl Antar. Therefore previous reports or studies containing aspects of the housing situation in the two relocation sites were reviewed or at least information about them collected (in case they were not accessible). The review included the following:

Governmental side:

ISDF/MURIS: follow - up survey:
Employees of ISDF/ MURIS explained, that follow-up surveys are conducted for every project (Naguib & Nader, 2015). Further was stated that they are done every 3-6 months (Algohery, 2015). Outcomes are used to approach other ministries by asking them for help to solve shortcomings. A publication does not take place, and an insight was not permitted to the author (ibid).

Civil Society side:

2011: Amnesty International - report:
"We are not dirt. Forced eviction in Egypt's informal settlements". A short chapter acknowledges the better environmental circumstances in Haram City but emphasises the lack of services, higher costs for daily needs and the remote location. The report recalls the duty of the state to assess the location of relocation and the resulted impact (2011:60ff).

2012/ 07: Omnia Khalil - exhibition:
"Egyptian Urban Action", is an initiative that aims to develop deteriorated settlements in a collaborative manner between the state entities and the inhabitants. A video produced by Omnia Khalil, gives an inhabitant of Masaken Othman the opportunity to tell about her living situation. The interviewee explains, that "things were better where she used to live". She notes, that the transportation to purchase necessary goods or to reach services like the hospital or school is very expensive and often not affordable. She concludes with the statement: "people here are devastated". (Khalil, 2012).

2012/ 04-09: Egyptian Center for Legislative & Civic Reform (ECCLR) and HIC – study:
A "Fact-Finding Mission" was conducted in Haram City, including the following aspects: household surveys, loss matrix (tangible and intangible losses), engineering evaluation of the houses, inhabitants training in civil rights, film production and screening in front of the Governorate to exert

pressure. The mission focused on people of the former living area Duweiqa. The results showed among others deficits in the building construction, high expenses for daily needs and the violation of housing rights. The outcomes were, as reported by the respective organisations, presented on the 'Egyptian Housing Day' 2013, which was established as annual event after the rockslide in 2008. Only a very limited overview of the report, which included however unclear and incomprehensible charts were handed over by an organisation's representative to the author. The full report seemed not to be available any more, due to technical circumstances.

2013: Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR)– study:
"The Marginalised and the Right to Adequate Housing: Analytical Study of Housing Policies in Egypt." A study done in Haram City, focuses as well on inhabitants from Duweiqa, and was conducted by Shehayeb Consult as part of the above named research. It examined via two group discussions the living situation. Outcomes suggest, that former inhabitants from Duweiqa are especially suffering. Beside the general struggle of high prices for goods and a lack of services, they received very small flats and had no access to the marketplace. The study in Arabic is available for order via the website of CAWTAR.

2015/ 04 Tadamun – article:
Tadamun, a Cairene Housing Rights organization, publishes regularly articles called "know your city". The one recently written explains the background of the development of Masaken Othman, starting with the ambitious governmental plan, and ends with the current observed living situation of the people and some future visions (2015b).

The focus of the second main research question is explicitly - other than in the case of the above displayed reports and investigations - laid on the people, their individual valuations and satisfaction. Therefore the examination will take place in the frame of a Quality of Life (QoL) study. The theory underlying the QoL study will be presented in the subsequent part.
Margaret Westaway, a medical scientist, specialized in research about life satis¬faction and self-esteem, refers to Jeffres and Dobos when she explains

what quality of life consists of. The two researchers proposed a distinction into two "global concepts with underlying domains" (2006: 176). These two concepts are:

1. Quality of life / life satisfaction (result of the 'Personal Domain')
2. Environmental quality (result of the 'Environmental Domain')

She further explains by citing precursors in this field like Campbell, that the first concept is "a consequence of satisfaction with the personal domains of life" (ibid). This *'Personal Domain'* consists among others of the satisfaction with: friends, partners, yourself, family and health. The second concept is the environmental quality of life. This so-called *'Environmental Domain'* includes inter alia the following sub-domains: satisfaction with school, housing, safety, health service, transport (Cutter et al cited by Westaway, 2006:176). These two main domains are connected but not necessarily identical. Therefore, it is possible, that a person living under extremely difficult environmental circumstances can nevertheless have a very high life satisfaction, and the other way round.

A further investigation concerning quality of life studies based on Campell, Converse and Rogers (1976) and conducted by Robert Marans (2005) is noteworthy. Marans creates awareness, that there is an inherited relationship "between objective reality and subjective response" (2005: 315). This means, that all the different domains have specific 'objective attributes' that are however perceived and assessed by each individual differently, depending on past experiences and needs. Further, he explains that the use and the awareness play a role within individual evaluations (ibid: 316- 318).

The following example illustrates this: the domain housing satisfaction is e.g. divided in different objective attributes. One is crowdedness. An 'objective measure' is people per room, as Marans explains (2005:316). But how the satisfaction of the dweller on this specific aspect is depends on his/her personal character, standards, expectations, needs, and the assessment of these. This is important to mention to be aware, that every response given is personal – it is a subjective response to an objective measure (cf. Fig 2-2). This previous is mentioned as additional information to keep in mind that a different sample might lead to deviating results. Further elaboration on this issue, however, cannot be provided within this work.
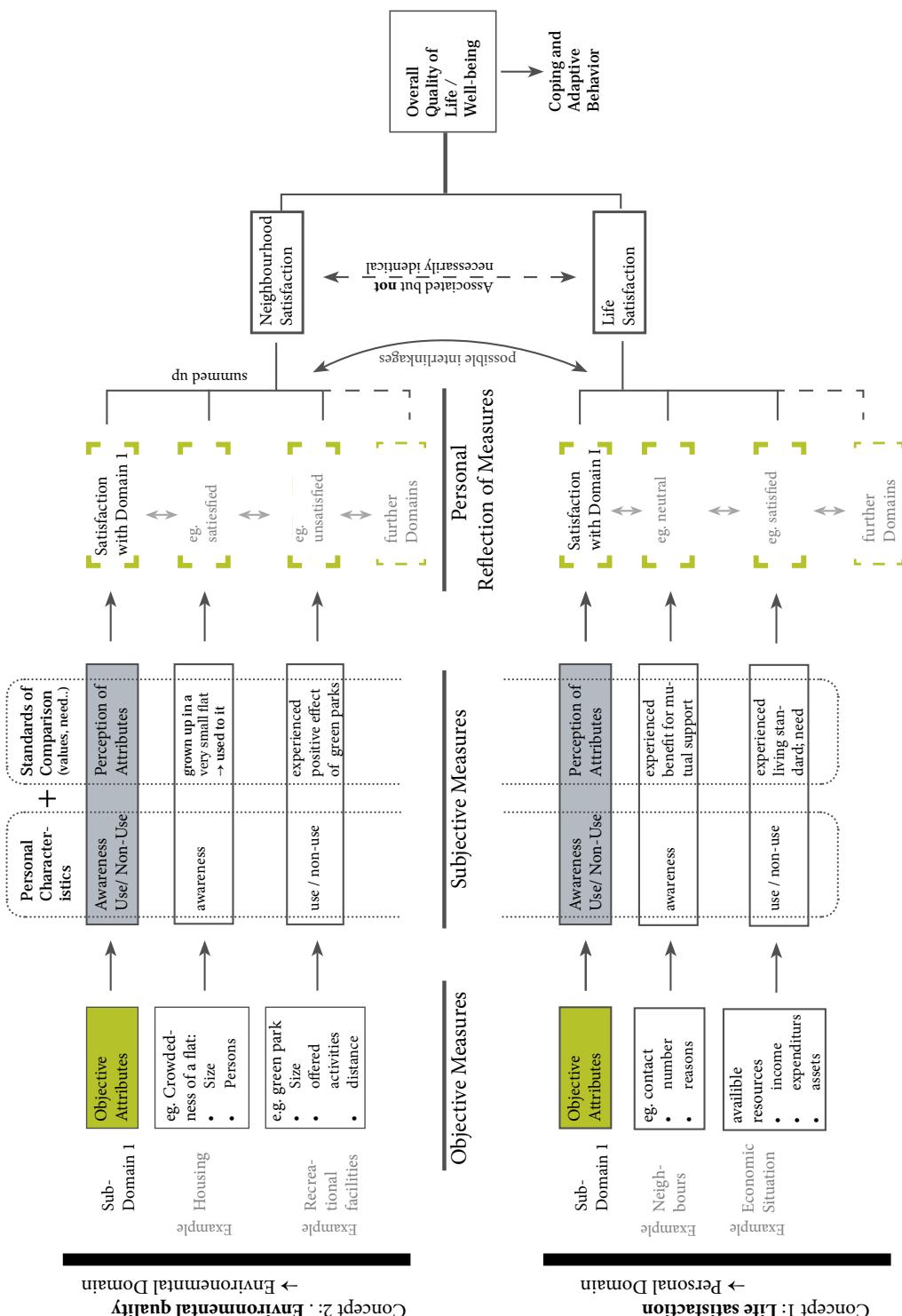
Figure 2-2 Quality of life study: conceptualisation of measures
Source: author (based on Campell et al., 1976; Marans, 2005; Westaway 2006

2.5 Conclusion

As the present chapter demonstrates, internationally there are a considerable number of laws, guidelines, agreements and commitments available, with two main aims: first, to regulate and to enforce the right to adequate housing and secondly to try to minimise the occurrence and the impacts of evictions – especially the ones conducted in a forced manner. Forced evictions appear if provided guidelines are not applied, step-by-step. In the course of the chapter, two guidelines were defined as suitable for the analysis of the case study and therefore combined, to serve as a framework. The two chosen guidelines are the UN 'Basic Principles and Guidelines on development-based Eviction and Displacement' (UN Guidelines) and the IASC 'Operational Guidelines on the Protection of persons in Situations of Natural Disasters' (IASC Guidelines). A review of the law situation of Egypt followed. The latest constitution showed some achievements, however, with considerable space and need for improvements. Especially, a further definition and clarification of the article 63 prohibiting forced migration (not eviction) and 78, which ensures adequate housing, would be necessary, followed by an anchoring of these and further procedural steps in the national law. In this context the current compensation system is recommended to be revised as well. After the discussion of the legal aspects, the theory applied later in the research for the Quality of Life (QoL) study was presented.

Langford and du Plessis, two former COHRE employees, emphasise, that the key challenge around forced evictions is on the one hand to ensure, that "international guarantees are reflected in national legislation" – as it was discussed in the this chapter – but they underline at the same time, that these guarantees then need also to be reflected in practice (2006). The law situation in Egypt is, as elaborated, questionable – therefore a first broad overview of the current 'situation on ground' in Egypt will be developed and displayed in the next chapter.

3. Current Eviction Situation in Egypt and Introduction to the Case Study Area(s)

3.1 Overview

The information situation in Egypt is - as in many other countries - inadequate regarding the availability of exact numbers and scope of forced evictions. A document published by UN-Habitat reporting about forced eviction as a "global crisis", and simultaneously trying to develop "global solutions", describes the situation as follows: "Despite the scope and scale of forced evictions and the devastating effects on the livelihoods and well-being of individuals, families and communities, there remains a concerning lack of reliable, official data or information about forced evictions" (UN-Habitat 2011:18). States which have ratified the ICESCR are obliged, every five years, to write a report and to conduct an oral hearing with a monitoring body – the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Thereby, information like the number of affected people of different issues are supposed to be provided by the state to show its efforts taken to reach the fulfilment of the different articles of the covenant. Egypt did not comply to this obligation within the requested time intervals, and handed in a combined report for the second to fourth phase in 2013. The committee examined this report and expressed within its 'Concluding Observations' among others the following concerns and recommendations: The committee is concerned "about widespread forced evictions due to the lack of secure tenure" (CESCR 2013: para. 20). Furthermore, the committee worries about insufficient amounts spend by the state to provide affordable and adequate housing, which results in the necessity for many people to reside in informal settlements, often lacking adequate facilities and infrastructure (ibid).

Considering this, it is difficult to draw a correct picture of the situation in Egypt. Nevertheless, Yahia Shawkat (an Egyptian architect, housing and land rights researcher) was able to collect data and figures of many cases that occurred within

the last 1½ decade (from 1997 to 2013). Out of this information he developed the graphic below (Fig. 3-1), which shows that in the respective time interval more than 41,000 families from urban context were relocated.
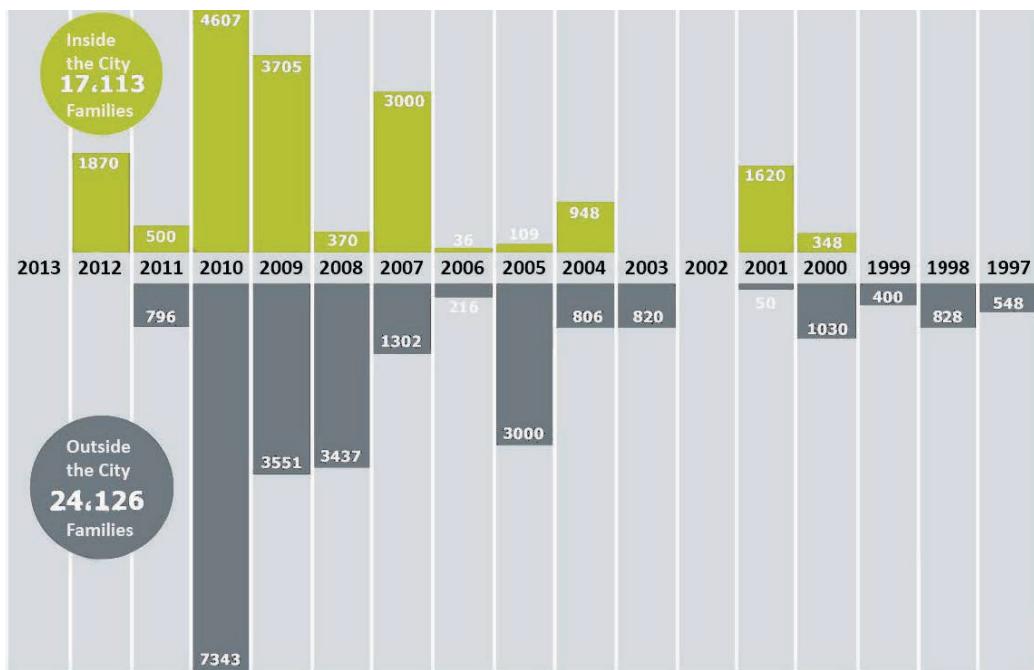
Figure 3-1 Urban relocations in Egypt from 1997 until 2013
Source: Shawkat 2013a

To underline the extent of this number, he points out that this resembles about four times the number of the people relocated for the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt (2013a). The reasons for the relocation of the people recorded are manifold, reaching from urban development projects like infrastructure development and informal settlement upgrading, over urban renewal projects (creation of parks, archaeological site recreation), to relocation after natural disasters like rockslides (Shawkat, 2013b). The interesting aspect, which the graphic shows is the dichotomy of the relocations. The upper columns show the relocations that took place inside cities, meaning that the people were relocated within the same neighbourhood or even in situ. The columns going downwards mark the 24 000 families (or in other words 58% of the total), which were relocated from inside the city to areas outside. In Cairo alone, this affected 15 000 families within the recorded timespan (Shawkat as cited by Afify, 2014). An example for this are families relocated after the rockslide from the case study area of Istabl Antar in Cairo to 6th of October, Governorate Giza. The consequences of

the rockslide disaster, which happened in 2008, can be seen clearly in the table. A significant increase of the amplitude up- and downwards can be determined in the years 2008, 2009 and 2010.

Important to emphasise is that Yahia Shawkat did not further elaborate on the circumstances under which the physical relocations happened – if they were forced or not, or if adequate compensation was provided. It is only indicated in the related text that irregularities in the compensation process occurred (Shawkat 2013). The relocation of people due to the rockslide from 2008 stopped after the revolution in 2011. This sudden decline between the years 2010 and 1011 can be seen in the presented graphic. Reasons were on the one hand political circumstances and on the other hand the unavailability of vacant public units, or the happened occupation of such - in an illegal way by illegible inhabitants (Shaat, 2015b; Mansour, 2015).

Three more cases that happened after 2013, and which are therefore not included in the table, will be shortly described in the following paragraphs to display the variety and occurrence of evictions in Egypt. At the beginning of 2014, a part of a bridge collapsed in the north of Cairo in the area of El Marg. After one week, many families from an adjacent informal area were relocated. The numbers quoted by human rights activists and the government differ. Whereas the first talk about more than 1000 families which were evicted in a forced manner, the government recognised only the number of 400, and said to have provided them with alternative housing (Afify, 2014). The second case is the planned and already started massive infrastructure project of the bypass of the Suez Canal. Different newspaper report about more than 1 000 units which were demolished alone in 2014. The accusation includes, that the people were not offered compensation so far, neither for their lost homes, nor for their land (Charbel, 2014; Middle East Eye, 2014). According to Abdo and Kingsley, further 5 000 homes are under thread of eviction (2014). One last project to mention in the current context is the case of Rafah. Due to the creation of a buffer zone of 2 000 m in front of the border to the Gaza Strip (as announced by the Egyptian Military in March 2015), plans exist and are being implemented to relocate the whole Egyptian site of the town Rafah (Cairobservers, 2015).

The situation of reporting, mobilising, and protesting about relocations - whether classified as forced eviction or not, became more difficult during the

last years, as several of the interviewed social society representatives reported. Amnesty International talks about a "shrinking space for civil society" (AI cited by reliefweb, 2014). AI states that this has to be seen especially within the context of the Law on Association, which requires NGOs to register (article 84 from 2002). This law puts a lot of pressure on NGO members, as confirmed by several interview partners (CSO representatives, not to be named). Furthermore the new demonstration law from November 2013 is conceived as a big barrier for the work of housing rights groups. Manal El-Tibi stated, that it is currently very difficult to mobilise people to demonstrate and to create awareness for their rights. In her opinion, it was even under Mubarak, easier to put pressure on governmental entities (2015). One positive aspect can be mentioned, that the revolution pushed the creation of some new entities like ECCLR.

To come back to the starting point of this subchapter: the latest mentioned legislative constraints that limit the work of CSOs are putting additional difficulties to the possibility to receive specific data about the number and scope of (forced) eviction cases in Egypt. Everett explains contritely that "international conventions rely on governments to monitor and report evictions themselves" and evaluates this as a "certainly (a) less than perfect arrangement" (Everett, 2006:466).

The above chapter showed the variety of reasons which lead to evictions in urban areas in Egypt and their extent. The present thesis however will focus on one case: on evictions which took place in relation to informal areas and even more specific - within the context of incorporated 'unsafe' places. Therefore, the classification of such 'unsafe' areas will be described subsequently, after displaying the general occurrence of informal areas in Cairo.

3.2 Informal Areas in Cairo and Relocation

3.2.1 Development of Informal Areas over the Last Decades

The present sub-chapter will provide a condensed overview of the development of informal areas in Cairo, concentrating on aspects that are relevant for the understanding of the context for the chosen case study.

Cairo's rapid urbanisation within the last decades can be described as being dominated by an informal development. Current figures range around 60% of

being built informally, by disobeying the building law (Faramawy and Algohery 2010:5). Therefore they are called *'ashwa'yyat'* in Egyptian Arabic, meaning chaotic and haphazard, referring to an unplanned, unlicensed development (Séjourné 2009:17). The formation of informal areas within the last six decades are based on manifold reasons. During the Nasser era, a significant growth of the city took place, fostered by the migration of people from Upper Egypt and the Delta region, due to economic development and industrialisation around cities (Séjourné, 2009: 17). Inadequate public housing policy, among others the rental control law and the building of not rentable public housing, rather built for the middle class, led to a significant lack of affordable housing possibilities for low-income families. Therefore, they settled either on agricultural land in the North, West and South, which was unlawfully transformed into building plots, fostered by the fact that agriculture as a source of livelihood did not pay off anymore in the same amount; or on cheaper illegally sold state-owned desert land. The settlements on desert land in the East started mainly to grow around existing formal villages or partly on geological hazardous areas, lacking any kind of security of tenure (Séjourné, 2009: 18). The building activities were even accelerated by Sadat's 'open door policy' (*infitah*) in the 70s, and remittances of Egyptians working in neighbouring Gulf States (Piffero, 2009: 21; Sims, 2003:5). The state issued several laws prohibiting the settling on agricultural land: among others the law 59, which was already formulated in the year 1966. However, these laws were ineffective (Séjourné, 2009: 17ff). The New Town strategy, launched in 1977, which among others sought to solve the problem of informal settling by creating satellite settlements and cities in the desert, whereof 6th of October is also part, are often considered to have failed (Viney, 2011). Reasons for that are inter alia: great distances, unavailable transportation systems and unsuitable housing for low-income families (Shehayab, 2009:40; Piffero, 2009: 23). Consequently, the totally underserved and ignored informal areas within Cairo kept growing – at the beginning, as mentioned, due to migration, later mainly due to demographic growth. The "policy of negligence" combined with the illegal status led to a system of dependence, "clientelism and corruption" between the inhabitants and authorities (Harders cited by Piffero, 2009:25). Ghada Hassan, an Egyptian urban planner, claims that the authorities and different governments put their attention only on informal areas after "unexpected incidence[s]" like in the 90s or after the rockslide in 2008 happened (Hassan, 2012: 239). Within the 90s , after social unrest, the government set up a National Fund for Urban

Upgrading, providing the first time some basic services within informal areas (ibid; Khalifa, 2013:9).

Nevertheless, until the present, inadequate public housing and upgrading policies, combined with unrealistic planning led to the fact that most informal areas suffer from lack of services, high population density, few participatory upgrading approaches, and bad reputation (Shaat, 2015b; Séjourné, 2009:19). Despite these shortcomings, it has to be considered that these areas can nevertheless provide advantages in an economic and social perspective, combined with the most adequate, affordable and demand-driven housing possibility for the majority of the city's inhabitants – ranging from the very poor to the well-educated and public sector workers. (Piffero 2009: 23; Shehayab, 2009: 35).

3.2.2 Reason for the Evolvement of ISDF and MURIS

Following the horrific rockslide in 2008 in the area of Duweiqa in Manshiet Nasser, a Presidential Decree was announced. The Decree No. 305 requested the establishment of an institution that examines and categorises all informal areas within Egypt to develop a database and strategy for the further development of these. This coordinating, funding and monitoring institution was named Informal Settlement Development Fund (ISDF). The following six ministries are board members: Electricity and Energy, Finance, International Cooperation, Local Development, Social Solidarity and Housing & Urban Development. Additionally, three experts and three representatives from the private sector, from NGOs and civil society organisations are included (Presidential Decree, 2008; article: 3). Until summer 2014 the ISDF was directly headed by the Egyptian Cabinet, led by the Minister of Local Development.
Since the establishment of the new Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements (MURIS) in July 2014, ISDF is affiliated to it, and plans exist to incorporate it fully.

3.2.3 New Classification: 'Unsafe vs. Unplanned Areas'

According to the map of the thirty biggest slums worldwide developed by Walké in 2007, which uses the data collected by Mike Davis, Cairo houses four of them, with a number of inhabitants ranging from 0.5 to 1 million. Following this picture drawn, it must be asked, what are the criteria defining areas as slums. The term 'slum' itself and its definition are controversially discussed. Alan Gilbert points

out the danger of the resuscitation of the term and its negative connotation, which was in his point of view mainly triggered by the initiative 'Cities Without Slums' by the Cities Alliance in 1999, whereby he emphasises the unattainability of the idea (Gilbert 2007: 697). He further specifies, that a slum is a "relative concept, viewed differently according to social class, culture and ideology, it cannot be defined safely in any universally acceptable way" (ibid: 700).

A definition launched by UN-Habitat comprises five key aspects being part of a slums and need therefore to be improved - written as Target 11 in the Millennium Development goals. These aspects consists of: access to safe water, sanitation, security of tenure, durability of housing, and sufficient living area (UN-Habitat 2003: 7). Marwa Khalifa, an Egyptian urban planning professor, points out in her article "Redefining slums in Egypt: Unplanned versus unsafe areas", that the above mentioned four mega-slums allegedly located in Cairo "present an unreal image" (2011:41). This statement she underlines with the comparison of two well-known 'slums' – Kibera (Nairobi, Kenya) and Dharavi (Mumbai, India) – with the Egyptian Ezbet El-Haggana settlement. Even if they belong within the world-map of slums to the same category, they cannot be compared, due to "completely different characteristics such as their physical conditions and accessibility to services" (ibid).

The unspecific Arabic term *'ashwa'iyyat'*, was therefore as a result of the work by the ISDF replaced by two terms: *unplanned* and *unsafe*. This differentiation lead to the classification that 60% of Egyptian urban areas are 'Unplanned Areas', referring to the fact, that they are built outside of building regulations (like the most parts of Ezbet-Haganna and the other four 'mega slums'), and 5% as 'Unsafe Areas', which are meant to be comparable with the physical appearance of 'slums' (Faramawy & Algohary, 2010: 5). The unsafe areas were further differentiated to determine which areas urgently need intervention. This categorisation was developed in dependence on the five 'slum' UN-Habitat criteria - by reorganising them according to urgency of intervention. Four grades were established, whereby 50% of the housing structures have to comply with at least one specification (Algohery, 2015).

The result of applying the 'ISDF Criteria' was that 35 areas in Egypt were classified as life threatening ('grade I'). These are areas threatened by flooding, railway accidents, high voltage lines, or unstable geological formations. Due to their

high-risk locations, the affected communities of this grade are required to be relocated to other safer areas (Fig. 3-2). To the second grade of unsuitable shelter conditions, 281 areas can be counted; followed by 68 areas that are affected by health risks, which is grade III; grade IV claims the instability of tenure, which is valid for further 20 areas. This results in a total number of 404 unsafe areas in Egypt, which in turn accounts for approximately 1.1 million people according to Khalifa (2011). Thereby, the higher grade always overrules the lower, e.g. houses in grade I can also be affected by the other three lower categories (Faramwy & Algohary, 2010:8). The number of 404 was reduced over time to 383 in 2011, and to 365 in 2013 (ISDF, 2012:11).
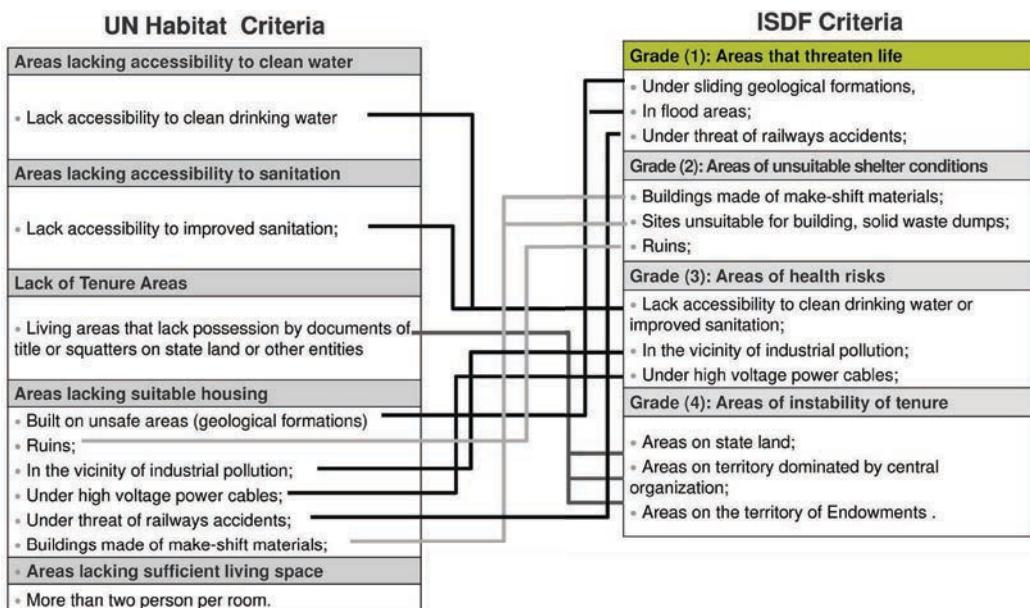
Figure 3-2 ISDF criteria for the establishment of the four sub-categories of unsafe areas
Source: Faramawy and Algohary, 2010:6

The development of unsafe areas is aimed to be resolved within the next decades, whereas the inhabitants of the first grade are planned to be relocated until 2017, or latest 2020 (ISDF, 2012:6). The financial means are provided or are planned to be gained from different resources, and vary from year to year. The budget for the year 2010 was presented as follows: The whole budget comprised 3.75 billion EGP. Some 5% of it came directly from the state budget, 11 % from the Ministry of Housing, a minor part of 1% from international cooperation funds, and remarkable 80% were planned to be gained by redevelopment of partly

emptied land from the unsafe areas of categories two to four - the latter amount is the resulting revenue from investor payments (Faramawy and Algohery, 2010: 18).

3.2.4 Mandate Structure: Dealing with Unsafe Areas

The mandates of the different institutions, involved in the dealing with unsafe areas grade I, can be seen in an overview in the following graphics (Fig.3-3). A broader presentation will follow in chapter five.
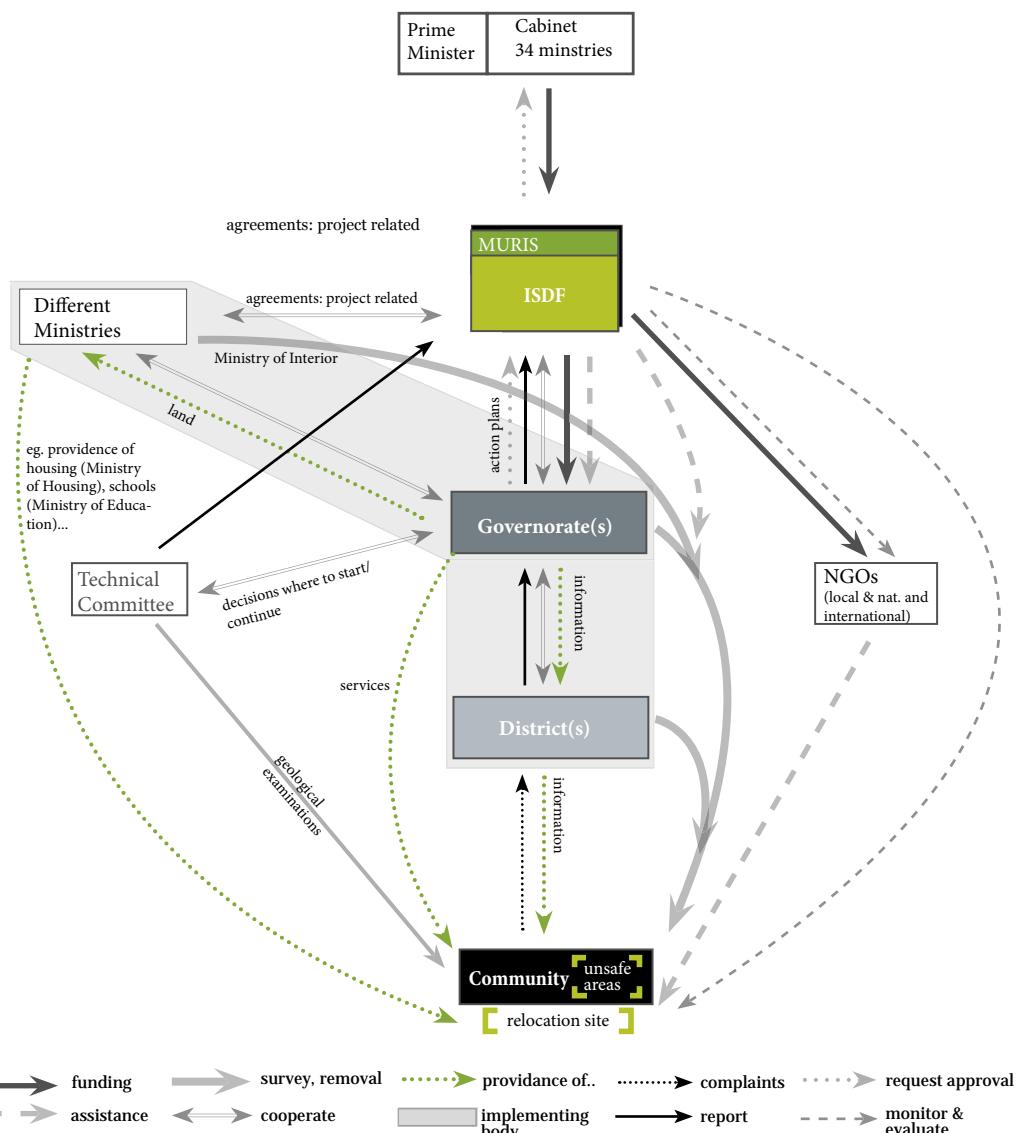
Table 3-3 Mandate structure
Source: author

ISDF and now MURIS have the mandate to coordinate, fund, support, and monitor the dealing of unsafe areas. The implementing institutions are the Governorates and several Ministries (Shaheen, 2015; Shaat 2015a; Presidential Decree No. 305, 2008). Before the implementation, a technical committee examines the hazardousness of the areas classified as unsafe, and decides, in accordance with the Governorates, on a priority list (Algohery, 2015; Shaat 2015a). The district authorities have the responsibility to inform and remove the people, whereas the Governorates provide land for relocation, and finally the Ministry of Housing builds the required units on it. NGOs are asked to provide socio-economic support in the new relocation sites (ISDF, 2012:16;20).

3.3 Case Study: Istabl Antar – Context of Relocation

3.3.1 Background

To contextualise the two main aspects of the thesis – on the one hand the reasons why specific internationally requested steps were not followed, and on the other hand to counteract the understudied living situation in the relocation sites, a case study area called Istabl Antar was chosen. The area was selected out of four reasons. Firstly, because it received until the present not as much media attention as, for example, Duweiqa, where the rockslide in 2008 occurred (ECESR et al., 2014). It shows, however, the same geological conditions, without the inhabitants being emotionally affected by personal losses, which allows more objective evaluations. A further selection criterion was, that the two relocation sites illustrate interesting characteristics to investigate – their location is close to each other, the architectural design however is very different. The influence of the design on the quality of life could therefore be investigated. And thirdly the researcher is familiar with the area, having worked there for several months in the context of a seminar in 2014/2015. This reduced possible aversions of inhabitants and guaranteed a broader knowledge on the area. Last but not least, the area of Istabl Antar is very interesting because it includes the area with the highest priority for further relocations within the Governorate Cairo (Shaat, 2015d), therefore, prompt considerations will be necessary to decide how to deal with it.

3.3.1.1 Location

Istabl Antar is part of one of the biggest informal settlements within the Greater Cairo Region, Ezbet Khairallah. Ezbet Khairallah is located on desert land at the Eastern bank of the river Nile, and has an estimated number of 650,000 inhabitants (Peace and Plenty Association, cited by Tadamun 2013a). In terms of administration, Istabl Antar is part of the Cairo Governorate and more specifically the district of Old Cairo (cf. Fig. 3-4). However, these borders and affiliations to some extent are controversial and mixed up, which leads to certain problems, as will be elaborated later on (Shaat, 2015c). The whole area lends itself to urban development due to its excellent location, neighbouring the city centre and its additional good transportation connection (Faramawy cited by El-Mouelhi, 2014:192)

Istabl Antar   Old Cairo (District)   Unsafe Areas

Figure 3-4 Unsafe areas in the district of Old Cairo
Source: Salheen 2009a (modified)

Istabl Antar itself is located in the southern part of Ezbet Khairallah, bordering on the Ringroad in the North (which was built in the 90s), and in the South on the informal area of Dar Es-Salam, which was built on agricultural land. The settlement of Istabl Antar stretches over the edges of Zahraa' hill, a foothill of Mokkatam mountain, and has an elevation of about 20m. This area on the edge of the hill was classified in 2008 as unsafe and life-threatening and presents the focus area of the thesis, besides the relocation sites. Noteworthy is the existence of an historical site within the area above the cliff which is known as 'Gabakhana', a fortress built around the 11th century (El-Mouelhi, 2014:193).

Gabakhana   area A   area B   area B   area B (already evacuated)

Figure 3-5 Sub-division of Istabl Antar
Source: author based on IUSD 2014a

The case study area of Istabl Antar will be divided for an easier discussion into three areas: area C is above the cliff incorporating the old fortress; area A is under the cliff; and area B is on the cliff itself (cf. Fig 3-5).

Figure 3-6/7/8 Area B: evacuated cliff
Source: IUSD 2014b (3-6); author (3-7, 3-8)

3.3.1.2 Settling

The populating of Istabl Antar started in the late 50s within area A. The housing conditions are mostly deteriorated, due to old construction methods of load bearing stone walls with wooden floor slabs (IUSD, 2014a). The area C on the plateau was build-up in the 70/80s by migrants from the Delta and Upper Egypt (Tadamun, 2013a). Before, in 1974, president Sadat dedicated the land to the state owned Ma'adi Company for Development and Reconstruction, which was supposed to build housing units. Owing to land price speculations, resource scarcities, and conflicts between the Ministry of Antiquities and Cairo Governorate, the start of the project was delayed (Shehayeb 2011: 39). As a consequence, the desert land was settled illegally. The third area, B, was squatted - due to its difficult conditions - at last within the 80s (IUSD, 2014a). The tenure situation in Istabl Antar is tricky. Whereas the area A and B belong directly to the state, the legal status of area C is until today pending. A lawsuit handed in by the inhabitants, requesting to purchase the land, was, after 15 years, (in 1999) positively ruled. However, this unique verdict has not yet been implemented, and lawyers of the area are still fighting for it. Nevertheless, it provides the inhabitants of area C a perceived quasi-security of tenure (Tadamun 2013a).

3.3.1.3 Service Provision

Services in all areas were successively and partly provided, as can be seen in the following table (Table 3-1). Aspects considered are mainly the ones referring to the seven criteria points, defining adequate housing, stated within the UN General Comments No. 4 (cf. table 3-1).

	adequate housing' aspect		A	B	C
location		f)	South-East Cairo, high proximity to Downtown		
tenure situation		a)	state-owned land	state-owned land	owned by the Maadi-Company; court verdict in favour for the residents, quasi security of tenure (Tadamun, 2013b)
housing situation	time of setteling		late 50s (IUSD 2014a)	80s (IUSD 2014a)	80/70s (Tadamun 2013a; IUSD 2014a) some parts around the Gabakhana were already occupied sever hundred years ago (Salheen, 2009a)
	condition	b)	mainly old (load bearing stone wall, wooden floor slap); few quite new one (concrete skeleton and red bricks) (IUSD 2014a)	medium old (load bearing stone walls with wooden or concrete skeleton)	medium and new buildings (load bearing stone wall with concrete floor slap, or concrete skeleton wih red bricks (IUSD 2014a)
	height		3-1, or 6 stories	3-1 stories	4-2 stories; some 6 (starting to extend)
	average plot size		approx. 30 m75 - ² m² (IUSD, 2014a)		approx. 200- 120 /60 m² (IUSD, 2014a)
	no. of rooms	g)	varies between 4-1 rooms (cultural adequacy therefore not always secured)		
	building owners		%75 building owners (Salheen 2009b)	%55 building owners (Salheen 2009a)	%75 building owners (Salheen 2009b)
	accessibility	e)	car, tuk tuk, by food	only by food via staircases, very narrow & steep (cumbersome)	car, tuk tuk, by food
	further development	d)	upgrading; Category 2 (ISDF 2008) partly to be demolish (Cairo Govenrorate)	demolition and relocation, Category 1 (ISDF 2008)	upgrading, Category 2 (ISDF 2008); Governorate: unplanned (Shaat, 2015a)
available services	water/ sewage	b)	80s; ca. 2005 new main sewage pipelines done by authorities, but problems, groundfloors often under streetlevel - manuel handling required (IUSD 2014c)	ca. 2005 support from Care international & collective pump, manual collecting partly needed for sewage (IUSD 2014c) some flats lacking clean water (Salheen, 2009a)	2010 waterline paid by election candidate (El-Mouelhi, 2014) 2012-2010 major sewage pipes provided from Govern-ment; connections by people (own expenses) &NGOs sewage partly overloaded and leaking, claim that it forsters instability of area B (Salheen, 2009a; IUSD, 2014c)
			generel problem of maintanance - not provided from official site (IUSD, 2014c)		
	electricity	b)	Most of the households are connected to electricity, some illegally. Meters since 2005 (IUSD, 2014c)		
	garbage	b)	thrown on the Metro, burned (IUSD, 2014c)	mainly burned (own interviews)	sorted for selling, put on the ringroad, burned, down the cliff (IUSD, 2014c)
	school	b)	All schools are in surrounding areas primary schools: El Zahraa, Fouad Galal, Amar Ibn Yasser, Antra Ibn Shadad, El Tawasol Preparatory schools: Amr Ibn El Aas and El Sahel secondary school El Fustat (IUSD 2014c and conducted interviews)		
	health	b)	doctor directly next by; health centre & hospital reachable between 30-5 minutes		
	religious facilities	g)	one mosque	-	three mosques and one church
recreation	open spaces		scarce	scarce	mainly around the Gabakhana
	youth-centre		several around the area: Ezbet Kharallah; Zahraa and Al Noor centre in area C		
					one: upgraded by Care Inter-national, current quarrel between 2 NGOs -> closed (IUSD, 2014c)

Table 3-1 Service provision on the three areas of Istabl Antar
Source: author

3.3.2 Relocation

After the rockslide in 2008 in a nearby informal settlement, area B was classified by the ISDF as unsafe grade I, which means life-threatening, requiring immediate action. Areas C and A were at this time classified as grade II (Fig. 3-9)

Grade I   Grade II

Figure 3-9 Unsafe and unplanned areas in Istabl Antar
Source: ISDF (handed to author by Naguib, 2015)

—— 2009 (beginning)   - - - 2009 (end)   ······ 2010   — — 2011   ▮ Sites to be relocated next

Figure 3-10 Demolition process
Source: author (based on map handed to the author by Shaat 2015d and Google Earth)

However, these borders were shifted partly over time. The above map (Fig. 3-10) shows the relocation process (retrieved from Google Earth). This map is overlaid with a second, received in May 2015 from the Governorate representative, which shows those areas and their extensions, which allegedly need to be demolished according to the most recent decisions. The area number 1 was clearly expanded as compared to the original ISDF categorisation. This area has, following the information of the Cairo Governor Advisor, the highest priority for relocation in the list of remaining areas categorised as life-threatening (Shaat, 2015d).

Remarkable is, that no exact number of people or families affected can be found – neither of the ones already relocated, nor of the ones still awaiting relocation. First estimations by the ISDF expert in 2009 put the number of units to be relocated at 676 (Salheen, 2009a). The ISDF and the district authorities referred within interviews to the Governorate to state numbers (El-Enen, 2015; Algohery, 2015). However, the representative of the Governorate provided only numbers which were rough estimates from 2008/9, even stating, that all the areas A, B and C are of grade I. Additionally, area B was suddenly part of the Dar Es-Salam district and not of Old Cairo. This demonstrates, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, that the district borders "got mixed up" (Shaat, 2015d). Further provided tables show the number of relocated families until 2013, but not detailed enough to figure out how many belonged to Istabl Antar. Furthermore, they show the same problem with the unclear district borders (cf. appendix 1 and 2). The representative of the Governorate proposed hereupon the calculation according to the following description. The above mentioned map which was received from him in May 2015 shows square meter measures of the respective areas to be relocated. Multiplying this now with the typical population density in unsafe areas of 200 persons/feddan (Algohery, 2010:5) (a number which is considered by the author as underestimated based on own calculations) leads to the result that at least further 600 families will be relocated from Istabl Antar.

Interesting in this perspective is, that during the interviews with the inhabitants in area B (classified as life-threatening) only a few expressed fear resulting from the location of their houses on the cliff. Many explained that the threatened people living on or in the cliff were already relocated. If an interviewee felt threatened, then more often due to the perceived instability of some houses, which would fall into grade II of the ISDF classification. Other inhabitants are even not aware, that

they are living within an area which was ever classified – irrespective in which grade. Still others told stories about arising conflicts between residents who want to leave and some who want to stay – resulting sometimes in the reaction, that blue demolition markings on houses were removed or added to 'force' the neighbours to stay or all to go.

3.3.2.1 Relocation Sites

The families already relocated from very unsafe areas within the area B in Istabl Antar live now either in Haram City, 30 km away, or in Masaken Othman, 41 km away, both on the fringes of the satellite city Sixth of October (see Fig. 3-11). A detailed description of the two areas will follow in chapter 5.1.3.2.
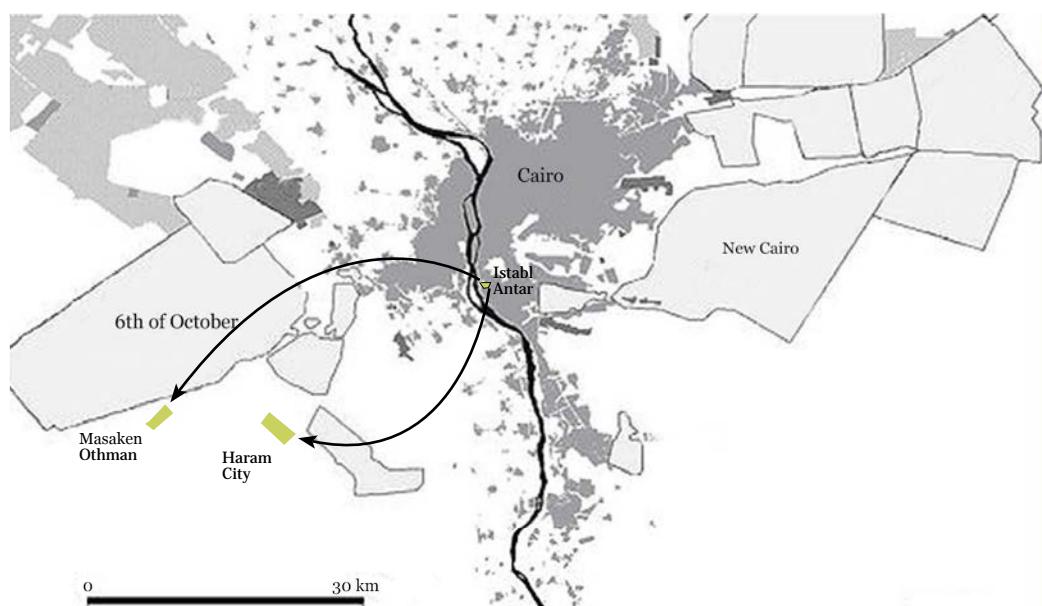
Figure 3-11 Relocation sites
Source: author (based on Denis, 2011)

4. Methodology

The research followed an empirical, application-led approach, examining the process and the consequences for the people relocated, concluding with initial recommendations for improvements in the future practice. The basis for this was developed in the first part of the thesis, the literature review, which provided a broad overview focusing on international agreements and laws that tackle forced evictions, as well as adequate housing. Out of two reviewed guidelines, a framework was developed, that serves later in chapter 5 as basis for the analysis of the relocation process. Afterwards, the theoretical basis for the 'Quality of Life' Study was defined. Still, within the literature review, the focus was drawn in chapter 3 on the situation in Egypt. By narrowing down the scope, light was shed on the specific case of 'unsafe areas'. Thereby a lack of comprehensive and holistic data concerning evictions of unsafe areas was determined.

The objectives to display, on the one hand, the different views and obstacles of all involved stakeholders, and to investigate, on the other hand, the current living situation of the relocated and not yet relocated inhabitants lead to an extensive empirical part. This empirical section (chapter 5) is therefore divided into two approaches. The first is an analysis of the process of eviction, applying the developed framework (i.e. the steps of the evaluation table 1-1, developed out of the two chosen guidelines) and concentrating on the reasons of occurred deviations, and the second is a quality of life study. The provided information from the different stakeholders was further reviewed, analysed and translated into initial recommendations (chapter 6). The methods applied for gaining the necessary information will be described in the following sub-chapters.

4.1 Sampling of Main Stakeholders

Bryson, a scholar involved in the development of stakeholder identification and analysis techniques defines a stakeholder as "any person, group, or organization that can place a claim on the [process's] attention, resources, or output, or is affected by that output" (2004: 22).

Within the context of evictions taking place in unsafe areas in Cairo, three stakeholder groups were identified and approached. These are the responsible **administrative entities, the affected inhabitants, and CSOs who are concerned** about the topic of human and housing rights in Cairo. Each of the three identified groups has a different role, interest, influence and power within the eviction **process, and was therefore relevant to approach.**

The *first stakeholder* group: administrative entities.
   The sample was chosen according to relevant responsibilities.

I.   MURIS / ISDF: Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements and the affiliated Informal Settlements Development Fund
  - Ms. Dr. Manal Shaheen: head of the Northern Governorates, responsible for the socio-economic development all over Egyp
  - Ms. Dr. Soad Naguib: Manager of Monitoring & Implementation
  - Ms. Suzan Nader: Project Monitoring Unit
  - Mr. Dr. Sherif Al-Gohary: Manager, Technical Assistance and Capacity Building

II.   Governorate Cairo
  - Mr. Khalil Shaat: Governor Advisor and Supervisor of the 'Urban upgrading unit' (coordinating unit, responsible for the coordination of unsafe and unplanned areas; (employed by GIZ)

III.   Local district authority of Old Cairo
  - Mr. Mamdouh Ghafar: Engineer
  - Mr. Mohammed Abo El-Enen: Engineer

Expert organisations belonging to the Egyptian Civil Society, which are concerned about housing, land and human rights, form the second group of stakeholders.

Their aim is to raise local and global awareness, to put pressure on governmental entities, and to empower communities by supporting their economic, social, cultural, political and civil rights. Within the study the following organisations were carefully selected, due to their significant activities:

I.   **Habitat International Coalition (HIC):**
       The network was founded nearly 40 years ago as non-governmental counterpart to the UN-Habitat conferences and approach. HIC is a global network that "works in the defence, promotion, and realization of human rights related to housing and land" with local offices and member organisations (HIC, 2015).
       - Mr. Ahmed Mansour: Lawyer

II.   **Egyptian Centre for Social and Economic Rights (ECESR):**
       ECESR, founded in 2009, has a broad variety of programs, which include inter alia: economic rights, criminal justice, and social rights. One focus is the legal assistance in cases of forced evictions of informal settlement dwellers (ECESR 2015). Together with EIPR it is one of the biggest NGOs in Egypt.
       - Mr. Hatem Zayed: Political and social scientist; former program director of the housing section (left in March 2015)

III.   **Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR) and 10 Tooba:**
       EIPR provides and conducts since 2002 advocacy, research, and legal support to protect and foster basic rights in Egypt.
       10 Tooba is an interdisciplinary group, founded in 2015, which focuses on applied research and participatory planning.
       - Mr. Yahia Shawkat: Architect and housing rights researcher

IV.   **Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (ECHR):**
       ECHR is a non-governmental organization founded in 1998. They advocate for the right to adequate housing, particularly for the most vulnerable part of the society. ECHR is a member of the HIC network. (Cairo Urban Initiatives Platform, 2015).
       - Ms. Manal El-Tibi: Human rights activist and director of ECHR

V. **Egyptian Center for Civil and Legislative Reform (ECCLR):**
Founded in 2011, it focuses on legal issues, representing and supporting inhabitants to strive for their rights, especially their right to adequate housing. ECRCL is a member of the HIC network.

- Mr. Mohamed Abdel Azim: Lawyer
- Mr. Baher Shawky: Political scientist

VI. **Tadamun and Takween:**
Were founded in 2012 and fight for the achievement of the equal right to the city for all citizens. In coalitions with diverse stakeholders both related organizations strive for the planning and implementation of "realistic alternatives and solutions for existing urban problems" (Tadamun, 2015a).

- **Mr. Kareem Ibrahim: Architect and urban planner**

VII. **Amnesty International:**
Representatives could not be met due to their aspired anonymity and partly leaving of the country. Therefore, their extensive report from 2011 "We are not dirt- Forced evictions in Egypt's informal settlements" was analysed.

VIII. **Laywer of Ezbet Kharallah: member of the organization Peace and Plenty, that strives for residents of unplanned areas to live with "dignity in healthy and safe environments, with equal opportunities" (Peace and Plenty Association, 2010).**

- **Mr. Ahmed Mustafa: Lawyer**

The *third group* is formed by the affected inhabitants themselves:

I. **The people still living in area B in Istabl Antar, classified as life-threatening, and therefore awaiting relocation**

- **14 persons were interviewed (for protection reasons the names of all inhabitants will be kept anonymous)**

II.   Inhabitants from Istabl Antar who were relocated to Haram City and Masaken Othman

- 14 inhabitants, further divided into two groups, the first which was relocated from 2009 to 2010, now living in Haram City and the second, living in Masaken Othman

III.   People, who returned back to Istabl Antar after being relocated to one of the two relocation sites

- 2 inhabitants

For the conduction of a sound analysis of the eviction process, it was necessary to approach all of the aforementioned stakeholders. Through these encounters, first-hand information could be retrieved, that enabled to take into consideration all the different perspectives and experiences.

The third stakeholder group, the affected inhabitants, were not only asked to provide information for the process analysis, but were additionally requested to take part in the Quality of Life study. For the purpose of this study a sample of 30 participants, divided into four groups, was selected. The selection followed a single-level method, with purposeful sampling, whereby the interviewees were selected by taking specific characteristics into consideration (Atteslander 2010: 274). These are: gender equality (half men, half women), job situation (half of the women working, half being housewives), age variety (between 20 and 45 years), marital status (either married or engaged) and mixed educational background. The mentioned age and marital status were chosen to meet the main target group of the quality of life study, assuming that they are considering the best available living area for themselves and their family. As the last attribute, a geographical distribution of the location of the inhabitants' flats all over the settlement was considered. As mentioned above, the sample size of 30 participants is divided into four groups. The first group consists of 14 inhabitants awaiting relocation and living still in Istabl Antar in area B, indicated by the ISDF as unsafe grade I (life-threatening). In this group the tenure status of the interviewed persons was used as an additional selection characteristic - half of them were building owners, and half of them were tenants. This compliance was done to assure a diverse opinion about the preference of staying or moving, what is important for the QoL. The second group consists for comparison reasons as well of 14 inhabitants. These

14 people are further divided into two groups. Eight were asked in Haram City, and six in Masaken Othman. This is based on the fact, that a higher percentage of people were relocated to Haram City. The last of the four groups is the one of the relocated but returned people to Istabl Antar. However, this group consists only of two persons. This small number is contradicting the information given by officials, civil society representatives and inhabitants, that an estimated percentage ranging between 20-50%, left the provided flats. Nevertheless, due to their unattainability, only two were interviewed and questioned. The explanation of the 'non-detectability' and 'non-reachability' of the returned people in Istabl Antar – despite an intensive search – can be traced back to two issues. On the one hand, the fact that apparently many returned to nearby other informal areas like Dar El Salam due to space scarcities in Istabl Antar. These adjacent areas, however, were not part of the research. On the other hand, some other persons who were not contacted by the author directly, but by other inhabitants from Masaken Othman, were not available. They seemed worried to give information because of the illegality of their house selling act.

4.2 Process Analysis

The analysis of the eviction process aimed to examine and investigate the conducted steps and the thereby occurring problems, experienced out of the view of the three stakeholder groups. As framework served the combined steps provided by the two guidelines from the UN (Basic Principles on development-based Evictions and Displacement, 2007) and the IASC (Operational Guidelines on the Protection of persons in situations of Natural Disaster, 2011), which are divided into three main sections: before, during and after eviction.

4.2.1 Data Collection Methods

To conduct the process analysis, the following data collection methods were used:

Semi-structured interviews:
The interviews were done in a semi-structured way, meaning that they consist of predetermined key-questions. This method establishes a clear frame, but provides on the other hand the freedom to add, omit, or change the order of questions, depending on the particular interview partner. The primary aim is to encourage the person to respond freely and holistically by avoiding closed end-

questions (Teijlingen 2014). For the analysis of the interviews descriptive coding was applied.

Mapping during site-visits:
The site visits, which lasted 10 days and were conducted in Istabl Antar, Haram City, and Masaken Othman provided an opportunity to interview the inhabitants, as well an opportunity to map the existing facilities that were directly seen or located after interview partners described them.

Observations:
Beside interviewing and mapping tasks, the site visits were used to observe in a non-participatory way the usage of provided services and areas such as green spaces, as well as to observe the establishment and usage of facilities like small (illegal) shops or playing ground (cf. Kumar, 2011:150).

4.3. Quality of Life Study

As one aspect, the fulfilment of the seven factors of 'adequate housing' (cf. table 2-1) was analysed during the conduction of the previously displayed process analysis. The quality of life study aims to achieve a deeper look into and investigation of the living situation of the people. The inhabitants of the areas Haram City, Masaken Othman, and the life threatening part of Istabl Antar, were asked to evaluate 'hard factors' like service provisions as well as 'soft factors' like relationship to neighbours. The already relocated people were also asked to judge these factors in comparison to their former living area Istabl Antar.

4.3.1. Data Collection Methods

Questionnaire:
The data were collected by using a questionnaire which incorporated mainly quantitative, but also qualitative questions. Some questions resembled the ones of a household-survey, which were added in order to be able to compare within the three areas aspects like monthly rent, amount for the electricity bill, and so on. The main part of the questions followed the structure of a quality of life study, (cf. chapter 2.4). These questions are concerned with the satisfaction or agreement of the inhabitants with a statement or situation.
The questionnaire was read aloud by the author - respectively the translator - to

ensure that all questions were understood, also by illiterate persons. Furthermore clarifications and explanations could be given, by assuring at the same time, that the missing data were limited to a minimum.

4.3.1.1 Construction of Research Instrument

To follow the construction of the questionnaire, it is advisable to consider the underlying theory of this quality of life study, which was presented in chapter 2.4.

Questionnaire Design:

Within the developed questionnaire, the two concepts of Personal Domain and Environmental Domain with their respective sub-domains were followed (cf. chapter 2.4). Additionally, it was asked to directly score the 'global satisfaction with life' and the 'global neighbourhood satisfaction'. The questionnaire layout is based on a questionnaire description by Westaway, developed for an investigation of the satisfaction of informal settlement dwellers in South Africa, who have either been relocated to a new housing estate, are awaiting relocation, got a site tenure allocated, or live in a squatter camp (Westaway 2006). She applied the following subdomains for:

1. The personal quality of life: satisfaction with oneself, partner, family life, friends, time to do things, neighbours, income, social life and health. This 9-item scale was adapted by her from Adams (Westaway 2006: 181). In the questionnaire prepared for this present research, the aspects of satisfaction with partner, time to do things and social life were excluded due to cultural aspects and misunderstanding risks.

2. The environmental quality of life: satisfaction with housing, schools, health transport, refuse removal, street lighting, police service, recreational facilities, local government, and employment opportunities. Westaway adapted this 10-item scale from Jeffres and Dobos (Westaway, 2006: 182). Within the present work, it was further adapted by excluding the aspect of local government, owing to the current critical political situation – in order to avoid a drift into political discussions and biased further answers.

In this thesis, each question concerning the satisfaction or agreement is measured by three-directional categories, a so-called 'Likert scale', meaning it is possible to "determine positive, negative and neutral positions in the study population", which additionally offers the possibility to sum up the answers (Kumar 2011:180). The most negative crossing-possibility gets the number 1 (very dissatisfied), the highest one the number 5 (very satisfied). 3 means neutral, whereas 2 and 4 are dissatisfied respectively satisfied. The questionnaire can be found in its English version in the appendix 4.

Analysis of the study:
The data analysis was done using SPSS statistics version 22 and Excel. The first step was a descriptive statistic data analysis. Due to the small sample size, it was abstained to indicate the correlation by the Pearsons r coefficient values and the statistically significance, because single outliers would have an immense effect in this case. The average values for the different living areas are shown by the mean value, not the median. This decision was made considering the suitability and higher precision for this sample size. Furthermore, attention was paid to the distribution.

4.4 Limitations

Eviction is a sensitive topic, for the government - torn between the fulfilment of international, national standards, the need to protect human lives, financial constraints and political agenda - but just as sensitive for the inhabitants, who suffered the loss of their home in a forced and partly undesirable way and perhaps also did not always stick to legal procedures.

Despite a careful preparation of the interviews and a conscious conduction, it cannot be excluded that some information were not fully provided due to the stated confidentiality of some information, or in a few cases perhaps also based on constraints of the inhabitants towards the researcher. The latter, however, was, if present, mainly only at the beginning, and typically was overcome after a description of the research. A further restriction is that the perspective of the Governorate Cairo was presented through Khalil Shaat, the Governor Advisor. He emphasised that he is expressing things he observes, and is not directly a part of the Governorate. Irrespective his information can be seen as comprehensive, since he has been Governor Advisor for 8 years, as well as having inherited the

position of the supervisor of the nine-person unit responsible for the coordination and implementation of the plans for unsafe and unplanned areas. Since he is employed by the GIZ and therefore more independent and free to give also critical statements, it can be seen even as advantage to talk directly to him instead of talking to employees of the Governorate. Another limitation can be seen in the fact that the quality of life study was conducted with a sample of 30 people only. This number, which cannot be considered as fully representative, was chosen due to time and resource constraints. It is supposed to gain and display a first overview and impression, and calls for a more comprehensive and representative assessment. For conducting the inhabitant interviews, the researcher relied on an accompanying translator. This constraint, however, was reflected within the research methodology (cf. Fersch, 2013). Therefore, the two translators were carefully chosen, having both an urban planning background and experience in conducting field studies in the context of informal areas. Furthermore, the preparation of the semi-structured interview guideline and the development of the questionnaire for the quality of life study, both previously translated into Arabic, provided a fixed framework. This was combined with a previous briefing and internal discussion, trying to minimise translation related gaps.

Last but not least - building up on the previous point – it surely is very demanding to conduct a research in a country, where one is not fully able to speak the language. Within the present thesis, therefore, obstacles had to be overcome during searching for local data, reading these, and contacting stakeholders speaking mainly Arabic. All in all, this could be mostly circumvented by carefully selecting translators and having the possibility to address further persons. Stepping back, it can also partly be seen as an advantage being a foreign researcher– having another cultural background and experiences, and a greater distance to possibly hindering local responsibilities and connections. Accordingly, the language barrier can be seen as limitation, but also as challenge to put even more effort and precise views on the subject of research.

5. Process Analysis: Eviction of Istabl Antar

Eviction processes are very complex procedures – especially if the goal is full resettlement and rehabilitation afterwards. As elaborated in the second chapter, this implies that the inhabitants are able to permanently settle down. The main aspects hereby are that the inhabitants are successful in establishing strong neighbourhood networks, are provided with all necessary basic services and infrastructure, and are able to secure livelihood by maintaining their job or achieving to find a new one.

The process of eviction consists of three main stages. The first stage is the period of preparation, the second stage is the physical relocation from place A to place B, and the third stage, following the physical moving act, is the new living situation. All stages will be subsequently analysed in the following subchapters. The examination of the first and second stage , the process analysis, follows an analytical and descriptive method, taking into account the different stakeholders. The relevant stakeholder groups were defined, described and individually listed in the previous chapter. These are: 1. governmental entities, 2. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) of Cairo concerned with the topic of eviction, and 3. the affected inhabitants themselves. The information for the subsequent descriptive analyses was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews of the respective representatives. The questions for the three groups were adapted and expanded as appropriate. Each interview followed the same structure, derived from four main questions: From 'Why' (eviction), to 'How' (processes before and during), to 'What' (happened after the physical relocation), to the fourth and last question, asking for a reflection on the whole process (see interview guide, appendix 3). The following overview expresses and analyses their different experiences and point of views.

5.1 Process Overview

As indicated, the beginning of the eviction process was the rockslide in Duweiqa in 2008, which led to the establishment of the ISDF. Thereupon three independent technical committees, consisting of scientists with various backgrounds, were established. The scientists were part of the central authority for mineral resources, and received the task to examine the geological circumstances in the potentially unsafe areas (Algohery, 2015; Shaat, 2015). In collaboration with each Governorate, categorisation and subdivision processes took place (Shaat 2015). Next, a survey within the unsafe areas was conducted, which resulted in the identification and marking of the houses of the inhabitants who should be relocated.

Figure 5-1/2/3 Marked houses in Istabl Antar (markings from 2009)
Source: author

Subsequently, three scenarios took place. Within the first scenario I. (Fig. 5-4), people of the marked houses were approached and informed by District officials, that they should collect their belongings. Hereafter, they were relocated within the next one or two days. Flats were provided, in an early phase in Haram City, and then, after this area was occupied, in Masaken Othman. Both areas are remote, located next to 6th of October, Giza Governorate, 30-40 km away from their original living area Istabl Antar (see Fig. 3-11). The second scenario II. describes people, who were first relocated, but then, for different reasons (to be elaborated shortly), returned to Istabl Antar or nearby areas. The third scenario III. addresses the situation of people still remaining in Istabl Antar within the unsafe, life-threatening area. Their houses were marked as well, but these inhabitants were never approached afterwards (See Fig 5-1/2/3). This scenario overview is depicted in the following diagram.
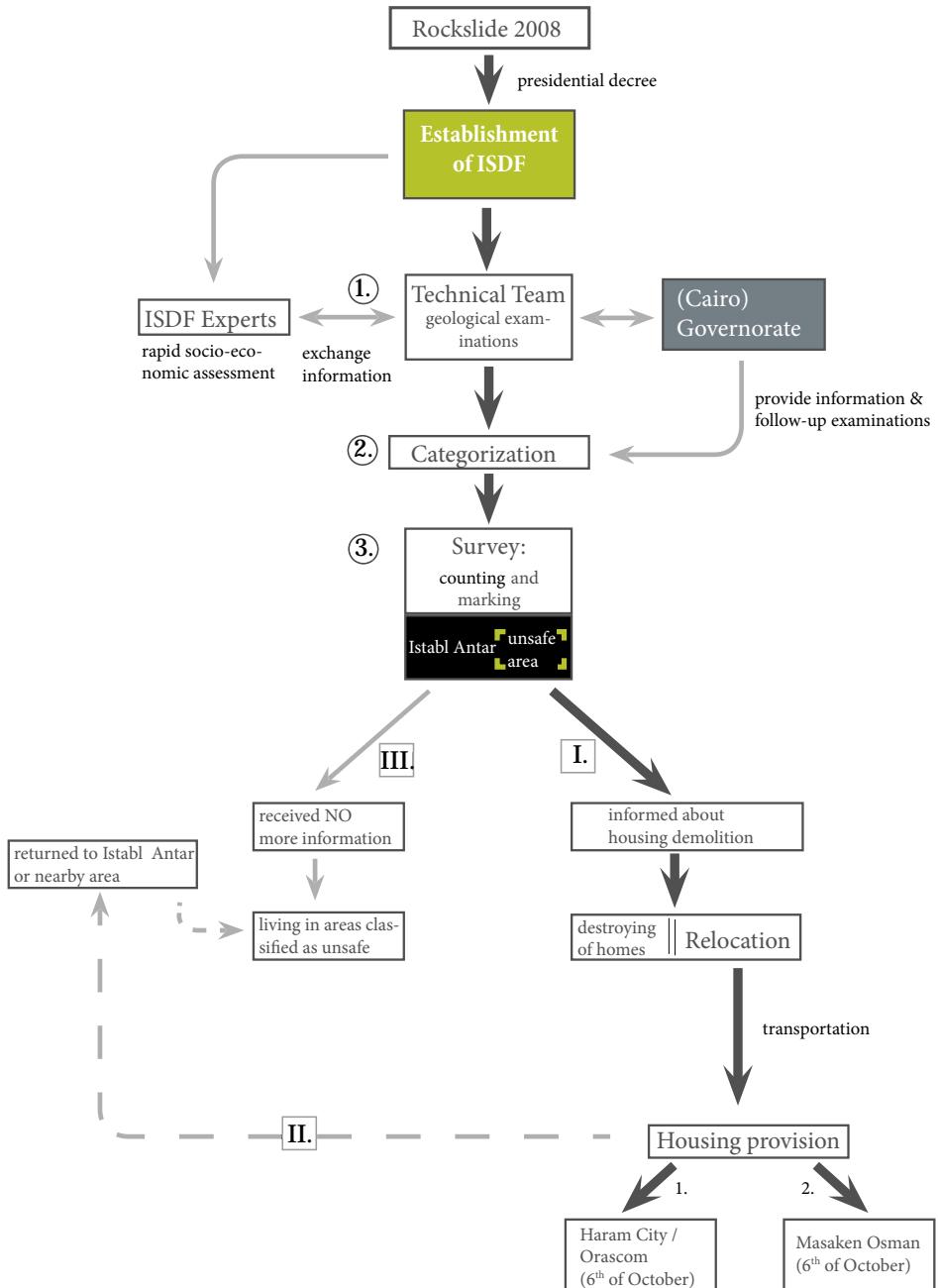
Figure 5-4 Process overview
Source: author

During the conducted interviews, this structure was explained and affirmed by all stakeholders. However, divergent descriptions arose, concerning the details of the consecutive steps illustrated above. These will be presented and discussed in the following sections.

The entire process will be described and analysed in depth, following the structure of the combined two relevant guidelines: *UN Guidelines* and *IASC Guidelines* (cf. chapter 2.1.3.2 and 1.3). As previously stated, the problematic aspect with the cited (and all other) international guidelines is that they are not directly legally binding – so long as they are not anchored within national law. Nevertheless, they will be applied in the following assessment, due to the fact that Egypt's Constitution of 2014, Article 78 affirms Egypt's adherence to previously ratified international agreements. The steps taken will be analysed chronologically – before, during, and after eviction. The focus hereby is to investigate not only the compliance to the steps required by these international agreements, but also to examine the reasons and root causes for eventual deviations.

5.1.1 BEFORE Eviction

The two referred guidelines require the following main aspects be ensured (cf. table 1-1):

- Genuine consultation & participation: public hearing and discussion on proposed plan/ evacuation and alternatives
- Technical assessment of the degree of risk
- Prior notification to the inhabitants, including why, where, and when the eviction is going to take place (written in the local language)
- Information on rights and access to legal counsel, without payment
- Conduction of an eviction impact assessment
- Adequate compensation

5.1.1.1 Categorisation

The first and second step (①. ②, cf. Fig 5-4) towards eviction concern the determination of areas with life threatening characteristics, performed via technical assessments. For this purpose, the ISDF initiated a two-step process. First, known and suspected unplanned and unsafe areas were documented with the help of the local municipalities. The identified areas and their boundaries were verified via field visits. Furthermore, scientific experts formed three technical committees, each composed of eight to ten experts with backgrounds like soil-mechanics and quarrying. They carried out in situ geological examinations in each affected area (Shaat, 2015a; Shaheen, 2015). In the second step, following a rapid assessment, basic social and economic information about the areas was

gathered by so called 'ISDF-experts' (Khalifa 2011, Salheen 2009a). After the completion of these two steps, the identified areas were classified according to the newly developed four categories, grades I-IV(cf. Fig. 3-2). The ISDF identified 16 areas within the Governorate of Cairo belonging to grade I, life-threatening (Faramawy and Algohery, 2010:11). Khali Shaat, Governor Advisor, explained during an interview that this number of 16 areas was increased to 24 by the Governorate of Cairo—pointing out, that the first evaluation by ISDF and the technical committee then followed by a more detailed analysis by the Governorate itself, in collaboration with the same technical team (2015b).

Representatives of the ISDF and the Governorate emphasised in interviews that it is their priority to save lives (Algohery, 2015; Shaat, 2015a; Shaheen, 2015). They noted, that it is their duty to react as soon as possible; otherwise they will be held legally responsible if further accidents occur. Khalil Shaat referred to the rockslide in 2008, when six politicians were imprisoned for acting with gross negligence (2015a). They were accused of not having reacted despite several hints, warnings and complaints from various parties. For example, ECHR filed a lawsuit at that time, describing the instability of the mountain and the expectation of a rockslide (HIC, 2010). In order to avoid being held liable and being imprisoned, the experts tend to relocate more people than absolutely necessary.

The classifications and the respective area boundaries of 'grade I' were criticised and questioned by some, among them a lawyer working in Ezbet Khairallah. Mr. Mustafa pleaded for a more detailed analysis, and, in order to minimise the number of displaced persons, a geological stabilisation instead of an eviction (Mustafa, 2015). Mr. Zayed from ECESR criticised additionally that the geological reports were not made publically accessible, and therefore no independent investigation was possible (2015). Another claim brought by Ahmed Mansour, a representative of HIC-Mena, points out that in some cases his and partner institutions questioned the later extension of the border of areas defined as unsafe. He described a case located at the border between Cairo and Qalyubia Governorate, in which it was claimed that the borders of the 'unsafe' area were extended afterwards to provide more land for an adjacent petroleum company (Mansour, 2015).

The aforementioned second step conducted by the ISDF experts, the gathering of social and economic information, was also questioned by some civic society organisations, claiming that the information gathered was by far not detailed

enough, and was also not available to the public (Ibrahim, 2015; Mansour, 2015; Shawky, 2015). Ahmed Mansour from HIC refers in this context to the requested eviction impact assessment (OHCHR, 2007; article: 32), which would have included a collection of holistic socio-economic data, containing detailed information about personal belongings and other possible losses, important data for the provision of a "full and fair compensation" (ibid, article: 21).

5.1.1.2 Surveying Process and Compensation System

After the categorisation of the areas was conducted as displayed above, the district authorities and the Ministry of Interior, represented by police officers, were informed about the exact extents of the unsafe areas. In the case of Istabl Antar, a buffer zone was defined, extending over 20 m on both sides along the cliff (Ghaar & El Enen, 2015). Within this area defined as unsafe, a survey was conducted to create a list with names of eligible inhabitants (③, Fig 5-4). The surveying process was a joint effort of the Governorate and the District authority (Shaat 2015b, Naguib 2015, El-Enen 2015). One of the major problems facing relocation processes worldwide is the determination of deserving beneficiaries. The task of counting and surveying is complicated and complex, and is often linked to official control. Therefore, the whole process might be "treated with great suspicion" and results in "mistrust on the (…) side [of the inhabitants] and frustration [due to] (…) the lack of usable relevant data on the other [side of the officials]" (GLTN and UN-Habitat, 2010).

The first task within this process is the search for evidence of who is really living in the affected area. Accepted as valid evidence, in the case of Istabl Antar, were among others: birth certificates, rental contracts (in the vast majority of cases these do not exist), electricity bills and water meters registered in the own name, marriage certificates, and ID cards (El-Enen, 2015; Ibrahim 2015; Inhabitants, 1,4,8, 2015; Naguib, 2015; Shaat, 2015b). It was also reported that, in addition, more questionable proofs were taken into account. A resident reported that the committee inspected her fridge to check the amount of goods, in order to estimate the number of inhabitants (inhabitant 1, 2015). Similar cases were earlier reported by AI, in which the number of dishes, cutlery or even underwear was counted (2011: 95). Specific national guidelines for the process seemed not to exist, as was later confirmed by S. Naguib from ISDF (2015). Sherif Algohery, also employee of the ISDF, stated in an interview, that he "thinks" that the Governorates made internal guidelines according to Egyptian law

and additionally based on their experience (Algohery, 2015). Khalil Shaat, the Governor Advisor of Cairo, explained when being consulted on this topic, that Governorate-internal guidelines were developed, but not before 2014. He stated, that these [unpublished] guidelines contained many important aspects, however, he criticised their continuing lack of implementation. In his point of view, this non-compliance causes serious problems (2015c).

Returning to the process in Istabl Antar: the appearance of the above described survey committee was announced only one or two days in advance, in an effort not to attract outsiders to move suddenly into the area (Ghaar, 2015). Physical violence was not mentioned and can be seen as absolute exception, as confirmed by the people interviewed. Only one representative of the ISDF reported a few aggressive inhabitants.

The greatest challenges arising out of surveying processes are the irregularities that emerge. Several reasons for this can be defined. As mentioned above, the first is that such surveying processes are often viewed with great distrust by the inhabitants, which, in turn can lead the inhabitants providing misleading information. In the present case, a second reason has to be mentioned and analysed. This is the compensation system used, which significantly affected the course of the surveying process. It was applied in the following way: each family living in a flat in the unsafe area was declared eligible to receive one flat, owners and tenants alike (Ghaar & El Enen, 2015; Shaat, 2015a; El-Tibi, 2015) (see Fig.5-5).
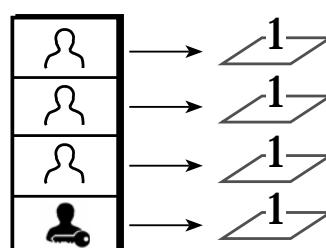
Figure 5-5 old compensation system: one flat per inhabitant family
Source: author

Legend:

$ payment	surveying list (modified)	survey committee
thrown out	flat in unsafe area	Broker
Renter	Relatives/ friends	
Owner	Owner/ Renter	

Several problems emerged from this system. The first complication arose when **an owner did not accept the fact that a renter should receive exactly the same compensation as her-/ himself, or if she/ he was not living in the house at all,** and therefore was not qualified to receive a flat. In these cases, the following **proceedings were reported (cf. diagrams):**

1. **Some tenants were forced to pay the owner an amount between 5 000 to 10 000 EGP after signing a contract agreeing to do so. If** they refused, the tenants were asked or forced to leave.

2. The owner of the flat forced his/her tenants to reduce their occupied space, for the sake of making room for other people to move in. For example, a family that was renting two or three rooms was asked **to move into only one room. The newly emptied rooms were then given to another family to move in (preferably from the same area,** so that the correct district would be named on the ID, 'simplifying' the surveying process). This new family and sometimes also the 'old' tenant was then, as in case one, asked to pay a certain amount of money to the owner of the flat.

3. **The same strategy was also adopted by tenants themselves, either to** make money, or simply to provide the opportunity of a replacement flat for relatives or friends.

4. **Couples were said to have divorced each other and then divided the** flat into more flats; or one partner moved into another room in the **unsafe area, in order to gain the chance to receive more apartments.**
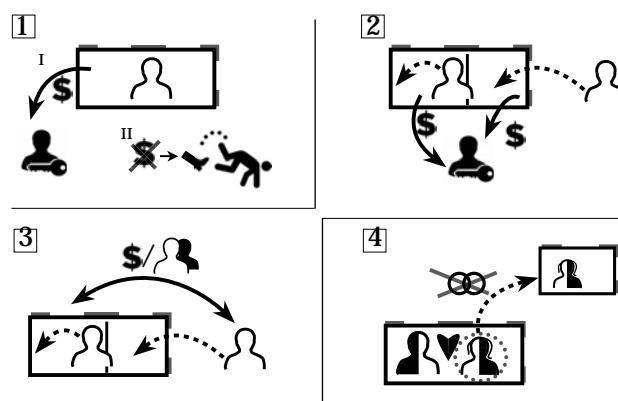
Figure 5-6 Informal proceedings to receive a flat (1-4)
Source: **author**

In the next cases listed here, the surveying committee members were claimed to be involved in the process themselves:
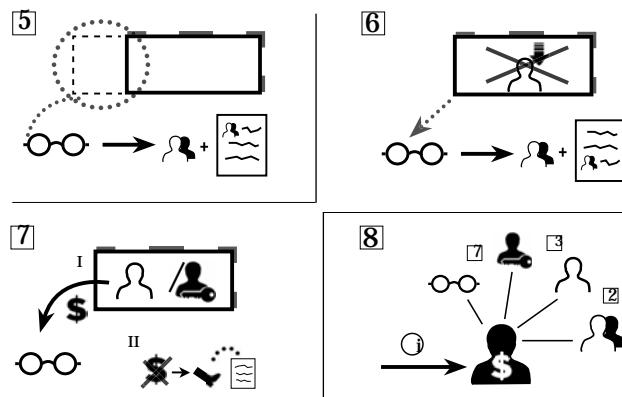
Figure 5-7 Informal proceedings to receive a flat (5-8)
Source: author (graphics based on information from El-Enen and Ghaar, 2015; El-Tibi, 2105; inhabitants 2, 4, 29, 36 and 38, 2015; Mansour, 2015; Mustafa, 2015; Shaat 2015b, Khalil, 2012).

5.   They were reported to invent additional non-existing rooms and flats, in order to put their own name or the one of relatives on the list.

6.   The same seemed to happen if inhabitants were not available during the survey.

7.   Some inhabitants – tenants or owners – were apparently counted and put on the list, but then asked to pay a bribe – if they refused, there was the threat of being removed from the list.

       A remark on aspect No. 7: One interviewed inhabitant of Masaken Othman explained from his own experience what could happen in such a case. He refused to pay the demanded bribe in Istabl Antar. After being relocated to Haram City, he was informed that his name was not on the list. As a result, he had to transport all his belongings back to Istabl Antar at his own expense. Unfortunately, his house had already been destroyed. Therefore, he lived with several other families who shared his fate for around five months next to El-Raschat Mosque in Istabl Antar, until ECHR succeeded in claiming a flat for him (inhabitant 19, 2015).

It became even more complicated, when further parties entered the process:

8.   So-called 'brokers' become intermediaries. They received information or heard about the approaching counting of the inhabitants in the area. Then, these brokers got in touch with flat owners, the surveying committee, the tenants, and potential families to apply one or more of the above mentioned illegal steps.

The subsequent paragraph states reasons for the occurrence of the above displayed mechanisms, as expressed by different interviewed stakeholders:

- One possible explanation, offered by representatives of governmental entities, is that many inhabitants are "greedy" and try to "rip off" the Government (Nader, 2015; Shaat, 2015c).
- Khalil Shaat (Governor Advisor) explained that he does not only blame the inhabitants. He expressed his opinion that one part of the problem is that the "government is very weak". He added that there are "some corrupt people in some of these committees" (2015a/b). The allegation against the survey committee of being corrupt and open to bribery was additionally repeated by several inhabitants and interviewed representatives of the civil society.
- A third reason, explained by an inhabitant, is that there is a lot of time for the flats' inhabitants to organise in the previously explained variants. Even if the announcement for the survey was only made several days before, the inhabitants heard about upcoming surveys within presidential announcements on the television, following the rockslide. After the geological committee was seen by some inhabitants in the area, the information spread, enhanced by rumours from people with connections to the surveying committee. As a result of these information, sufficient time was available to arrange the inhabitants (inhabitant 36, 2015).
- The fourth reason, contributing to the above described problems, is the "missing trust and credibility" between the inhabitants and officials, as was described by two ISDF employees (Naguib and Nader, 2015). An example of this is the fear expressed by inhabitants of not being on the surveying list, and therefore ineligible to receive an apartment.

- Finally, yet important to mention, is the fact that the majority of people **living in informal areas, especially in the areas prone to natural hazards,** are the most deprived in the city, being unable to find another affordable living area with the same proximity to services and working opportunities. **Therefore, it might be understandable, that the people – be they house owners or tenants – have felt neglected by the government for a long time,** and see their chance and possibility to improve at least their financial **situation by following one of the eight proceedings displayed.**

The following graphics provides an overview of the analysed processes, stakeholders and problems.
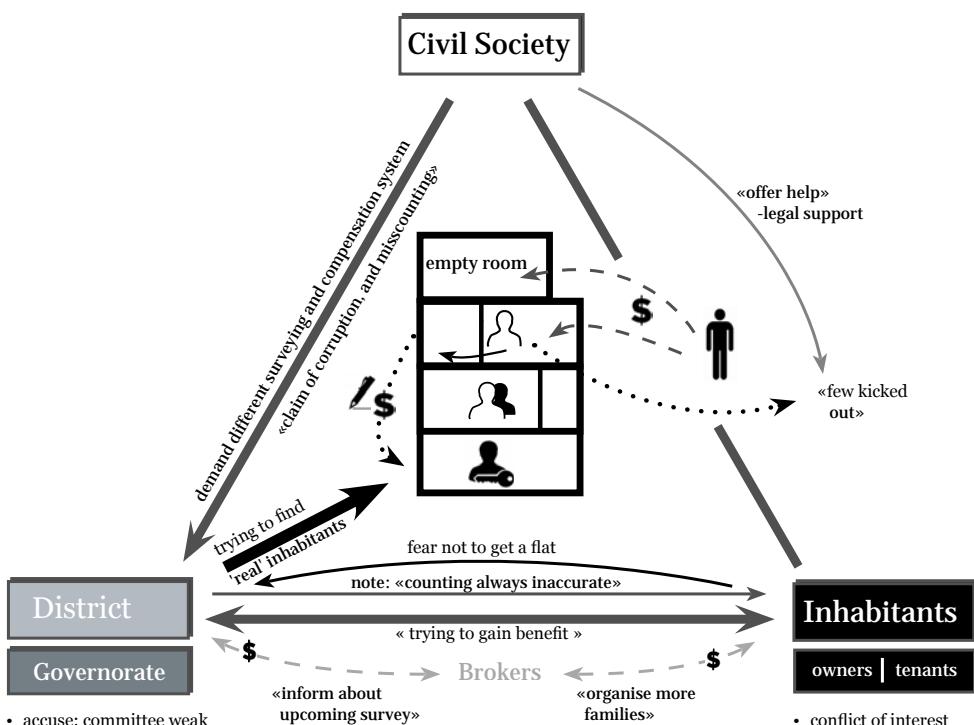
Figure 5- 8 Overview of parties involved, and of informal proceedings to receive a flat
Source: author

To sum it up, the compensation system itself, as implemented in 2008-2011, appeared to trigger unlawful behaviour of the various parties involved. Therefore, it leaves much space for improvement. Further elaboration on these possible improvements will follow in the sixth chapter.

5.1.1.3 Genuine Consultation and Participation

All international guidelines concerning evictions, among them the two selected for this study (*UN Guidelines* and *IASC Guidelines*), insist on involving the affected inhabitants through holistic participation and consultation during the whole process (OHCHR 2007, para. 38, 55; IASC 2011: 16, CESCR 1991; 1997). The urgent situation and the struggle to provide flats for the victims of the rockslide were mentioned by administrative representatives to have been the reasons why no consultation with the people happened (Shaheen, 2015; Shaat 2015a). However, it is indicated in international guidelines, that even in case of an emergency, a genuine consultation and participation has to be implemented – "to the maximum extent" it allows (IASC, 2011:11). The limiting wording "to the maximum extent" allows opens space for discussion. As shown above, the governmental representatives explained that their first and foremost aim was to save lives without any kind of delay (Algohery, 2015; El-Enen, 2015; Naguib, 2015; Shaat, 2015a; Shaheen, 2015). In the case of Istabl Antar, the evictions were conducted in 2009, 2010 and 2011 – without consultation. Therefore, it might be questioned – at least for the evictions conducted in 2010 and 2011 – if time pressure was really the decisive reason. Ahmed Mansour and further civil society representatives are sceptical. They claim that even within a time frame of a few months it is possible to consult the inhabitants in a proper participatory way (Azim, 2015; El-Tibi, 2015; Mansour, 2015). Manal Shaheen, part of ISDF, admits that inhabitants should be involved in such projects and points out, that in later projects, especially since the establishment of the new Ministry (MURIS), participatory approaches are included and aimed at (2015).

5.1.1.4 Notification on the Imminent Eviction

The General Comment No. 7 recommends "reasonable notice (…) prior to the scheduled date of eviction" (1991: article 15b). The UN Fact Sheet 25 further elaborates:

> *"Residents should receive a notification of the decision of eviction well in advance, and in an adequate form and language". That includes "justification for the decision, indicating why there is no other alternative, information on the chronology of events (…), compensation (…), and complaint procedures"*

<div align="right">(OHCHR, 2014:31)</div>

Khalil Shaat explained, that a written administrative notification was provided for the inhabitants, including name, date, and where they would be relocated (2015c). This statement was contradicted by the vast majority of interviewed inhabitants, who recalled having been informed only in an oral way without any of the details, described above. This also led to the situation that persons were relocated without assurance or proof of eligibility to receive a flat in the new living area. Only one inhabitant mentioned having received a paper stating that he deserved a flat (inhabitant 18, 2015).

Further research would be needed to determine if the requested notifications were handed out or not, and to what extent.

5.1.2 DURING Eviction

The guidelines forming the basis for the present analysis demand the conformity of the process with the following aspects, and lead to the subsequent investigations (cf. table 1-1):

- Provision of clear information regarding the process
- Salvage of all belongings and protection of those left behind
- Transportation should be provided and be free of charge
- Evictions should not take place at night or during bad weather
- No threat of health and life should occur, and the dignity of affected inhabitants has to be respected
- Clearly identifiable authorities are present and neutral observers
- Monitoring and securing of post disaster area (during and after eviction)

5.1.2.1 Physical Relocation

The physical relocation took place in Istabl Antar at various times, not at once, as seen in Fig. 3-10. Mr. Ghaar and Mr. El-Enen from the District authority explained that before the revolution, around 20 houses per day were relocated. Locations were chosen according to availability and urgency (2015).

As a first step of the physical relocation, notification of the imminent removal was given, usually one or two days beforehand. This short time period and the oral form of the notification was again justified with the explanation that otherwise, more people might suddenly move into the area in order to claim eligibility (ibid). A prior published and verified list of eligible persons would

help in this situation, as will be discussed in chapter 6.1.2. The second step of the physical relocation includes the vacation of the houses and the process of moving the goods and the people. This process took place, as reported by the interviewees, in compliance with international agreements, without violence. An inhabitant added to this topic, that the police presence was too strong to disobey (inhabitant 4, 2015). However, verbal discussions were the normal case. Paragraph 45 of the *UN Guidelines* demands the presence and identification of governmental officials and their representatives. In the case of Istabl Antar, the employees of the local district reported that the district was represented by its chief and several administrative staff from different departments: relocation, observation, illegal occupation, and rehabilitation. Furthermore, they explained, that the Ministry of Interior was represented by the police chief of Old Cairo (district) and by further officers. Governorate members were also present, as well as the public contractor company 'Al Arab', which was in charge of the housing demolitions (El-Enen, 2015). For the removal process, both guidelines ask for the presence of independent observers. It could not be verified free of doubt if independent observers were present for the evictions of Istabl Antar. From the interviewed CSOs, nobody was present during these periods. The Egyptian Center for Housing Rights, however, stated that they changed their strategy from trying to serve the people after the relocation to provide mainly support before and during the relocation process (El-Tibi, 2015). Transportation to the new living areas is supposed to be provided by the Governorate (El-Enen and Ghafar, 2015; Shaat, 2015) this was actually affirmed by the majority of the residents. Nevertheless, cases were reported where the relocated persons either had to pay for the transport or even had to organise it by themselves. Another incident that occurred was that there was not enough space available on the truck for the furniture of the residents (inhabitant 8, 18, 19, 35, 2015). Additionally, some houses were demolished while the former inhabitants were still present, which might lead to avoidable negative psychological impacts (inhabitant 15, 26, 2015). The immediate demolition of the houses after vacation was explained to be necessary for preventing other people from moving back into these houses classified as unsafe. It was clarified from the official side that the demolition is supposed to take place after the residents have left and received their new flats (Shaat, 2015b). A problem expressed by many of the inhabitants who remained in Istabl Antar was the rubble of the destroyed houses, since everything was just left on the spot. This poses health issues and the possibility for children to get

injured or to fall from the cliff, what is in contradiction to the request of the IASC Guidelines to secure the site of evacuation with appropriate measures, like a fence (2011: 20). Due to the amount of rubble and lack of security, the severe **problem occurred that the freshly emptied space was still accessible, but could** not be reused, and was instead occupied by "dubious people like drug dealers", **as reported by different sides (inhabitant 4, 1, 7, 10, 14, 2015; AI, 2011:15). These** aspects provoke(d) occurring security risks in the area.

5.1.3 AFTER Eviction

The last of the three analytical parts concerning the procedural stages of an eviction, investigates the situation afterwards. The following points, retrieved from the two discussed guidelines, form the basis for the subsequent chapter (cf. table 1-1).

- No one should be left homeless
- Provision of adequate housing, fully functional before moving **(According to the 7 aspects of the General Comments No. 4, para. 8)**
- Monitoring of living situation (short-, medium- and long term)
- Training and skill development as well as employment **opportunities should be offered**
- Feedback possibilities should be enabled

5.1.3.1 Housing Provision

After the severe rockslide happened in 2008, the political decision makers came under massive pressure to act. The establishment of the ISDF and the following classification of unsafe areas were the first steps towards solving the critical situation. The first of the categories, grade 1 (life threatening) has demanded the **relocation of approximately 17 000 families until the present, but approximately** **the same number still needs to be relocated from these areas (Shaat, 2015a). The** **stated aim was to complete all these relocations by 2017 or at the latest 2020** (Faramawy and Algohery, 2010:7).

At the time the accident happened, only a limited number of vacant public housing units were available. At the beginning, inhabitants from Duweiqa were relocated to the nearby 'Suzanne Mubarak' housing. Others to a distant area called 'Nahda **housing' in the East of Cairo or to Badr City (Mansour, 2015; Shehayeb et al.,** 2013). But, still these places were not sufficient. Therefore, a deal was established

between the Cairo Governorate and Egypt's biggest construction company Orascom. After the rockslide, the mother of the company owner did a "smart" move as Khalil Shaat points out. According to Mr. Shaat, she donated 500 flats to the Cairo Governorate for the transfer of people affected by the rockslide (2015c). These houses, located in the so-called 'Haram City' (Pyramid city), were planned and built in 2006/07 as low-income housing units, publicly subsidised. They were part of Hosni Mubarak's National Housing Initiative, which was supposed to provide one million homes for low-income families. Yahia Shawkat reported, that Orascom got the land "for a subsidized rate of about 10 EGP" per square meter. Despite this, the flats were mainly sold to the middle class, due to their comparatively high price (Shawkat cited by Arese 2015). After the rockslide, and after the donation, about 2 000 units were sold to the Governorate for a price of an average of 100 000 EGP (Shaat 2015b). The contract of this deal was received by the ECHR at the beginning of April 2015. The organisation did an investigation and believes, as also stated by other CSOs before, that the value of the flats was overestimated. They argue that the real floor space is smaller than documented, and the building quality itself is inadequate (El-Tibi, 2015; Shehayeb, 2013). In an interview, Khalil Shaat insinuated that the price had indeed been too high. Considering, however, the urgent situation, he said there was or is no "right or wrong" (2015c). The flats in this area were provided for the inhabitants relocated from Ezbet Khairallah, Duweiqa and Istabl Antar in the years 2009 – 2010. Afterwards, when the maximum capacity was reached, further affected inhabitants were relocated to Masaken Othman, a social housing project around 10 km southwest of Haram City.

5.1.3.2 Achievement of 'Adequate Housing' in the Relocation Sites

"Identified relocation sites must fulfil the criteria for adequate housing according to international human rights law". This quote is taken from paragraph 55 of the UN Guidelines (OHCHR, 2007). The latter additionally recalls the seven aspects that must be fulfilled to achieve adequate housing, outlined in the General Comments No. 4. These are:

> *a) Legal security of tenure*
> *b) Availability of services, material, facilities and infrastructure*
> *c) Affordability*

d) Habitability
e) Accessibility
f) Location
g) Cultural adequacy

(ibid; for the comprehensive version see table 2-1).

The following passages display and compare the three living areas Haram City, Masaken Othman, and Istabl Antar with respect to the fulfilment of these seven aspects. However, Istabl Antar will receive only cursory treatment since a deeper analysis has already been presented in chapter 3.3.1.3. Information was retrieved by site visits and especially by interviewing inhabitants formerly living in Istabl Antar. After the investigation of the achievement or non-achievement of the seven aspects, a quality of life study will follow in the next chapter, putting these factors and further ones into a frame of evaluation, assessed by current inhabitants.

Haram City and Masaken Othman (the official name of the latter, which however is rarely used, is "Al-Awla bil-Ri'āya"; Tadamun, 2015b) are located 'near' the new desert city 6th of October in the south-western part of Cairo within the Governorate of Giza. Haram City is located at a remote place next to the 'Egyptian Media Production City', but without any residential areas nearby. Masaken Othman is separated from other residential areas in 6th of October by a highway, which reduces significantly accessibility. The distance from Istabl Antar to Haram City is 30 km, whereas Masaken Othman is even 11km farther away. Therefore, the fulfilment of the aspects *e) Accessibility* and *f) Location* are highly questionable for both areas. Khalil Shaat admits the fact, that "the relocation was a bit harsh" in terms of the distance to the old place, but he is talking about a figure of 16km between the old and the new place Haram City, which significantly underestimates the situation (2015a). The wide distances have to be bridged by transportation systems, which are, however, only partly in place. The transportation from Haram City to the former living areas is self-organised, since a public bus—as reported by several inhabitants—ceased its work approximately four years ago. The reasons for the cessation of service could not be exactly retraced. Only one aspect was mentioned by some inhabitants: there have apparently been quarrels between microbus drivers and public bus drivers. The latter ostensibly felt threatened and refused to come. Therefore, inhabitants established an informal microbus terminal where microbuses commute very

regularly, but for a higher price than the previous public buses. In contrast, the transportation situation in Masaken Othman is currently quite different. Despite information published in an article by Tadamun at the end of April 2015, stating that no public transport exists (2015b), public bus transport was set up after the official visit of Prime Minister Mahlab in Masaken Othman on March 6th 2015. This was meant to remove massive (partly publicly reported) shortcomings in the area (Algohery, 2015; Ibrahim, 2015). The Governor Advisor, Khalil Shaat, expressed that buses commute hourly. He further stated that the residents received a card guaranteeing free transportation (2015a). However, during site visits, inhabitants reported that the bus only runs once in the morning and once in the evening. They confirmed that the buses are—for now—free, but mentioned sceptically that it remains to be seen for how long. The receipt of the cards could not be verified on site. Beside the public buses, the transportation situation is rather difficult in Masaken Othman. No microbuses drive directly to the former living places in Old Cairo. It is necessary to take a "tuk tuk" (motorised rickshaw) or another vehicle to Saedis, a place within 6th of October, approximately 10 minutes away. From there, a microbus can be taken. The high-speed road, called Wahat Al-Bahariyya, which is located directly along Masaken Otman, additionally separates it from other parts of 6th of October and presents a significant barrier, causing regularly accidents when residents try to cross.

The flats provided for the relocated people cover, in both cases, around one fourth of the planned area. In Haram City, the relocated population lives in the areas 'A1 and A2' (cf. Fig. 5-9), and the remaining houses are inhabited mainly by middle class people. This mixed situation led at first to prejudices of one class against the other, but has improved in the last years and now provides some working possibilities. Masaken Othman, a public housing project, hosts a rather impoverished community of recipients of subsidised units, refugees and relocated families (Takween, 2015). The families relocated due to the classification as life threatening of their former living area, live in the northwest area of the settlement.

The flats in Haram City provided for people from Istabl Antar have a size of 24, 48, or 63 m². But in fact, only one person interviewed currently lives in a 63m² flat, and all others in 48 m² flats. One inhabitant reported that his family received (like a very small group of other inhabitants from Istabl Antar) at the beginning only a small flat of 24 m². After several months of complaining,
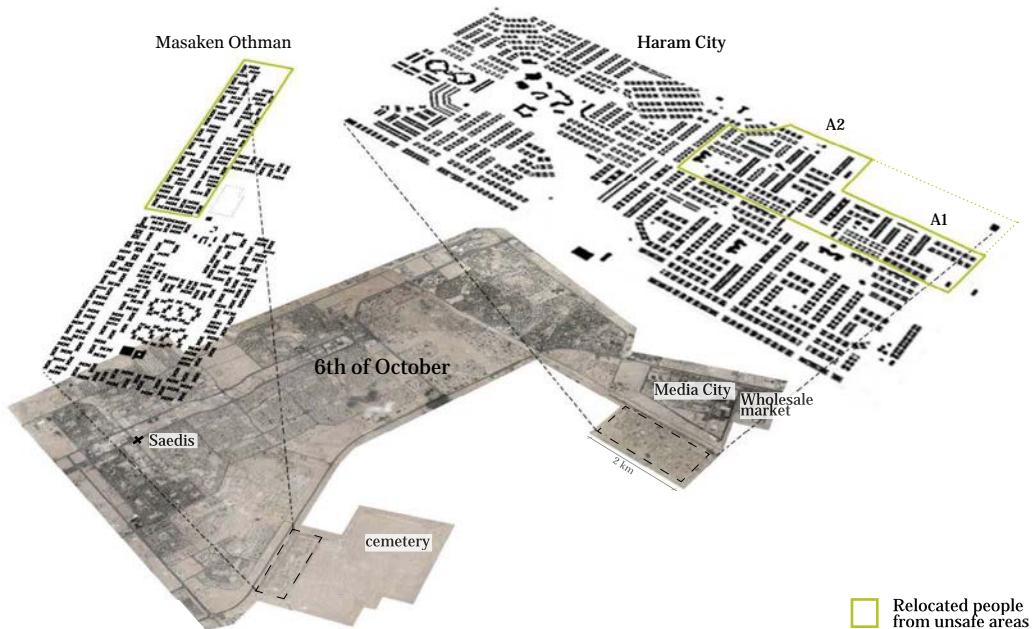
Figure 5- 9 Living areas of the relocated people in the two relocation sites
Source: author

culminating in the unlawful occupation of a bigger flat, an agreement with Orascom was reached, allowing the family to remain in the bigger flat (inhabitant 26, 2015). Nevertheless, in general, the inhabitants from Istabl Antar seemed to be better off than inhabitants from other regions like Duweiqa. The research initiated by CAWTAR reveals that the vast majority of families from Duweiqa received only the very small flat of 24 m² and were unable to move to bigger ones (Shehayeb et al., 2013: 81). In Masaken Othman, the flats provided for the relocated inhabitants all have a size of 42 m². To sum it up, the flats with sizes of 42, 48, and 63 m² could be considered as acceptable or adequate according to point *d) Habitability.*

In addition to the floor area, there are two reasons for also considering the room layout. The first is that the UN-Habitat Development Goal 7, Target 11 defines overpopulation as more than 2/3 people residing in one room (2003:7/13). The second reason is that factor *g),* stated in the General Comments No. 4, requests *Cultural Adequacy.* Yet, cultural adequacy is not always easy to determine. In the context of an Arab, Muslim country, there is however one aspect that is unambiguously important to take into consideration: gender separation. Therefore, at least three separable spaces are necessary: one for the parents, one for the girls, and one for the boys (Shehayed, 2003). This aspect is, in the

most of the cases, realised. All of the flats (except the very small one) provided to inhabitants from Istabl Antar have two rooms plus one hall, '2 + 1'. The hall might be counted as separable room. Even if a third properly separable room would be more desirable, the flats now occupied can be considered as adequate according to international guidelines, considering that the average number of members of families from Istabl Antar does not normally exceed six persons. An inhabitant of Haram City reported concerning the room layout, about a modification he carried out, to gain one additional room: he divided one room into two by adding a floor, made possible by the room's extra height, due to its dome-roof. He added that he would appreciate the flat offering more possibilities for adaptation (inhabitant 13, 2015).

Assignment of flats according to family sizes or the formerly available space is not followed – the flats are randomly distributed (Shaat, 2015a, all inhabitants, 2015). The random distribution of the houses was criticised by inhabitants for two reasons. The first is that only the ground floor flat provides possibilities for commercial use, which will be elaborated on later, and secondly, the random distribution does not consider factor *e) Accessibility,* which would require e.g. the provision of the ground-floor flats for the elderly.

The next aspect to be investigated is the building and settlement layout. These urban planning aspects play a major role on one hand for economic reasons, meaning the provision of space for the establishment of (work)shops; and on the other hand for neighbourhood satisfaction as will be discussed in depth during the quality of life study.

The settlement layout of Haram City provides houses that have only two or three floors, which is appreciated by the inhabitants due to their rarity in public housing. The settlement provides a high walkability, the streets are wide, green areas are provided and appreciated, even if maintenance problems were reported. A positive factor of the layout is that space for a small market is provided, as well as a workshop area. These were originallynot planned, but rather established through the transformation of shacks provided for the workers during the construction period. According to inhabitants formerly from Istabl Antar, these small shops and spaces can be rented to establish own businesses (see Fig. 5-12/13).

Figure 5-10/11/12/13 Haram City: houses, illegal shops, workshop area, market area
Source: author

However, Sheheayeb Consult reports within the study for CAWTAR, that, at least at the time of the research conduction in 2012, the access to these was limited. Inhabitants from Istabl Antar were allowed access, whereas Duweiqa residents were denied access (2013: 84, 91). In general, the available space for (work)shops is limited, and/ or for some people too expensive. Therefore, many inhabitants who were lucky enough to be allocated a ground floor flat started to transform their small front yards into shops in an illegal manner, which now provide a source of income (see Fig. 5-11).

In contrast, the layout of Masaken Othman provides uniform block houses, each of which has four flats on six floors. Tadamun labelled this in an article "chicken coop–like housing" (2015b). The main roads are paved, the smaller ones and the spaces in between the houses are un-designed and unused, despite being wide (site-visit observation: 2015). No market place or place for workshops is provided. Therefore, residents transform their ground-floor flat or the space in front of it into (work)shops, also in an illegal manner (Fig. 5-14/15/17). As a consequence, they fear possible (already occurred) removals and thereby the loss of their only income source (inhabitant 33; 2015). These small illegal shops provide basic goods. To have a wider variety of goods or cheaper prices, it requires a costly trip with the "tuk tuk" or another vehicle to Saedis.

Figure 5-14/15/16/17/18 Masaken Othman: illegal shops, agricultural field, main street
Source: author

A positive sign, in terms of community establishment, is that some inhabitants have begun to take initiative and establish some areas for agricultural production between houses on the vast, unused and neglected space, which otherwise gets occupied by unhealthy rubbish piles (see Fig. 16).

The *Availability of Services, Facilities, and Infrastructure (factor b)* shows significant shortcomings within Masaken Othman, as already indicated above. A school complex within the 'compound' remains under construction. Other schools in the neighbourhood areas require a costly trip to reach them or do, according to interviewed inhabitants, not accept children of relocated persons. Two inhabitants showed official papers, requesting the transfer of their children from the old schools to the new ones. They were rejected. Some received the answer that there was no space, others were informed that due to the unavailability of a proper proof of residency, the children could not be accepted (this will be discussed within the section dealing with security of tenure), and some were demanded to pay a bribe. This issue ended in the situation, that three quarters of the interviewed inhabitants' children are unable to attend school. Similar problems were faced by former residents from Duweiqa in Haram City, until at least 2012 (Shehayeb

et al., 2013: 87; Khalil, 2012) In contrast is the good availability/reachability of schools now in Haram City, at least for the interviewed inhabitants from Istabl Antar. Two public schools teaching students until the secondary level are provided. Significant is, however, that all interviewees complained about the very bad quality of education.

A sewage system is available in both areas, and the provision of water and electricity is usually secured. Some electricity blackouts, mainly in the summer and more frequently in Masaken Othman, were reported. Problems with the water delivery was not reported by former Istabl Antar inhabitants, in contrast to the statement from Tadamun in a recent article, that reports about the irregular water supply in Masaken Othman with loss of supply for several hours daily (2015b). The quality of water, on the other hand, is criticised by many inhabitants. Mainly residents of Haram City massively criticise the quality, with the remark, that it causes serious sickness. Further, troublesome structural deficiencies appeared, such as problems with the foundations in Haram City, as reported by AI and Shehayeb Consult (2011; 2013), and by interviewed inhabitants. These defects and the partly poor building quality lead, according to the above-mentioned sources, to cracks. The report by ECCLR and HIC indicates that no maintenance for the houses is provided (2012). This was not confirmed by interviewees of the present study, who explained that the maintenance is conducted—after some reporting efforts—for free by the Orascom company. Nevertheless, some severe water leakages were reported in both settlements, leading to serious cracks in the walls, even leaving some units inhabitable.

The availability of healthcare centres within the compound of Haram City and in Masaken Othman is secured, in the meantime. However, both are reported to have limited opening hours, and additionally to have rather scant equipment. The one in Masaken Othman had just opened at the beginning of March 2015; therefore, the further development remains unclear. Inhabitants of both areas must leave their settlement to get access to a public hospital. Residents travel to 6th of October or, back to Old Cairothe majority), due to reported higher quality and better equipment. However, these trips cost extra money and are difficult, especially during night, due to scarce transportation options.

Recreational facilities are also scarce in both areas. Haram City has some playing areas, like grass fields and few private sports fields, but the available youth centre

is not affordable for the relocated population. In Masaken Othman, facilities for young people and children do not exist, except for the newly constructed playing ground by the NGO Takeween, which is surprisingly unknown to many interviewed inhabitants. Both areas provide no cultural centres. A mosque was provided after some time in Haram City, but in Masaken Othman, , there is only a self-constructed provisional mosque. The location of the above services, if existent, can be found in the following Figure 5-19.

Haram City
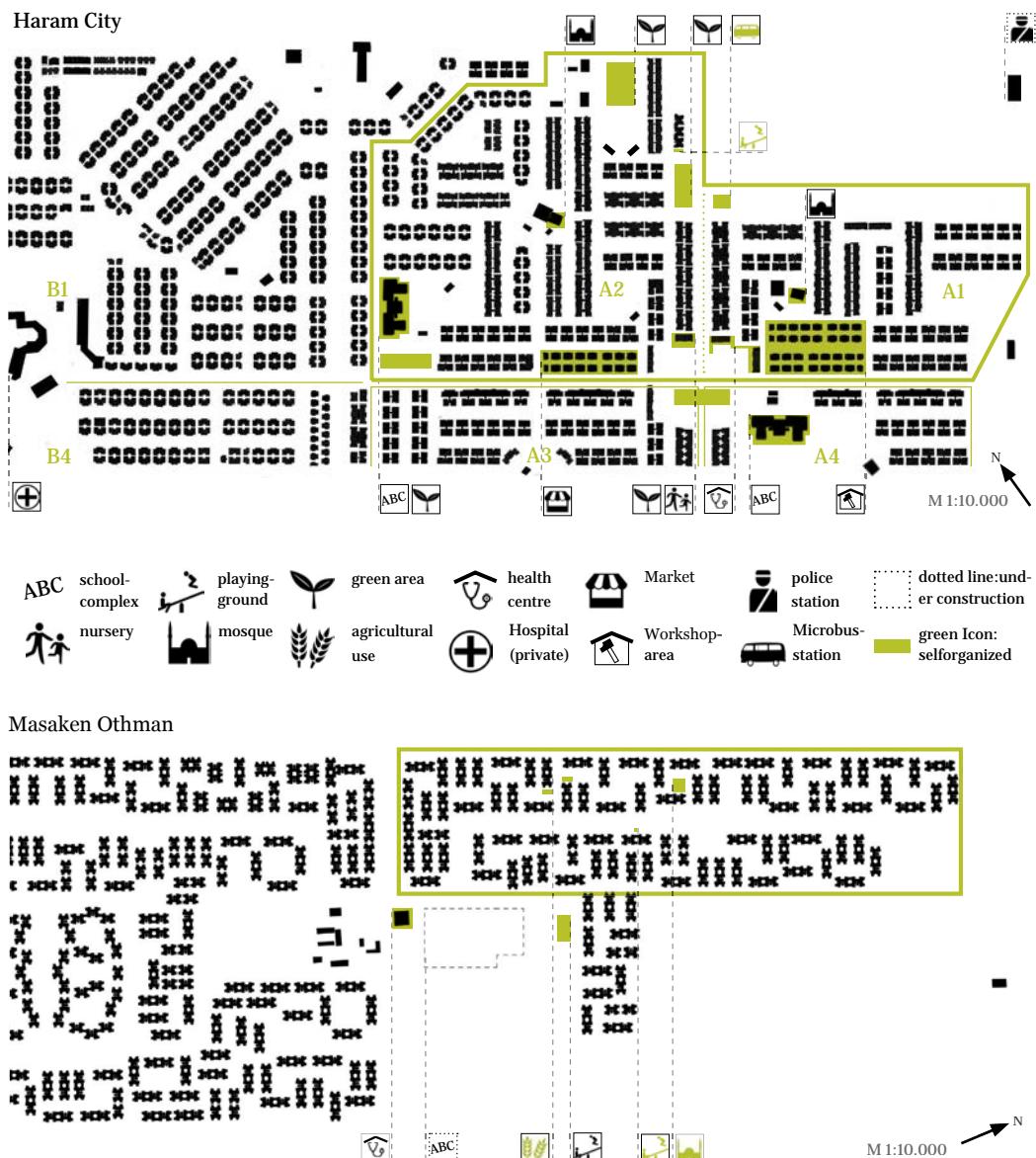
Masaken Othman

Figure 5- 19 Services in Haram City and Masaken Othman: section where relocated inhabitants live
Source: author

Many of the above-mentioned aspects contradict the requirement that the relocation site be "fully functional before the eviction takes place" (CESCR 2014:32). An overview of the provided services can be seen in the following table 5-1. Thereafter the last two of the seven aspects *a) Legal Security of Tenure* and *c) Affordability* will be discussed.

	adequate housing' aspect		Istabl Antar (B)	Haram City	Masaken Othman
location	transportation	f)	proximity to Downtown; live-threatening metro, microbus, inside only by food	6th of October; distance to Istabl Antar approx. 30km microbus, car	6th of October; distance to Istabl Antar approx. 40km microbus, car, tuk tuk, bus
available services	**education:**	b)			
	1. kindergarden		several possibilities: reachable by foot within 5 - 15 minutes	mainly informal ones existing - reachable by foot within 5 minutes	only informal ones existing - reachable by food within 5 minutes
	2. primay school		several ones: reachable by foot or Tok Tok - 10-30 minutes	reachable by foot within 5-10 minutes	existing outsite the area, but not possible to register
	3. prepara-tory school		several ones: reachable by foot or Tok Tok: 10 - 30 minutes	reachable by foot within 5-10 minutes	existing outsite the area, but not possible to register
	4. secondary school		several ones: reachable by foot, Microbus, s, BuMetro within 10 - 40 minutes	reachable by foot within 5-10 minutes	existing outsite the area; no further information
	5. vocational secondary school		several ones: reachable by foot, Microbus, Metro within 10 - 30 minutes	no information - not nearby existing	no information - not nearby existing
	health				
	1. doctor		several possibilities: reachable by foot or Tuk Tuk: 5 - 30 minutes (depends on the living area)	available (" but expensive and only available in the morning")	not existing
	2. health centre		few possibilities: reachable by foot or Tok Tok: 5 - 30 minutes (depends on the living area)	available (but "bad equipment")	available since the beginning of March 2015
	3. hospital		several possibilities: reachable by foot, Microbus, Metro: 10 - 30 minutes (depends on the living area)	private one inside the compound (but expensive), next public ones: El Sadis, Old Cairo	El Sadis, Old Cairo
	daily needs				
	1. informal shops		available	established in gardens in front of the groundfloor flat	established in or in front of the groundfloor flat
	2. informal market		not existing	not existing	not existing
	3. formal market		Dar Es Salam	available inside, outside nearby fruit market	next one: El Sadis
	religious facilities		nearby 3 mosques in area (A and C), church	mosques and curch	not provoided, selfbuild mosque
housing situation	security of tenure	a)	no	? (unclear situation)	? (unclear situation)
	accesibility	e)	only by food via staircases, very narrow & steep (cumbersome)	2-3 stories	6 stories; cumbersome for elderly, if living in upper floors;
	size	d)	approx. 35 m² - 40 m²	(24m²) 42m² and 63m²(Half of the inhabitants claim to have had a bigger flat, half a smaller)	42 m² (all inhabitants are claiming to have had a bigger flat beforehand)

(note: "under construction" label appears vertically spanning the Masaken Othman education rows)

adequate housing' aspect		Istabl Antar (B)	Haram City	Masaken Othman
no. of rooms	g)	varies	2+ 1 hall seldomly: 1+1hall	2 + 1 hall
number of inhabitants		4,5	5,7	4,5
individual kitchen/ WC/ shower	d)	86 % yes / 50% yes / 50 yes	yes/ yes/ yes	yes/yes /yes
building conditions		29% deteriorated, 36% unsafe, 21 % needs demolition, 14% recently renovated	25 % deteriorated (water leakages), 37,5% unsafe (rumour no proper foundation), 37,5% recently renovated	66% deteriorated (water leakages), 34% good
water	b)	available	available ("quality bad, problems with water leakages but continously repaired by Orascom")	not always available, problems with water leackages
connection sewage		available (satisfaction 3,5)	available (satisfaction 4,25)	available (satisfaction 2,8)
electricity		yes (has to be paid)	yes (no payment of bill - no meter)	yes (no payment of bill - no meter)
gas		ca. 50 EGP (no storage gas available)	ca. 20 EGP (complained in Feb. 2015 - afterwards more storage gas for 10 EGP available)	8 EGP or 50 EGP - majority can get it for 8 (subzidized storage gas)
garbage collection		not available; mainly burning	private company (Orascom), daily	government, daily: mainstreets; in between: burned
recreation-al facilities youthcentre		several available in the nearby areas; offer: playground, football, Karate, tennis, sewing, computer, Kung Fu	only one expensive one in the compound - not affordable for relocated people	not existing
garden		not existing	available	not existing, but food gardens
playground		few things existing - within youthcentres	few things available	available since beginning of 2015, build by Takeween
employ-ment location place of employment		Within and mainly close- by working possibilities due to the central location	possibility to work within the area - also few in the nearby higher class area, some in 6th of October, others remained old job in Old Cairo	very isolated, within the area more or less no working opportunities inside. Some commute to Old Cairo, some freelancers
space for workshops or establishment of shops		few in front of the house or ground floor	established in the area where former rooms for the building constructors were; in gardens in front of the ground floor flat	established in and infront of groundfloor flat (fear of demolition)

Table 5-1 Achievement of 'adequate housing' in the relocation sites
Source: author

Aspect *a) the Legal Security of Tenure* situation is similar in Haram City and Masaken Othman—similarly complex and opaque. Security of tenure is considered by the ICESR as one of the main pillars of adequate housing. Remarkably, the two referred guidelines both emphasise that for the provision of security of tenure in the new relocation site, a previous formal title deed in the old living area is not required (IASC, 2011:39; OCHER, 2007, para. 25).

The evaluation of the security of tenure situation demonstrates that completely opposing viewpoints from the different interviewed stakeholders exist. One side

is represented by the CSOs and the interviewed inhabitants. They claim that no security of tenure is provided, due to the non-existence of a 'real' contract. The issued *Mahdar Tasleem* (what might be translated as 'handover certificate') for the flat provides, in their point of view, no legal protection, and therefore no security of tenure. The *Mahdar Tasleem,* which was received by all inhabitants at least after some time, has the following content: Person "X" receives Apartment "Z". Further is stated, that he /she is obliged to pay for water, electricity, other services and a monthly rent. The last sentence of the document expresses that a final rent contract will be issued (see appendix 5, Arabic). Interviewed inhabitants reported that the aspect of the rent requested was especially surprising and frustrating for them, because before the relocation, they had been told they would not have to pay rent. In particular, former owners of 'unsafe' houses felt betrayed, because they were now suddenly supposed to pay for their flats. Surprisingly, so far nobody has actually collected the rent, or the payments for electricity and water. A request pertaining to the delivery of a final contract, forwarded by AI to the Cairo Governorate, was answered in 2011 with the remark that the preliminary contract will be replaced by a rental contract as soon as the beneficiaries are verified (Memorandum of the Cairo Governorate Feb. 2010, cited by AI 2011: 60). However, the announced final contracts—according to the interviewed inhabitants—were not yet received, even more than several years after they were relocated. Therefore, representatives of ECHR, HIC, ECRCL and other CSOs criticise this situation greatly. They emphasise, that this situation leaves the residents still subject to possible future evictions (El-Tibi, 2015, Mansour, 2015; Shawky, 2015; AI, 2011; HIC et al., 2010). Presumed reasons for the non-delivery were mentioned by some: first, the possibility to replace the inhabitants once again, out of economic interest; and second, to prevent the inhabitants from selling their flats (Mansour, 2015; Shawky, 2015). The above-described situation of perceived insecurity of tenure does not only apply to the former residents of Istabl Antar, but also to inhabitants from other areas who were relocated to Haram City or Masaken Othman. According to El-Tibi (2015) and Tadamun (2015b), some of them received a five-year temporary rental contract, which in the meantime has expired. This motivated the ECHR to recently file a lawsuit, aiming for the delivery of real contracts (El-Tibi, 2015).

Khalil Shaat, representing the Governorate, presents a completely different view. He expressed that all relocated inhabitants were offered a life-term contract,

guaranteeing them a permanent living (2015c). He claimed that many inhabitants did not sign this contract. In his point of view, the residents did not sign the contract in order to avoid a fine that signatories must pay if they are caught selling or renting their flat.

However, he admitted that the current situation is troublesome for the governmental side. According to his estimate (official numbers are not available) - around 35% to even 45% of the current inhabitants of Haram City and Masaken Othman are not any longer the original beneficiaries (2015c). Residents' estimate of this leaving rate range between 10 – 50%, with an accumulation around 20-25% (inhabitants: 36, 14, 23, 28, 32, 8, 17, 2015). Khalil Shaat explained that the aggravating issue is that the most of the people who left most likely returned to informal areas, having sold or currently renting their flats in an illegal manner. Due to this return to informal areas, the government has to 'deal' with them again.

Further investigating this problematic topic of many people leaving their new flats, inhabitants reported in interviews about different ways to sell apartments. Either simply directly in an illegal manner, or, as some explained, even officially via various shahr el akary (public real estate register offices) for a price of around 25 000 – 50 000 EGP (inhabitants 23, 26, 38, 2015). Attempting to verify this information at the real estate register office located in 6th of October, the following information was retrieved: in general, it is not possible to sell social housing flats. To sell a flat, a document is needed, which proves that the object of transfer is not considered as social housing unit. Flats in Masaken Othman and Haram City are therefore officially not saleable. One employee added, however, that people have their ways—at other places. He then showed a form whose title could be translated as 'letting-go-paper'. If it can be proven—which seems to be manageable as reported by him—that the flat is not part of the social housing stock, this form can be used. The content of this 'letting-go-paper' is, in short: the owner agrees that he or she transfers his/her right to sell the flat to another person. In the case of Haram City and Masaken Othman, this means that this person currently already somehow has ownership rights and can later—in case a proper contract is available—sell the flat to him-/herself.

A further reflection on these controversial views and aspects can be found in chapter 6.2.5.

5.2 Quality of Life Study

The next step is to determine the afore-mentioned seven 'adequate housing' aspects within the light of a valuation by the inhabitants of Istabl Antar or those formerly living there. Civil society organisations express their experience that "Generally, residents of informal settlements prefer to remain in their current locations" (HIC et al., 2010). Therefore, the moving tendencies of inhabitants in all three areas, the original one and the two relocation sites, are additionally examined. After the evaluation of services (hard factors), soft factors such as the satisfaction with the neighbours were evaluated. This information and data were collected by conducting a quality of life study, extended with questions resembling a household survey. This combination sought holistic insight into the respondents living situation and into their evaluation of it.

The applied methodology can be found in chapter 4.3.1 and the questionnaire layout in appendix 4. The sample, as described in chapter 4.1, includes 30 participants, divided into four groups. The first group consists of 14 inhabitants awaiting relocation and still living in Istabl Antar in area B. The second group also consists of 14 inhabitants, for comparability. These 14 people were further divided into two groups: eight were interviewed in Haram City, and six in Masaken Othman. Due to unavailability, the fourth group, of returned persons, is comprised of only two persons.

In general, it is important to emphasise that the quality of life study should be seen within the framework of the thesis as an indicator of the differences between the perceived and experienced living and working situation within the contrasting areas. For a representative study, a larger sample would be necessary.

5.2.1 Results and Discussion

The following section will illustrate, report and discuss the information gleaned and evaluations of the respondents in or formerly from Istabl Antar.

Descriptions of the 'hard measurements' of the physical environment—such as the provision of services—that underlie the evaluation by the inhabitants can be found in chapter 5.1.3.2. Therefore, only a few aspects will be reiterated. The diagrams illustrating the results, display first, the mean of the given personal evaluation (horizontal bar), and second, the individual answers (diamonds), allowing an insight into the distribution.

Below follows: at first, the sub-domains of the 'Environmental Domain'; second, the ones from the 'Personal Domain'; third, the evaluation of the 'global neighbourhood and life-satisfaction and fourth, the stated moving tendencies.

5.2.1.1 Environmental Domain

Housing and Common Outdoor Satisfaction:
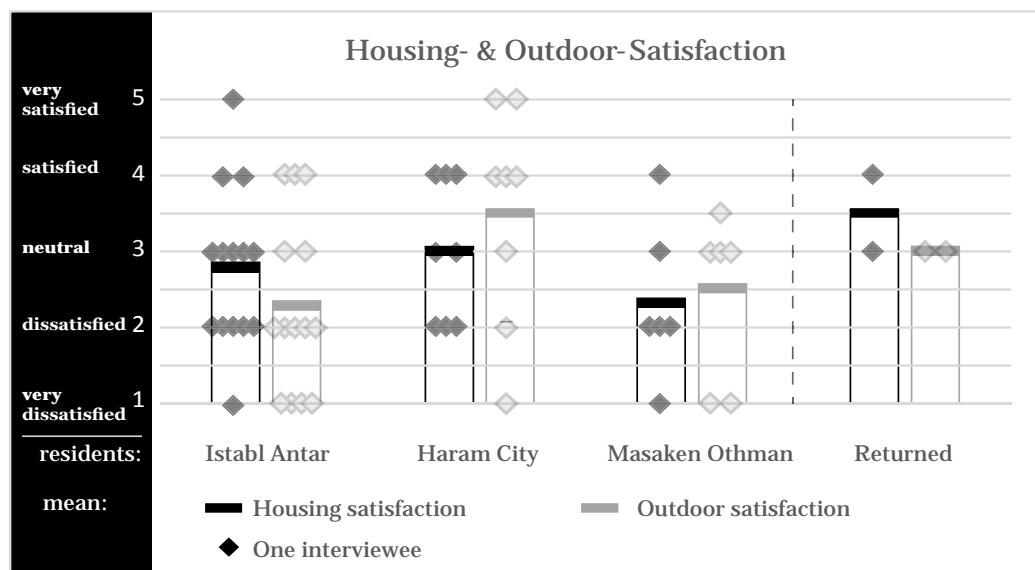
Figure 5-20 QoL study: housing and common outdoor satisfaction
Source: author

As an entry point, the satisfaction with the physical environment, specifically the housing satisfaction of the inhabitants and their satisfaction with the available outdoor spaces, will be compared. As seen in Fig. 5-20, the housing satisfaction is the highest in Haram City—slightly higher than in Istabl Antar. The average satisfaction, calculated by the mean is 3 (i.e. neutral). Three people are dissatisfied. These are the ones who indicated the size of the new flat as significantly smaller than the old one. The participants who evaluated the housing situation as satisfying appreciate inter alia the low density of the area and the low-rise buildings. These last two aspects contribute, in turn, to a rather satisfied evaluation of the common outdoor space in Haram City. A different picture can be gained by the negative values (lower than 3) of Masaken Othman. The housing satisfaction is low, due to reported aspects like massive water leakages, a perceived limited floor area (all respondents indicated, that they have less space than before), and the existence of uniform high-rise buildings. Additionally, common space is unplanned and

therefore neglected. Inhabitants of Istabl Antar are, in average, neither satisfied nor really dissatisfied with their housing situation. Outdoor space, however, is so limited, that no proper offer exists - therefore the majority is dissatisfied.

The data for the returned inhabitants are separated by a vertical dashed line. These are shown for completeness, but will not be further discussed in the following descriptions, owing to the very small sample size.

Health, Education and Shopping Facilities Satisfaction:
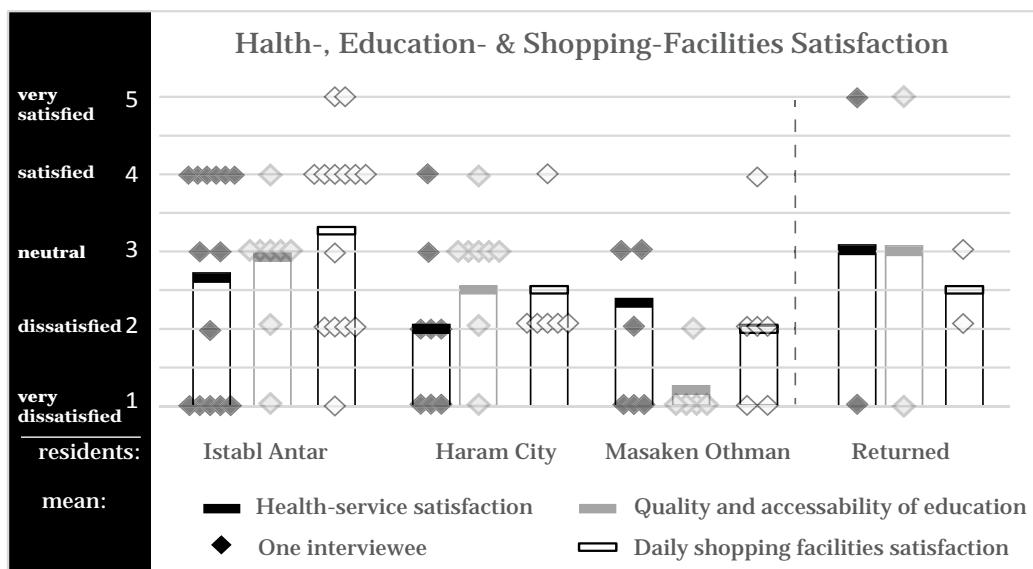
Figure 5-21 QoL study: health, education and shopping facilities satisfaction
Source: author

The significant difference of service provision within the three areas, as discussed in detail within the last chapter, can be seen in Figure 5-21. Noteworthy is that all means except one are below neutral, meaning that the situation is in general dissatisfying. Istabl Antar has the highest mean-values within all categories. The explanation thereof is its inner-city location and the resulting proximity to several service sources. However, it is recognisable, that the individual answers for health service satisfaction fall into two separate groups. The first group is satisfied, whereas the second, majority group, is very dissatisfied. This can be traced back to individual, different living spots, which cause trouble and difficulties in the

access to transportation in case of an emergency. Haram City shows the lowest mean for health-service satisfaction, presumably due to its longest distance to the next public hospital. The average satisfaction with the daily shopping facilities is linearly falling from Istabl Antar over Haram City to Masaken Othman. There is a rather high offering inside Istabl Antar; around Haram City, there is a small formal marketplace, , with limited variety and Masaken Othman relies mainly on shopping facilities outside the settlement. The education situation is rated as very dissatisfying in Masaken Othman due to the non-accessibility of schools, as described in chapter 5.1.3.2. The accessibility of schools is quite good in Haram City as well as in Istabl Antar, however, it was noted by the vast majority that the quality of teaching is very insufficient .

Feeling of Security Day and Night:

In its report, Amnesty International cites a women stating she fears for her daughter's safety in Haram City (2011:68). The study by Shehayeb Consult for CAWTAR paints the same picture. The inhabitants questioned (formerly from Duweiqa) said that they do not feel safe (Shehayeb et al., 2013:85). The reported situation in Masaken Othman is specifically severe. Tadamun writes that the inhabitants feel generally "threatened and at unease". It is stated that "thuggery and violence" is common (2015b). People in Istabl Antar and other 'outside' areas perceive both Masaken Othman and Haram City as unsafe. In this respect, Tadamun draws attention to the fact that even if drug dealing and crime exists in Masaken Othman, it marginalises disadvantaged groups even more if outsiders maintain their perception or prejudice, that "all of Masaken Othman's residents are drug dealers and criminals" (2015b).

This becomes obvious upon inspection of the above chart (Fig. 5-22). The perceived security of the majority is, in all three areas, rated as satisfying or even very satisfying—in the daytime as well as at night—even though none of the areas possesses a police station. Only a few—but similarly in all three areas—feel unsafe mainly during the night. Despite the general feeling of security, the vast majority of inhabitants deem it necessary to establish a police station.
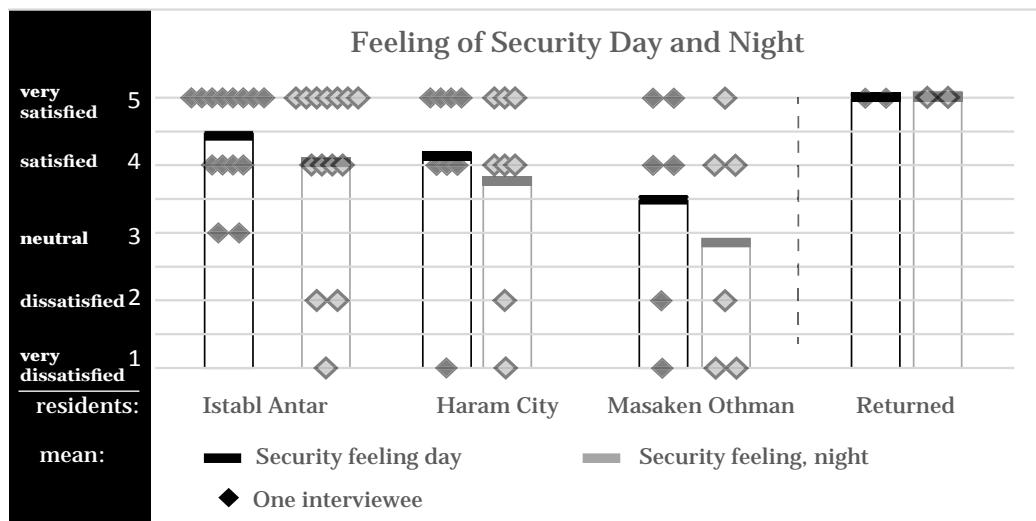
Figure 5-22 QoL study: security feeling day/night
Source: author

Satisfaction with Transportation, Employment and Job Opportunities:

Worldwide, but specifically in Egypt as well, there are repeated reports about lacking employment opportunities, aggravated by lacking transportation possibilities, which emerge after people have been relocated—particularly to remote areas (OHCHR, 2014; Plessis, 2005; Tadamun, 2015b; Amnesty International, 2011; Mada Masr, 2015, Badri et al., 2006). The gathered data mainly support this appraisal. The job opportunities and the transportation situation are both rated as dissatisfying in both Haram City and Masaken Othman. A cross-tabulation shows the individual vote distribution and the connection between the two aspects (Table 5-2).

The majority of Istabl Antar inhabitants indicate that they are satisfied with or at least neutral about the transportation as well as with the job opportunity situation (highlighted in green). In contrast, the majority of individual respondents from Haram City and Masaken Othman indicated both aspects as dissatisfying. (For details pertaining the offered transportation modes please see chapter 5.1.3.2.)

living area			Satisfaction with transportation					total
			very dissatisfied	dis-satisfied	neutral	satisfied	very satisfied	
Istabl Antar unsafe area	Satisfaction with employment opportunities	very dissatisfied		1		1		2
		dissatisfied			2	1		3
		neutral				2	1	3
		satisfied	1		1	3		5
		very satisfied					1	1
		total amount	1	1	3	7	2	14
Haram City		very dissatisfied	2		1			3
		dissatisfied	2	1				3
		neutral		1				1
		very satisfied					1	1
		total amount	4	2	1		1	8
Masaken Osman		very dissatisfied	2	1				3
		dissatisfied		1				1
		neutral			1			1
		satisfied				1		1
		total amount	2	2	1	1		6
total amount			7	5	5	8	3	28

Table 5-2 QoL study: security feeling day/night
Source: author

Figure 5-23 visualises the aforementioned connection between transportation and job opportunity satisfaction again, with the addition of the element of employment satisfaction. The findings show that the average employment satisfaction is more or less the same in Istabl Antar and in Haram City: in both cases slightly above 3. In Istabl Antar, the vast majority indicates, that they are satisfied with the current transportation situation and also with their job. This is the basis of a positive evaluation of the job opportunities. Equivalent interrelations, but reversed, can be found for Masaken Othman. The vast majority is (very) dissatisfied with the transportation situation as well as with their employment situation. Consequently, their evaluation of job opportunities is also very dissatisfying. At first glance, the individual answers given in Haram City do not fit into this pattern. Transportation satisfaction is rated very low by the majority, whereas

employment satisfaction is, in comparison, quite high. This can be explained by an urban planning factor, which has allowed some inhabitants to be independent of the transportation system. The provision of legal space for the establishment of (work)shops enabled some of the inhabitants interviewed to open their own small businesses directly adjacent to their homes. Additionally contributing to a job satisfaction slightly higher ranked in Haram City than in Istabl Antar is the factor that some women in the sample group were able to begin working after arriving in Haram City, having been housewives before. This result contradicts experiences made by women from Duweiqa who frequently recalled having lost their jobs after arriving to Haram City (Shehayeb et al., 2013:90).
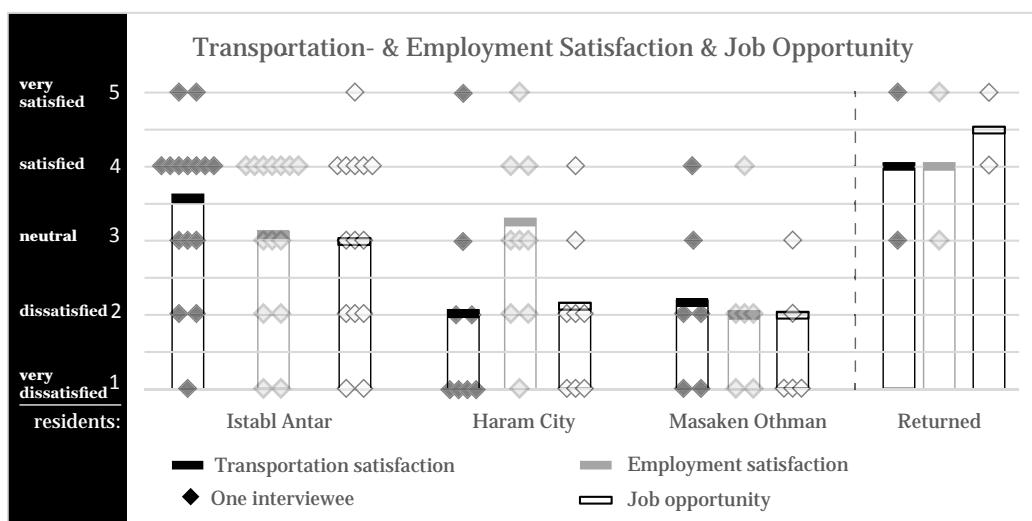
Figure 5-23 QoL study: transportation, employment satisfaction & job opportunity
Source: author

The possibility of working within the living area significantly reduces the time necessary to reach work. This aspect of time spent on the way to work is interesting, however, only very approximate figures could be garnered. This was due to the limited number of interviewed persons and, for the day-by-day labourers, great fluctuations in daily commute times, depending on the place they are hired to work. The longest commute, with an average of around 30 minutes (with some individuals requiring 60 to 120 minutes) belongs to the residents of Masaken Othman, whereas Istabl Antar's average is around 20 minutes. Haram City shows, indeed, the lowest time average with around 16 min. this can be explained, as already stated, by the fact that some residents found work within the compound. The significance of the time aspect should however be viewed, as mentioned, with great caution, and requires further research with a much larger sample.

5.2.1.2 'Personal Domain

The same five-step evaluation scale from Likert was used to derive an assessment for the Personal Domain. The results of the sub-domain are presented subsequently. Additional questions were asked in the questionnaire to support and strengthen given answers. Relocated inhabitants were furthermore asked to compare their current and former living area (Istabl Antar).

Satisfaction with Relationship to Neighbours:

Figure 5-24 QoL study: satisfaction with relationship to neighbours
Source: author

One main issue emerging after relocation is that of the connection to the neighbours, who function alongside family and friends as social support and security network. A common assumption is that this satisfaction is higher in the former living area, due to long-term inhabitancies and a matured social structure. However, the collected data does not support this assumption. Satisfaction with the relationship with the neighbours, for inhabitants currently or formerly living in Istabl Antar, is satisfactory or even very satisfactory. Even though the inhabitants of Haram City and Masaken Othman rated in an additional question their satisfaction with their neighbours and the possibility of getting in contact with them as slightly inferior compared to the situation in their former living area, Istabl Antar, this was not reflected in the results of the question illustrated

above (Fig. 5-25). An explanation for this could be that even if the distribution of the specific flats followed a random pattern, the relocated people were distributed within the same nearby neighbourhood, and therefore, no serious complaints were expressed. A further positive aspect was the outcome that, in all neighbourhoods, the majority stated that they have many friends (more than 10) and that they are very satisfied with these relationships.

Nevertheless, one specific aspect for the case of Masaken Othman should be mentioned here, which was also - among others - reported by Tadamun. Their article expresses, that the social cohesion seen in a wider frame – i.e. the whole settlement and not only the central family or friend circle - is rather low (2015b). They state that they found only a "weak and fragmented social fabric", linked to the diverse social and cultural backgrounds of the inhabitants. Tadamun notes, that this might negatively influence further development possibilities in the area (ibid).

Satisfaction with the Economic Situation:

The economic situation after accomplished relocations is a factor which is massively discussed, because an impoverishment is often likely to happen (Cernea, 2003).
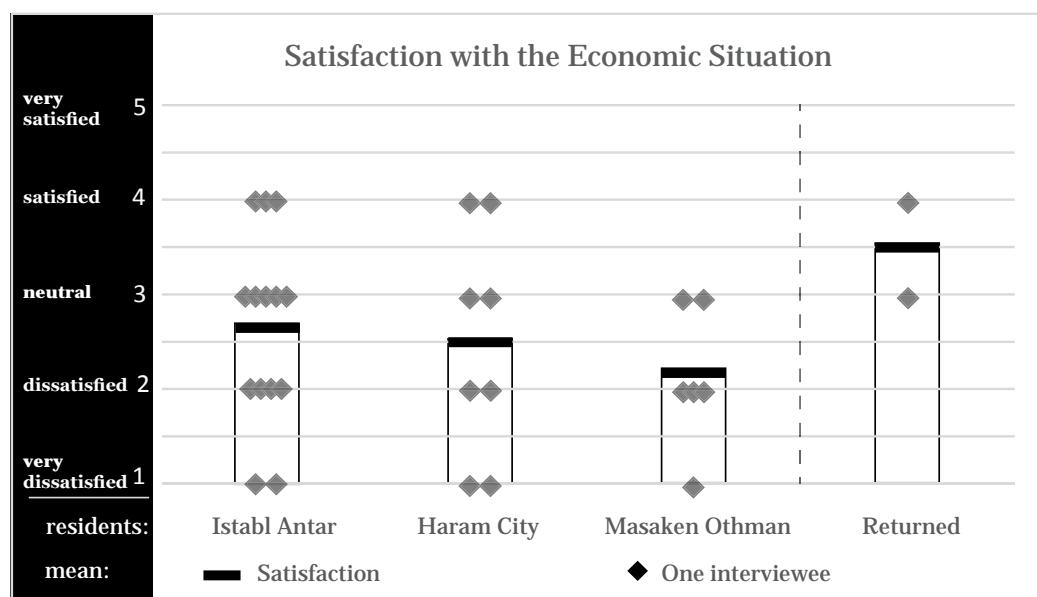
Figure 5-25 QoL study: satisfaction with the economic situation
Source: author

Therefore, the question of how satisfied the inhabitants are with their financial situation was raised. The results for each area are similar - between neutral and dissatisfied. Inhabitants from Masaken Othman are, with a mean of 2.2, the most unsatisfied (see Fig. 5-25). In this regard, it is significant that in Masaken Othman none of the residents indicated being satisfied - in the other two areas about one quarter of inhabitants declared being satisfied. Also remarkable is that, apparently, the average degree of satisfaction did not significantly drop after the relocation. However, the general economic situation does not appear promising in all areas, especially in the light that "whole Egypt faced economic regression over the last years, which especially affects the poor (Tadamun, 2015b). Hence, further specific research would be needed, particularly in the direction of how to support the already marginalised inhabitants of the analysed areas.

Connected to the economic situation are the monthly expenses. The assessment conducted by ECCLR and HIC states that the monthly expenses of relocated people from Duweiqa to Haram City are significantly higher in the new living area (2012). The present study validates the applicability of this for residents in Haram City originating from Istabl Antar.
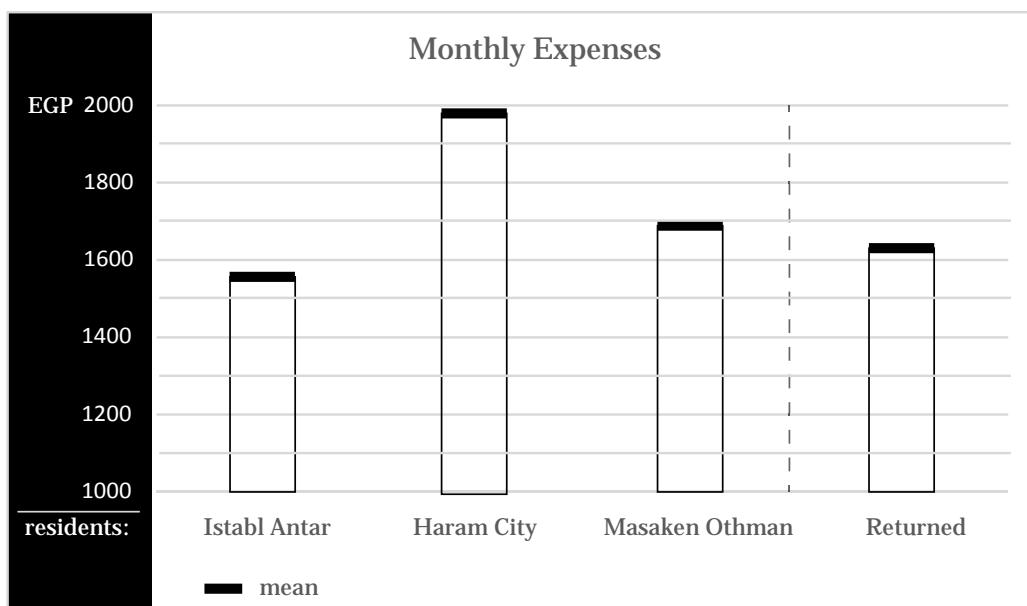
Figure 5-26 QoL study: monthly expenses
Source: author

The study revealed that the monthly expenses are the lowest in Istabl Antar (cf. Fig. 5-26), even though half of the respondents have to pay a monthly rent between 50 and 300 EGP, as well as their electricity and water bills. This is in contrast to the relocated people, who are not paying for these services. Overall, the other two areas nevertheless have higher monthly expenses, due to their significantly higher costs for transportation, food, and medical treatment (as derived from an extra question).

5.2.1.3 Global Neighbourhood & Life Satisfaction

Figure 5-27 QoL study: global neighbourhood- and life satisfaction
Source: author
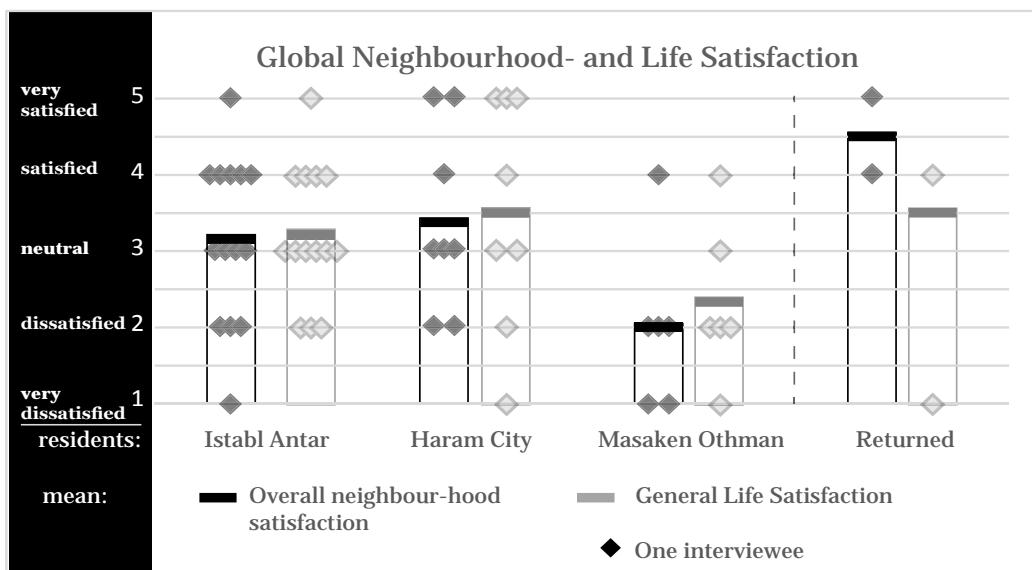
The next to last aspect, Global Neighbourhood and Global Life Satisfaction was determined (see Fig. 5-27). The mean of Haram City ranks the highest in both aspects, - neighbourhood and life satisfaction, but remains only slightly above neutral. Following with almost the same values is Istabl Antar. Masaken Othman is far behind; the vast majority is dissatisfied with both questioned aspects. The responses gathered (means), given directly as answers to the questioned global neighbourhood and life satisfaction, were for the most part identical to the values calculated from the means of the various sub-domains of the personal domain (satisfaction with: oneself, family, health...) and environmental domains (housing, transportation, refuse removal...) of quality of life. For more details consult table 6 and 7 in the appendix.

5.2.1.4 Moving Tendency
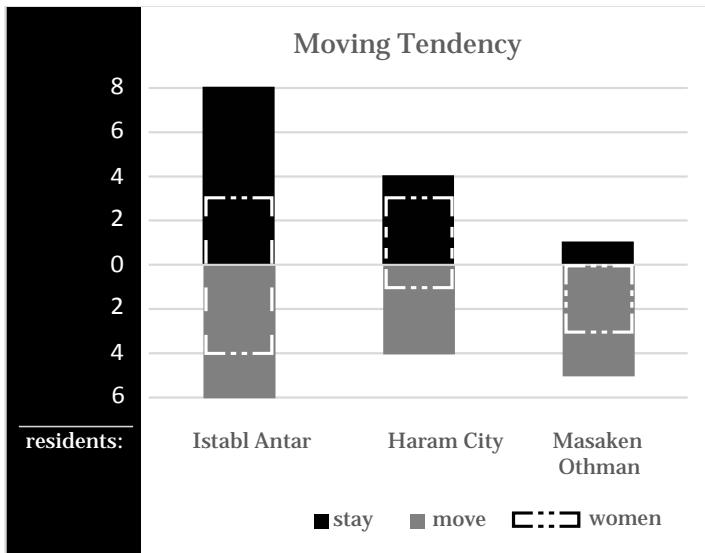
Figure 5-28 QoL study: moving tendency
Source: author

The last findings concern themselves with the question if the specific inhabitants would prefer to stay in their new assigned area—or, in the case of the inhabitants of Istabl Antar, in their current settlement—or if they would prefer to move. Figure 5-28 gives an overview of the results.

For Istabl Antar the following picture can be drawn: The majority, eight out of fourteen, prefer to stay within Istabl Antar. But they expressed that in case it were absolutely necessary, for example out of essential safety reasons, they would prefer to move to other, safer parts of Istabl Antar, instead of being relocated to public housing units. Haram City residents are exactly divided in their wish to stay or to move. Noteworthy in this context is that three out of four persons who wish to stay are women. This might be due to the greater amount of time they spend with their children within the neighbourhood, with its appreciated wide streets and acceptable housing conditions. In contrast, men might put their emphasis on the better job opportunities in the former environment of Istabl Antar, and might, therefore, prefer to move back.

living area	Overall Satisfaction with Neighbourhood		Preference to stay or to go back		total
			stay	leave	
Istabl Antar unsafe area		very dissatisfied	1	0	1
		dissatisfied	1	2	3
		neutral	2	2	4
		satisfied	3	2	5
		very satisfied	1	0	1
		total amount	8	6	14
Haram City		dissatisfied	0	2	2
		neutral	1	2	3
		satisfied	1	0	1
		very satisfied	2	0	2
		total amount	4	4	8
Masaken Othman		very dissatisfied	0	2	2
		dissatisfied	1	2	3
		satisfied	0	1	1
		total amount	1	5	6
total amount			13	15	28

Table 5-3 QoL study: overall satisfaction with neighbourhood and moving
Source: author

This interpretation is supported by the obvious correlation between neighbourhood satisfaction and the moving tendency in the following cross-tabulation 5-3. In Haram City, the four persons who would like to leave are neutral or dissatisfied regarding their neighbourhood. The majority of inhabitants from Masaken Othman are also dissatisfied with their overall neighbourhood. Additionally, Masaken Othman is, in nearly every domain and sub-domain, as illustrated within the last pages, the cut-off area. Therefore, it is not puzzling that every respondent interviewed, except for one, stated to prefer to return to Istabl Antar.

5.2.2 Conclusion

The outcomes of the quality of life study emphasise four aspects. Firstly, the situation in Haram City is quite different from the one in Masaken Othman. Among these differences are the divergent necessary expenditures for daily needs, the satisfaction with services resulting from differing availabilities and distances, and a deviating evaluation of the global neighbourhood and life satisfaction. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate between the different situations people face after relocation. Secondly, despite Istabl Antar having many drawbacks and unpleasant ratings, it still appears to be more attractive for the majority of relocated people to return to Istabl Antar than to remain in the provided

remote areas. Multiple reasons were stated and analysed for this decision. When comparing Haram City and Masaken Othman, urban and architectural planning apparently influences the decision to stay or to move. Consequently, it can be seen that planning aspects play a significant role in the establishment of functional new areas. Thirdly, the outcomes remain to be seen, due to their limited sample size as first indicators. Further, more comprehensive and wider examination and research would be necessary to gain really representative data. Fourthly, in order to explore and foster rapid improvements, short, medium, and long-term monitoring of the significant shortcomings in the relocation site should be conducted by an independent national body, as recommended by the *UN Guidelines* (2007: para. 70).

6. Discussion and Initial Recommendations

The previous chapter presented a detailed analysis of the eviction process and the living situation of the affected people afterwards. These results, based on site visits and the responses obtained by the author from about fifty interviewees of various stakeholder groups indicated that, according to international guidelines (but not necessarily in the light of the national law, cf. 2.3.1), the process has to be classified as forced eviction (see chapter 1.3). As already emphasised in chapter one and illustrated in chapter five, this classification has to be treated with caution. Further contextualisation, concentrating on the major points of deviations from international guidelines, allows discourse and the proposal of initial interventions and recommendations.

6.1 Overview: Contextualisation of Deviations

Short notice, only two days before the relocation, does not conform to international guidelines. Considering that this was done with the aim of avoiding a sudden influx of ineligible people into the relocation area, this specific deviation is cast in a different light. Another example is the controversy over the topic of the security of tenure in the new relocation sites. Was a contract really provided, as claimed by the administrative side or not, as claimed by inhabitants and CSOs)? If a contract was not provided, perhaps the intent might have been (not confirmed by the official side) to prevent inhabitants from easily selling their flat and moving back to unsafe informal areas, and in that way re-establishing the life-threatening situation. If so, the methods of the governmental side might be understandable and perhaps even justifiable—but was the applied approach finally successful? The following table, 6-1, will show an overview of the analysed and stated reasons for deviations of the examined process from international standards. These were analysed in chapter 5, and displayed as anticipation already in table 1-1.

Disregarded, but internationally requested process components	Reasons
Before Eviction	
1. Consultation & participation:	
- public hearing and discussions *(1)*	- time constraints (as per official side) *[5.1.1.3]*
- possible alternatives *(1)*	- urgency; no space (as per official side) *[6.2.5]*
- *information on the expected risk (1)*	- avoid panic *[5.1.1.1]*
2. Notification:	
- written - to all affected *(?)*	- ? (contradiction if provided) if not possible explanation: decrease suability by inhabitants
- sufficiently in advance *(1)*	- to avoid, that ineligible people move into the area *[5.1.1.4]*
- detailed justification why unavoidable *(1)*	- avoid panic (cf. expected risk) *[5.1.1.1]*
- details of proposed plans provided *(1)*	- time constraints, and lacking alternatives (as per official side) *[5.1.1.3]*
3. Access to legal counsel	
-facilitate legal & technical advice about rights *(1)*	- time-constraints (as per official side) no interest by government (as per CSO side)
4. Conduction of eviction impact assessment *(1)*	- time-constraints (as per official side) & no legal duty to do so *[6.2.2]*
5. Adequate compensation *(2)*	- no legal duty to do so; financial scarcity *[5.1.1.2]*
During	
6. Presence of neutral observers *(2/1)*	- scarcity of resources by CSOs (also connected with new NGO law)
	- independent body: no entity comissioned (possible connection to current absence of parliament)*[6.3.1]*
After Eviction	
1. Rendered homeless *(2)*	- difficult to find eligible inhabitants & distracting compensation system *[5.1.1.2]*
2. Relocation Site: Adequate housing	
- security of tenure *(?)*	- *?* contradiction if contract offered or not. (Possible explanation why not: avoid that people can more easily sell flat and move back to unsafe informal areas) *[6.1.5]*
- service availability *(2)*	- resource scarcity (all over Egypt); MURIS limited instruction power *[6.2.1]*
- location *(1)*	- lacking alternatives (claimed: official side) *[5.1.1.3]*
3. Monitoring *(2)*	- MURIS: work done: not published, possible reasons: limited instruction power & avoid upheaval; independent body: no entity comissioned (possible connection to current absence of parliament) *[6.3.1]*
4. *Offer training&job-opportunities* *(1)*	- lacking resources; difficult to set priorities
6. *Monitoring of post disaster area* *(1)*	- ?

Table 6-1 Analysed and stated reasons for deviations from internationally requested process components
(Source: author)

Considered in the table are those critical components classified within table 1-1 as (1), not fulfilled; (?), showing controversial statements and additionally some relevant components marked as (2), which stands for only partial compliance.

Based on the aforementioned underlying reasons and considerations, it is partially appropriate to rethink specific internationally requested steps or - more precisely - to foster further differentiation adjusted to the specific context and circumstances. By authoring, promoting and applying international guidelines, specificities of different relocation reasons and case by case particularities might recommend room for individual adaptations, which should then, however, be performed in a collaborative manner - by all stakeholders involved.

Despite this general critique and the possible need for differentiation, it is important to emphasise that in the present case study (as displayed in table 6-1), few inevitable and well-founded reasons or boundary conditions exist for deviations.

Most reasons, like the only partially conducted monitoring, the lacking availability of services, and the inhabitants rendered homeless, appear to be connected to questionable institutional competencies, lack of resources, or - as in the case of the homeless inhabitants - directly to the problematic compensation and surveying system rather than deficiencies within the international guidelines. Also, the above-mentioned aspects, delayed notification and the critical condition of the tenure situation, where deviations from international standards seem, at first glance, understandable and justifiable, prove to be critical. Short notice might be avoided or at least extended in favour of the affected inhabitants (in order to give them adequate preparation time), by applying a modified surveying and compensation system, that seeks to provide, right from the beginning, transparency and mutual trust (cf. 6.1.2). The same applies to the pending state of tenure: it might be better and more plausible to seek for another solution, which really helps both sides, and avoids, on the one hand, the fear to be relocated again, and on the other the problem of illegal sale (cf. 6.1.5).

Therefore, this sixth chapter will reflect on the most severe shortcomings and will propose specific amendments. The targeted contextualisation will, in this regard, not be used to legitimate observed shortcomings, but is necessary to propose in a

constructive and realistic way interventions - in an acupunctural manner - which might help to improve the process, and by this the conformity to international guidelines.

6.2 Reflections and Acupuncture-like Interventions: Case Study Related

The following subchapters seek, as described above, to find and develop specific, case related recommendations, drawn from reflections, discussions with interviewed stakeholders and international references.

6.2.1 Categorisation and Participation

Time constraints were mentioned as a reason for several deviations from international guidelines (cf. table 6-1), as well as for the neglected participation of inhabitants during the process of eviction. As displayed in chapter 5.1.1.3, several stakeholders from the official authority side emphasised that it is the duty of the state to save the lives of the inhabitants. They stressed that it was therefore necessary to evacuate the affected inhabitants as soon as possible, even without due consultation, in order to avoid human losses (El-Enen 2015; Naguib, 2015; Shaat, 2015; Shaheen, 2015). Undoubtedly, nobody wants to risk the loss of human lives. Nevertheless, as explained in the chapter referred to above (5.1.1.3), many CSO representatives share the opinion and state out of experience, that a participatory process, or at least a consultation, even on a short time frame (and observations demonstrated that in many cases there were even years between the rockslide and the evacuation) would have been possible—if the will from the administrative side had been there (Azim, 2015; El-Tibi, 2015; Mansour, 2015), and not only an attempt to "score by reacting fast" (Shaat, 2015b). A genuine consultation and participation, as part of the surveying process, is explained and recommended within chapter 6.2.2.

An additional aspect, expressed inter alia by Amnesty International, is ostensibly the failure by authorities to prioritise extremely hazardous areas. It was claimed that people living in "less dangerous situations have been (immediately) evicted and rehoused" (AI, 2011:97). Yahia Shawkat misses straightforwardness on the official side. He criticises that, according to his knowledge, a lot of money had already been invested in areas, classified as grad II, instead of treating the first

ones - which have priority, according to the own categorisation by ISDF and the Governorates (2015). Even if the competency of the technical committee is in general not doubted (Zayed, 2015) Ahmed Mansour, representative of HIC, emphasised, due to the two above mentioned aspects, the need for a further detailed and transparent subdivision of grade I, classified as life-threatening (2015). Two sub-groups should be established: Group one, which really requires immediate evacuation, and group two which must be relocated on a short time scale. The first group should be relocated without delay - if nothing else adequate is available, even in temporary shelters. After arriving at the temporary or permanent relocation site, the inhabitants should be consulted and integrated into a process of participation. For the second sub-group, proper consultation still can take place in situ before evacuation. In this way, the argument or excuse of time constraints, leading to non-participation, can be eliminated.

6.2.2 Surveying and Compensation

The surveying process is, as displayed in chapter five, a difficult task, which often appears to result in quarrels and injustice, especially if conducted in the same manner as in Istabl Antar. The course and the results of the surveying process are often inseparably connected to the mode of compensation. This is due to the fact, that "experience shows, that compensation may entail a number of difficulties and grievances, including corruption" (OHCHR, 2014:33) The compensation process employed in Istabl Antar followed the approach that each family living in a house within the life-threatening area receives one flat— no matter if owner or renter (for details see chapter 5.1.1.2.). From the author's point of view, this process, as displayed, stimulates dishonesty, weakness, seeking for personal gain, and in its final consequence: corruption.

Khalil Shaat, the Advisor of the Governor, confessed that a great number of resources were wasted for apartments received by ineligible beneficiaries (2015c). He further explained that, for that reason, a modification of the system was undertaken at the beginning of 2014. He elaborated that inhabitants of life-threatening areas are, since then, invited into the Governorate for negotiations. The specific case he described—Al Razza Street in Duweiqa—apparently led to a consensus. The building owners were said to be eligible to receive the same number of flats and (work)shop spaces they owned; the renters were each eligible to receive one flat (see Fig. 6-1).
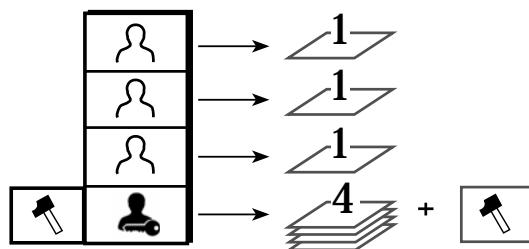
Figure 6-1 revised compensation system from 2014 (Governorate Cairo)
Source: author

But the implementation of this narrative allegedly did not take place. This was elaborated in an article from ECSER, EIPR and ECRCL, and was also emphasised during consultations with a representative of one of the above-mentioned organisations. During the interview, it was confirmed that the Governorate invited inhabitants of the mentioned area -building owners only, excluding the tenants. According to the article, some kind of agreement was reached, but, further, an inhabitant was roughly dismissed when he asked for minutes of the meeting (ECESER at al., 2014). The article further states that, in the end, the owners each received a random number of flats within the public housing project in the Mokattam housing area. However, most flats were allegedly not habitable or rentable - partly without windows, water or electricity (ibid). The former renters were sent to Masaken Othman without any kind of consultation (Zayed, 2015). This case demonstrates that the real shortcomings of the compensation system were not tackled by the modifications in 2014. The first problem is that, in the end, no adequate housing was provided. Secondly, no fair consultation and negotiation with all the inhabitants took place, and thirdly, the difficulty once again arose of how to find the real, eligible inhabitants.

Therefore, the question remains, how could an adequate compensation system for the inhabitants of life-threatening areas in Cairo look like and be implemented, which aims at a full compensation and rehabilitation as requested by the *UN Guidelines* and *IASC Guidelines*. Such a system, which needs to be developed, should form the basis for all unsafe areas of grade I, upon which case-by-case negotiations and consultations with the affected inhabitants should be conducted.

The following system shall serve and be considered as a first attempt to develop a framework, which

- Minimises the incentives for all stakeholders to try to misuse or bypass the system
- Offers as fair a compensation and rehabilitation as possible
- Aims for a win-win situation between the official authorities, namely the Governorate; the MURIS and the inhabitants

The proposed first part of the suggested system concerns compensation. It is based on the assumption that a reduction of misuse and corruption can only be achieved when:

The owners:
- Do not see themselves in an aggrieved situation
- Have no advantage by 'inviting' additional renters into their house

The renters:
- Do not fear that they will not be considered for a replacement flat of equal or larger size

Both groups:
- Are able to earn their livelihood
- Have access to all necessary services (education, health, social centres...)

The Governorate:
- Can reduce the amount of money spent on ineligibly relocated inhabitants.

To achieve these aims, three principles were developed for regulating the tangible compensation of flats, which forms the basis of the framework.

The first principle focuses on the space restitution. The system applied by the Governorate Cairo implements a random distribution of flats - in Haram City flats with floor areas of 24, 48 and 63 m² were arbitrarily issued, whereas in Masaken Othman, only one flat size of 42 m² was offered throughout. In

contrast, the proposed system considers the current living situation, complying, at the same time, with minimum standards. The Executive Fact Sheet of the Egyptian Law 119 requires, according to lawyer Mohamed Azim, at least one room with a separate kitchen and bathroom (2015). This can be seen as too little, in case a family is supposed to move in. UN-Habitat demands fewer than two or maximum three people per room to avoid overcrowding (UN-Habitat, 2003), although it is "difficult to place a value judgement on overcrowding" (Meyer and Bear cited by UN-Habitat 2006: 71). Rates vary from country to country - if existent - and are very much connected to cultural definitions. A study conducted by Shehayeb et al., considering more than 400 Egyptian households in informal and formal areas revealed that the main aspect is not the occupancy rate itself, but rather gender separation (2003). Taking into consideration the above, the minimum size, chosen within this proposal, amounts to 35 m². This results from the consideration that at least two rooms plus one hall (which can be used for sleeping) should be provided. This is also in line with the observation, from data collected, that the average family size in the relocation areas is ~ 5. Recommended and desirable is a structural design of the building that allows modifications of room sizes to achieve variety.

Out of this reflection, the following system arose: families that are currently living in a flat smaller than 25 m² will receive a flat of 35 m². Inhabitants of spaces between 25 and 40 m² will receive 45 m², and 63 m² will be provided to families living in apartments larger than 40 m² (Fig. 6-2).

Principle I:
Size of substitutive flat depends on current size of the flat

current flat size		new flat size	
≤ 25 m²	→	35 m²	■■ +
25 - 40 m²	→	45 m²	■■ +
≥40 m²	→	63 m²	■■■ +
			No. of rooms (but adaptable)
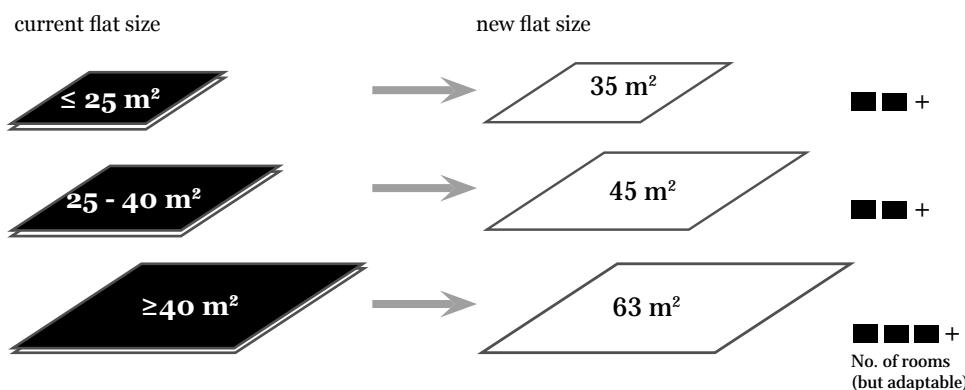
Figure 6-2 Principle I of proposed compensation framework
Source: author

The second principle (Fig. 6-3) aims at maintaining the ownership structure. Building owners will become owners again, whereas tenants will remain tenants. This means, in practice, that one house in the unsafe area is assumed to have one owner; in case direct family members— parents, brothers, sisters or children— are living in an additional flat, they will also be treated as owners.

Principle II:
Owner stays owner - Renter stays renter
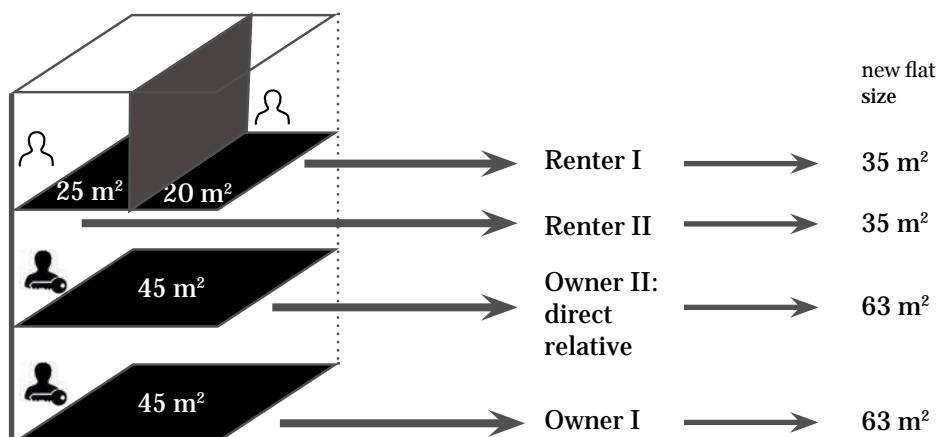
Figure 6-3 Principle II of proposed compensation framework
Source: author

The last principle, number three, clarifies the financial aspects. The main idea is that owners still maintain their rental income, and tenants essentially keep their rental price. The first step is to determine an average rental price within a settlement that is planned to be evicted. Thereafter, a committee will conduct a survey process, gathering information about the family numbers in a house, their habited space, and socio-economic data in a participatory manner, as will be elaborated subsequently. The size of the rooms the inhabitants are currently residing in is important, because this will determine on the one hand the size of the replacement flat, and on the other hand the rent price. Fig. 6-4 shows this system. Renter I is living in a flat with 20 m². The current average rent in the area prone to evacuation amounts, in this example, to 5 EGP for one square meter. The renter receives a new apartment with 35 m² and will still pay for this 100 EGP (⟶), which results from the old size 20m² x the average 5 EGP/m². Additionally he/she will pay for the consumption of water and electricity.

This amount has to be given to a 'Local Office' (LO), plus 3% extra for the self-sustaining of the system and for common maintenance tasks. The pure rent amount (here: 100 EGP) will be forwarded to the original owner of the unit, who is registered as such in the established LO. In case the tenants move out (whereby he/she must sign that a return to an informal settlement will not take place), and a new tenant from outside, not affected by the relocation process, wants to move in, he/she has to pay a rent calculated from the actual square metres (here 35) and the average price of 5 EGP/m² , which makes 175 EGP (·····➤)The landlord, nevertheless, will receive the same amount he/ she was eligible to receive from his original tenants - here: 100 EGP - which resembles the fair price for the square meters he/she owned in the old location. The rest will be retained by the LO for common usage. This system, with the owner receiving a rent according to the floor area of the flats rented in the unsafe area, discourages the attempt to put more tenants into it, because there is no additional profit in doing so. More families do not mean more money for the owner, therefore this incentive, which leads to corruption and exploitation, is removed.

Principle III:

Financing Aspects
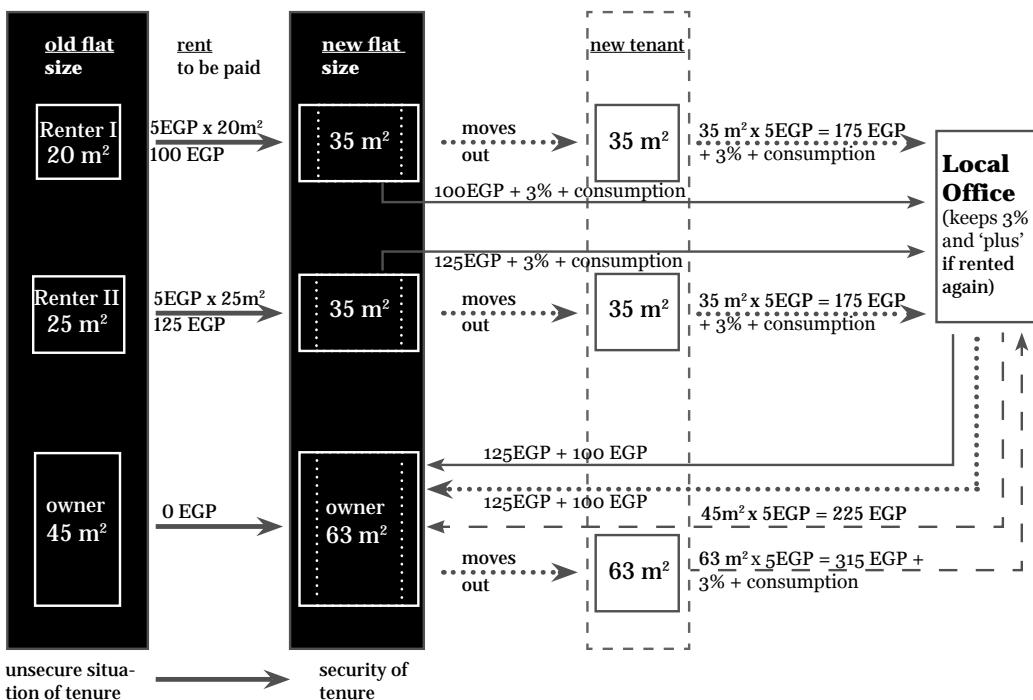
Figure 6-4 Principle III of proposed compensation framework
Source: author

Looking now again to the new living area. In case the owner wants to move out, he/she can do so and will then receive the rental price calculated from their originally owned square meters multiplied by the average price (which might be adapted over the years). In the above example, he/she will receive 225 EGP (45 m² x 5 EGP/m²; $-$ $\rightarrow$). The difference between the 315 EGP (63 m² x 5 EGP/m²) paid by the new renter, and the forwarded 225 EGP to the old owner, will be retained once again by the LO. In this case, the deduction will also function as an incentive for the owners to remain in the area and not to leave. The money accumulated in the LO could, as mentioned, be used for maintenance works or for the potential construction of further flats e.g. with larger sizes or varying layout, which would then be made available for purchase by inhabitants, who are part of the living area and therefore of the implemented system. In general, the LO, respectively its employees, who are partly from the inhabitants' side and partly from the local district, have the duty to register and control every change of house of the inhabitants. Proper upkeep of the data is encouraged by the fact that it facilitates the common income, and therefore, the common benefit . Additionally, it is proposed that regular monitoring and alignment of the database, developed by the LO, with the actual situation on ground take place under the auspices of ISDF/MURIS. In general, the inhabitants will move from insecurity of tenure to a secure situation, by either receiving a lawful ownership receipt or a lease.

The following paragraph will deal with obstacles or limitations of the suggested system, which would require further research and definition. The first obstacle is that this system might perhaps face initial difficulties, since it will significantly reduce the possibilities to profit from the former "rotten system" - as Khalil Shaat named it (2015c) - on both sides, the inhabitants' and the administrations'. Some tenants might further not appreciate that they are required to keep paying rent. Yet, this would have already been the case in the old system, if the fees had been collected correctly by the current administration. The second obstacle that might be expected is that, within the proposed system, a person who previously lived in 9 m² pays much less than somebody who lived in 22 m², although both receive a 35 m² flat. This could be solved, on the one hand, with a fourth, even smaller replacement flat (perhaps provided within a co-housing system with shared cooking facilities - comparable to the traditional local 'rabaa' system). This might be justifiable in cases where, for example, only one or two elderly people were living in a very small room. Alternatively, an additional regulation could be

defined, that rooms smaller than e.g. 8 m² cannot be considered as a separate flat, to avoid further splitting of flats, attempting to gain substitutive units. A fourth **point to be considered is the need to avoid sudden housing extensions before the surveying process. Precise satellite images and photographic recording in all life-**threatening unsafe areas - taken before announcing the system - could be used **against later claims.**

The surveying and counting process itself should also be modified, to overcome **problems of mistrust between inhabitants and the committee. One approach, which became popular during the last years, is the community driven mapping** and enumeration attempt, promoted inter alia by Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and their member organisations. Basic socio-economic data are collected, and the inhabitants are listed. Important is that a verification of the potential beneficiaries via photos takes place as part of a public announcement of the results. Thereby, all settlement inhabitants are requested to confirm the accuracy of the data (Kamukam, 2011). **This system is convincing and was and is successfully conducted in many parts of the world. However, during an interview, a lawyer of Ezbet Khairalllah doubted its effectiveness in the context of Egypt. He claimed that the people would not accuse each other of being ineligible, to avoid inner disputes (Mustafa, 2015). Manal El-Tibi contradicts this valuation and emphasises, that exactly this approach was already conducted within an eviction** process in Port Said, in which she took part.

In the case of unsafe areas, a team consisting of inhabitants and authorities could be established. This would create trust on both sides, and would be a viable method, as stated by many inhabitants, as well as officials interviewed. Khalil Shaat expressed, while discussing the surveying aspect, that in addition to such a joint approach, responsible officials have to be carefully chosen and paid reasonably to avoid conflicts of interest (2015c). A further idea, provided by Manal El-Tibi, would be to work with two teams (2015). This does, in her experience, **reduce the number of manipulation trials. In order to be eligible for housing, the name of an inhabitant must occur on both lists; therefore manipulation is more** difficult.

The system described above can only function if one aspect is fulfilled, which is, however, **manifold and challenging to achieve. This aspect is the requirement**

that beside the replacement flat, all further "personal and real" losses (CESCR, 1997:4), caused by the eviction are "fair[ly] and just[ly]" compensated (OHCHR, 2007: para. 60; IASC, 2011; CESCR, 1997; CESCR 1991). Therefore, the 'loss-matrix' developed by HIC, presented within chapter 2.3.2, is recommended to be applied by the above introduced surveying committee (consisting of inhabitants and governmental staff). This loss-matrix assesses all impacts that occur before, during, and after eviction and strives for rehabilitation, including lost development opportunities, instead of a pure compensation (Mansour, 2015). The main goal of the 'loss-matrix' is that the inhabitants are "better-off" or at least not worse-off after the eviction (which, however, often happens, as emphasised by Cernea, 2003). Therefore, it must be guaranteed that it is possible for inhabitants to earn a livelihood.

In the case of the people relocated from life-threatening area, this means that more effort must be undertaken to support the relocated inhabitants within this perspective. Currently, the ISDF offers eight different programs, ranging from women's health to a savings and loans system to providing job opportunities for youth. However, none of these are provided in the relocation sites Masaken Othman and Haram City. An emphasis should be placed on, as the QoL study demonstrated, on the provision of economical support structures, which incorporate the fields of:

- Job and skills training
- Contact to companies
- Start-up loans
- Space provided for (work)-shops within the settlement
- Regular and low-priced transportation possibility

Not only ISDF/ MURIS should be responsible for it, but also the Ministry of Solidarity and Ministry of Economic Development—a new cooperation has to be fostered (El-Tibi, 2015; Ibrahim, 2015). According to Algohery, negotiations have recently begun (i.e. after several years) with the Ministry of Solidarity (2015).

In summary, the above-described framework might present a possible promising starting point for the reformation of the current compensation system towards a more fair and functional rehabilitation system, serving the needs of all involved stakeholders.

6.2.3 Actual Relocation Sites: Haram City & Masaken Othman

Since shortcomings of the two actual relocation sites of the chosen case study Istabl Antar were mentioned above, and a wide and comprehensive analysis was already displayed in the chapters 5.1.3.2 to 5.2.2., the present reflection will only concentrate on and recall a few aspects.

First, the totally different urban planning approaches and housing designs of the two nearby relocation sites provided the possibility to investigate the relationship of different satisfaction aspects, evaluated by former inhabitants of Istabl Antar, with the settlement design. The results suggest, that the offer of areas for (work)shops, wider streets, low-rise buildings, and green spaces have, among other factors, a significant positive influence on life and neighbourhood satisfaction.

Secondly, the provision of services demonstrates essential shortcomings, and this needs to be tackled, along with the non-provision of socio-cultural meeting space. Kareem Ibrahim, project leader of Tadamun, emphasises, in regard of the two mentioned aspects, that a full compensation must be provided (cf. previous chapter), and that planning in Cairo and Egypt needs to be combined with a social debate. He stresses that the land distribution has to be rethought in the same way as city administration has to change their attitude towards the relocation of people living in life-threatening areas: by not thinking only as contractors, who are supposed to provide houses, but of providing a living (2015).

The third and last aspect is that the limited monitoring and analysis of both the newly-built public housing areas (where the inhabitants were relocated) and the current informal areas (with positive architectural features such as walkability, work-living proximity, and completely self-financed incremental building (Shehayeb, 2011:36)), leads to a situation in which the same mistakes are repeated in the process of designing and planning new social housing projects (Ibrahim, 2015).

6.2.4 Security of Tenure

One crucial aspect, or rather, shortcoming, which is not mentioned in the previous subchapter, is the questionable current tenure security situation in the relocation sites (see chapter 5.1.3.2). Without being able to judge the situation finally, the question arises again, what are/might be the current intentions of and benefits for the various stakeholders?

The only advantage of the actual pending situation for the inhabitants, who claim to have no contract, is - as expressed by themselves - the fact that nobody is asking them to pay for water, electricity and the rent. This advantage is, however, probably not a consequence of the contract issue, but of the malfunction of the local offices, as confessed by Khalil Shaat (2015c).

According to the description of CSOs and the inhabitants, they face several significant disadvantages: first, some have had difficulties receiving ID cards issued with the new living area on it, due to a lack of acknowledged proof of tenure. Secondly, similar problems appear with so-called 'food cards', which guarantee lower prices, and are often still issued for the former living area, which requires a long and expensive trip for the affected residents. Thirdly, some inhabitants face problems registering their children at school, since some schools request a proper contract as proof of residency. And, last but not least, one major disadvantage is that the possibility of further evictions is not definitely ruled out. Some inhabitants stated that they are afraid of being 'kicked out' anytime (inhabitant 26, 33, 13, 33, 2015).

On the other side, the viewpoint of the Governorate is, as mentioned in chapter 5.1.3.2 and 6.1, difficult to analyse. Whether contracts were offered, but refused, or not, the outcome seems to be that the vast majority of the inhabitants in the relocation site have no final contracts. The situation described significantly increases the probability that these inhabitants move out of their flats. In this way, the problem of informal settlements is perpetuated (against the postulated intention of the Government to solve the issue), since - due to the lack of affordable alternatives - the respective persons tend to return to these informal areas. To take on this problem it has to be ensured that every family receives and signs a contract. This contract must contain the guarantee that the people will not be subject to any further displacement. Conversely, the evicted residents have to accept and sign, that they are not allowed to sell the flat for the purpose of returning to their former informal areas. Also, irregularities within the current local offices have to be approached. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapters, the provision of all basic services, social facilities, a 'fair' rent system (chapter 6.2.2.), and working possibilities are important prerequisites, needed to provide the people with the means to make their livelihood, and finally the possibility to remain in the new area.

6.2.5 Possible Alternative Locations and Housing Type

The next aspect, upon reflection on the offered relocation sites, the applied compensation system and the development of possible interventions, is an elaboration on alternative relocation sites.

To recall the current situation: despite the recommendation of the *UN Guidelines* that "alternative housing should be situated as close as possible to the original place of residence and source of livelihood", the residents of Istabl Antar were transferred to areas 30-40 km away (OHCHR, 2007, para. 43). As stated by officials, due to the unavailability of alternative sites, they could not provide another solution for the relocated residents of Istabl Antar (Shaat 2015a; Shaheen 2015). Amnesty International contradicted this statement in 2011 and claims that there had been "vacant plots closer to Istabl Antar (...), these were however (...) set aside for upmarket housing projects such as Madinty" and New Al-Fustat (2011: 64ff.).

Irrespective of the situation some years ago, for the approximately 600 families remaining in Istabl Antar, still awaiting relocation, the urgent question arises, what is going to happen to them and where will they be relocated? According to Shaat, the Governorate currently offers residents who must be relocated the possibility to move to an area called Asmarat, a public housing area still under construction. Therefore, the inhabitants, who must be relocated immediately due to the assessed acute life-threatening location of their houses, are currently offered three options: first, a rent compensation until the project is finished; second, permanent relocation to Masaken Othman; or third, temporary relocation to Masaken Othman until the Asmarat public housing is completed and then relocation there. The new housing blocks of Asmarat are located in the northeast of Istabl Antar. Yet, this area is still 16 km away from the current living area, which raises the question if social and economic ties could really be maintained if the proposed plan is implemented. Various CSO representatives requested maximum distances of merely 4-5 km. Therefore, a vacant area next to Ezbet Khairallah, could be seen as a more appropriate destination for relocation. The area is, however, since 1995 the issue of disputes between the Governorate (i.e. the owner), the Ministry of Interior (current 'occupant'), and inhabitants (El-Enen, 2015). The Ministry of Interior has, at this time, taken the land over, and since then has prevented the building of a planned school and a youth centre on the land (cf. Fig. 6-5) (Tadamun 2013a).
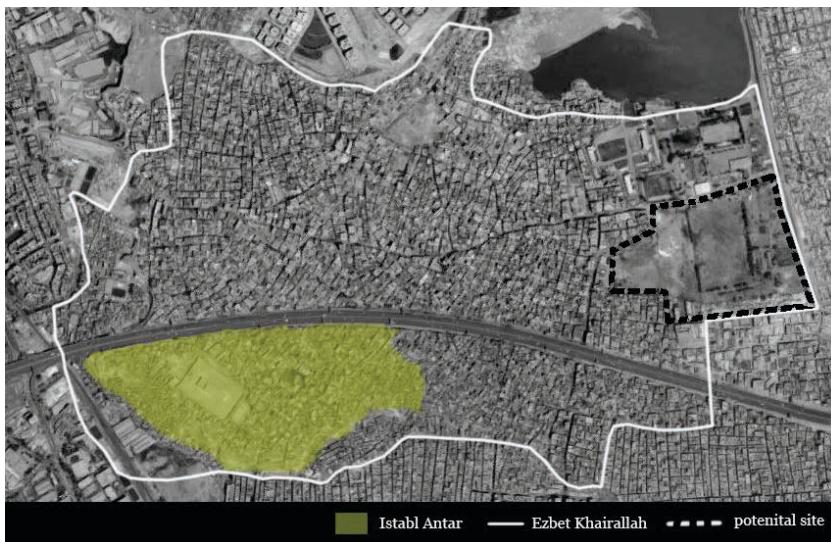
Figure 6-5 Alternative relocation site next to Istabl Antar
Source: author (based on Tadamun 2013a)

As soon as this dispute is solved, the portion of the 37 acres remaining after building the school could be an excellent nearby location for future relocations, and could provide the possibility to implement the new compensation system suggested above in chapter 6.2.2.

Considering the outcome of the conducted quality of life study, a new approach of internal relocation – i.e. within the existing settlement of Istabl Antar, located on safe ground – might be an interesting alternative housing type. More than half of the interviewed people of Istabl Antar would like to remain within their settlement. The internal relocation idea aims at a win-win approach: the 'rest' of Istabl Antar, which is not classified as life-threatening, but as unsafe, grade II (according to plans by ISDF and Algohery, 2015) needs further development. In the course of this development, an upgrading process could be initiated, for which the conscious replacement of extremely deteriorated buildings, or a limited addition of stories to existing low-rise buildings could take place. A system of financing loans, combined with the offer of tenure security for building owners, would form the regulatory framework. This aims to ensure that the newly constructed flats would be made available to residents of the unsafe cliff area. This proposal was developed during a seminar/ study in 2014, by a team, of which the author was a member (IUSD, 2014a). The initial idea was received positively by interviewed inhabitants and approached administrative stakeholders, but would demand further investigation. Especially the need for and feasibility of additional infrastructure such as schools must be examined.

border
Istabl Antar

internal
relocation

evacuated
cliff area

houses in
unsafe area

upgraded
houses

Figure 6-6 Alternative proposal: internal relocation
Source: IUSD 2014a

As mentioned, it could be a win-win situation: current inhabitants might receive the possibility to renovate their houses, residents awaiting relocation could remain within the area, and the Governorate would not be required to provide external alternative housing (cf. Fig. 6-6 and appendix 8).

Reflecting on the above proposals, it is recommended to provide the inhabitants with a choice. This is additionally reinforced by results of the conducted quality of life study, which demonstrate that there is a diversity of interests and different preferences of housing types. About half of the residents, who would prefer to move and not to stay in their current living place (either in the unsafe area of Istabl Antar or in the new relocation sites) would like to move to an inner-city public housing block. The others, however, are either willing to move, or in case they are forced to move, would favour another type. The vast majority of inhabitants who are awaiting relocation in Istabl Antar would prefer to have the opportunity to build an individual or shared house by themselves. This would offer the advantage to create individuality, and strengthen the sense of ownership, thereby minimising the will to move again. Additionally, this type would be financial and needs-oriented. Incremental building would be possible, and appreciated, as mentioned, as this tradition is widely spread in Egypt. Future research and analysis of self-built 'side-and service' or 'core-housing' projects, as already applied in Egypt (Ismaelia in the 1970s and the 'Ibni Beitak' approach),

would be therefore advisable to avoid repeating earlier mistakes but to revitalise the strengths.

The last approaches for alternative housing types might be applicable for inhabitants of life-threatening areas that are endangered but do not need to be relocated immediately, but rather within the next years (cf. chapter 6.2.1). For residents that need to be relocated without any delay, temporary housing might be found, until the preparations for the above-presented proposals are completed. In general, the preceding alternative housing type suggestions, question a direct housing provision. Some of them might have, on the one hand, the disadvantage of a higher need of space, but on the other hand - beside the above mentioned advantages - most of them do not require the state to provide fully finished houses, but rather to concentrate merely on the crucial physical and social service and infrastructure provision.

In summary, the main recommendation is to offer a mature choice - different inhabitants have different wishes, financial possibilities and priorities. This might be worth reflection in future relocation plans and developments.

In this regard, the overall requirement, or need, appears to connect the discussed micro level of different housing types and settlement layouts with the larger macro level to develop an integrated, long term, citywide planning approach. This becomes increasingly obvious as the advisor of the Governor commented, concerned, that until now, relocation took place only under the aim to save lives and try to score within the public by reacting quickly, but without developing any kind of integrated, comprehensive city-wide view (Shaat 2015b). To be able to widen the view, the next section will focus on the national level and the relationships of involved parties.

6.3 Reflection: National Level

6.3.1 Institutional Competency, Responsibility and Supremacy

The work performed by MURIS since its establishment in summer 2014 (and of the ISDF, which was affiliated then to MURIS), is generally considered positive by the interviewed stakeholders. Laila Iskandar, who became the Minister of the newly founded MURIS, played an especially important role here. Her NGO background and her new method of addressing, inviting, and discussing with involved civil society organisations has brought her respect and appreciation, especially of the latter (Mansour, 2015; Zayeda, 2015; El-Tibi, 2015; Azim, 2015). The relationship between the Governorate and MURIS was, in the interviews, initially described as positive from representatives of both entities. However, later on it became apparent that mutual trust and sometimes coordination was or is lacking. Agents of different CSOs explained, with respect to the latter mentioned problems, that in their point of view, the power of the two administrative bodies is imbalanced. An important aspect thereof is that some CSO interview partners feared the current position of MURIS could be even seen as a façade - façade erected for the public and international stage (source, prefer to remain anonymous). This criticism and fear becomes more understandable by taking a closer look, first at the constellation of the two entities, and later, at further ones. In this way, two preliminary suggestions will be formulated.

The first considers the aspect of providing MURIS itself with more competencies, capacity, and power. These competencies should be extended to a holistic coordination position for all unsafe and unplanned areas. The current institutional structure requires, among others, the transfer of money from MURIS, which functions as a fund as well, to the Governorates. The subsequent monitoring of implementations or decisions of the Governorate is, therefore, difficult, since enforcement mechanisms are lacking, and personal resources within MURIS are scarce (Shaat, 2015d). This problem becomes clear in the case of unsafe areas grade II-IV, which do not require a predetermined full relocation to another place, but rather an upgrading or resettlement within the place, which can take various forms. In this situation, the Governorate is claimed to put - due in part to financial scarcities - investors' interests over the interests of the people living in the area to be developed (Aboulenein, 2013; Khalil, 2012). MURIS should secure a focus on a humanitarian approach in these cases, in accordance with

human rights standards. This, however, is difficult and cumbersome in the current constellation, as evidenced by the case of the well-known Cairo inner city development area called 'Maspiero'.

Obstacles to the realisation of this proposal, which aims at the shifting of competencies for the planning and implementation of informal areas, are twofold. First, Building law 119 states that the responsibility for unplanned areas lies within the competency of the Governorates - this would require modification (Azim, 2015). Second, the current staff of MURIS/ISDF comprises only approximately 25 persons, a number which would need to be significantly increased to accomplish the necessary monitoring and planning process.

The second proposal, developed through discussions and insights gained within interviews conducted, goes one step further to suggest a complete restructuring of MURIS. MURIS, as a ministry, currently possesses mandates and functions partially overlapping with those of the Governorates and other Ministries (Mansour, 2015; Shawkat, 2015; Shaat 2015c). The funding function of ISDF could, for example, be replaced, because the other entities have their own housing funds available, which therefore might simply be increased (Shawkat, 2015). However, a coordinating entity, specialised in unplanned and unsafe areas, positioned at the cabinet level, is missing. Therefore, it might be helpful, if MURIS would become a committee or agency acting as an independent part of the Supreme Council for Urban Planning and Development (SCPUD). At this position, it could, equally well as the SCPUD, express its opinion on drafts of laws, approve general goals and standards, evaluate implementations, and coordinate between the ministers (Building Law 119, 2008, article 4; Fahmy, 2013:11). Thereby, the power of decision and global monitoring of different Ministries involved could be achieved. This would be a crucial step, as the following example displays: As reported by Sherif Algohery, MURIS (2015), and confirmed by Ibrahim, Tadamun (2015b), ISDF conducted an assessment of the area Masaken Othman at the end of 2011. However, the majority of the important recommendations suggested by ISDF were not implemented by the responsible ministries (Tadamun, 2015b). Sherif Algohery explained that MURIS does not push other Ministries, but "reports [and] asks them to help" (2015). He explained that, in the case of Masaken Othman, MURIS informed the Prime Minister about the difficult situation (ibid). On the one hand, the political changes in the last years might have played a role, and can therefore be seen as a reason for the non-

implementation of the recommendations. On the other hand, the assumption that MURIS simply does not have the power to force other Ministries or Governorates to "help" might be legitimate. Consequently, the above proposal of the shifting to the council level might be helpful.

In addition to the above-described problem of limited internal monitoring by MURIS/ISDF, monitoring by an independent national body is missing. This aspect was not addressed in both proposals so far, but is required by the *UN Guidelines* (OHCHR, 2007: para. 70). As stated, at present, there is no monitoring of conducted evictions undertaken by an independent oversight entity in Egypt. CSOs assume this task, if and as often as they can (El-Tibi, 2015; Shawkat, 2015). The existing National Council for Human Rights would be eligible and theoretically appropriate to fulfil the requirement of an "independent national monitoring" entity (OHCHR, 2007: para. 70). But, two main obstacles must be overcome to put this into practice. The first is questionable independence. The 'Concluding Observations' by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights request, therefore, the full compliance with international principles "with regard to selection, appointment, and removal of members" of the National Council for Human Rights in Egypt (CESCR, 2013:2). Manal El-Tibi (a member herself) confirms this problem, and elaborated that it is even currently aggravated by the fact that the parliament, which normally appoints the members has not existed for some time, and thus the selection of members is left to the Prime Minister (2015). The second obstacle is the insufficiency of human resources (El-Tibi, 2015; Shawkat, 2015; CESCR, 2013:2;). This problem, which is also connected to the first obstacle, could be overcome by the development of an audited list of NGOs, which could, on an interim basis, perform the evaluation and monitoring (Shawkat, 2015). Also important is the establishment of an independent ombudsman that the inhabitants can contact in cases of irregularities. At present, the only available institution, the local district authorities, are not eligible, since they are often part of violations themselves. The results and shortcomings detected in the monitoring process, and the complaints collected by the ombudsman must then be reported to the 'newly transformed MURIS - now at cabinet level (or as proposed in the first suggestion attached to the Ministry of planning) - where they can then be redirected and solutions enforced. The following diagram illustrates the second proposal and the position of the independent monitoring body (Fig. 6-7).
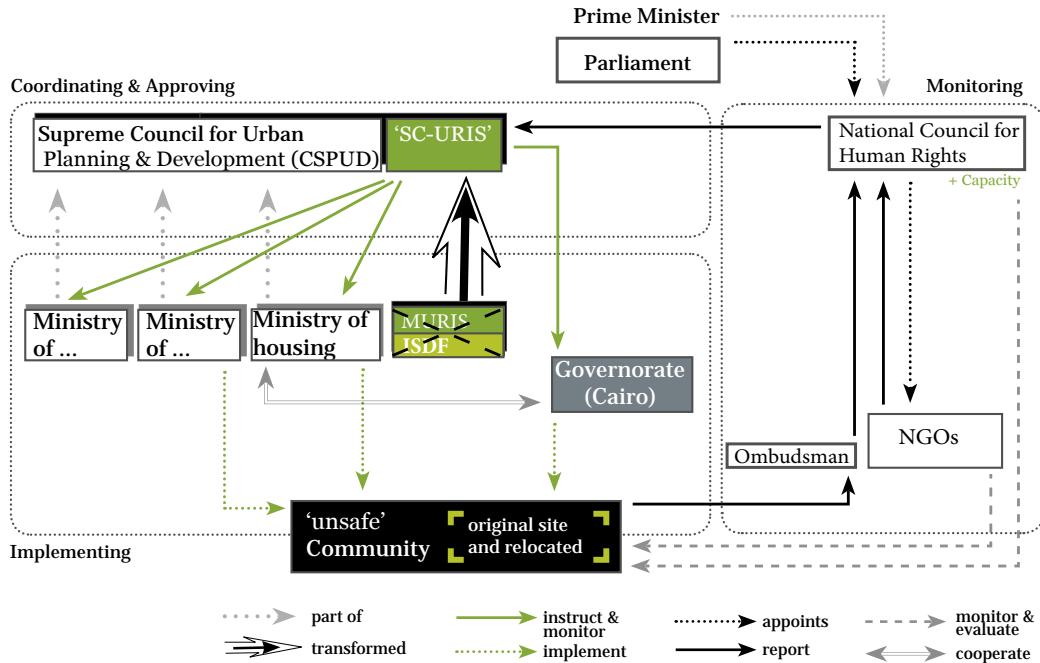
Figure 6-7 Transformation I of MURIS/ISDF and independent monitoring body
Source: author

If, after further examination, the restructuring of MURIS, i.e. the affiliation to the CSPUD, turns out to be not feasible, the merger of MURIS with the Ministry of Planning could also, at least partly, improve its power of enforcement, since the Ministry of Planning has the upper hand in financial aspects (Algohery, 2015). Not only MURIS ,after receiving the numbers for the requested funds from the different Governorates, but also other Ministries, such the Ministry for Transportation must apply for funding from the Ministry of Planning (ibid)(see Fig. 6-8). Therefore, the Ministry of Planning has the most control over implementation. A merger of MURIS and the Ministry of Planning could strengthen the improvements in informal areas and relocation sites.
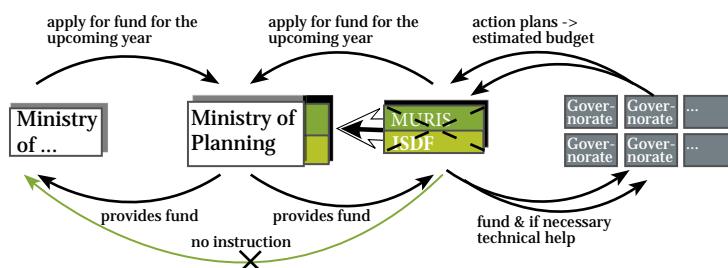
Figure 6-8 Transformation II of MURIS/ISDF and independent monitoring body
Source: author

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that the suggestions developed, based on conducted interviews and collected data, are preliminary. For comprehensive and substantial results, more extensive research would need to be undertaken, conducted by political and juridical experts.

6.3.2 Embedding in National Law

The last proposed intervention of this reflection and discussion chapter will elaborate on the embedding into national law of regulations for inevitable evictions and the prohibition of forced evictions.

The incorporation of the *UN Guidelines* into national law and policies has been urged by various parties, among others by the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, (OHCHR, 2007, paragraph 56a). This has, however, as mentioned in chapter 2.3.1, not yet taken place in Egypt. Therefore, the situation requires additional measures.

The first would require a precise definition of adequate housing, which has been assured since 2012 in Article 78 of the Constitution, but never exactly defined (Tadamun, 2013a; CESCR, 2013). Furthermore, it would be necessary to modify or add to the Article 63, which prohibits arbitrary forced *migration*, but currently does not use the word *"ächla" - eviction*. Afterwards, the second and (as noted by Mohamed Azim (2015), an Egyptian human rights lawyer) most important step would be to translate these articles of the Constitution into laws, and by complementing these with detailed guidelines. This is crucial since, according to Algohery, guidelines regarding the implementation of evacuation of threatened settlers in informal areas are currently expected to be developed independently by each Governorate itself, (2015). This might lead, on the one hand, to the circumstance that different Governorates have divergent guidelines and, on the other hand, they might be rarely enforced due to their unbinding nature, as observed in the Cairo Governorate (Shaat 2015d).

A pioneer in the implementation of the above requirement is South Africa. Two decades ago, it implemented articles in its constitution (Section 26), which prohibit forced, arbitrary evictions and translated them into laws. Thereby one article clarifies that, in any case, a court order for planned evictions is needed. Further laws, such as Land Act 19, provide additional explanations and

procedural requirements for the conducting of evictions (Chenwi, 2008: 116-118). Noteworthy is, as well, that squatting was simultaneously decriminalised in South Africa (ibid), whereas it remains illegal and a crime to infringe on state owned land under the Egyptian Civil Code, Article 970. The aforementioned legal factors in South Africa create transparency and help to improve the situation of marginalised groups. This would be desirable for the Egyptian case as well. The third crucial step, which would need to be achieved, is the challenging translation of the developed policies and laws into practice. Chenwi (2008) as well as Azim (2015) emphasise thereby the central role of local and national courts. They are requested to recognise, support and enhance the enforcement of national as well as international agreements.

The last aspect that will be mentioned here would be recommended as a starting point, leading to the further steps listed above. This first step is the development of a 'Resettlement Policy Framework' (RPF). Policy frameworks are a "set of guidelines, as well as long term goals, which are taken into account when policies are being made" (The Law Dictionary, 2015). Meaningful to consider in this attempt is a remark by anthropologist Margaret Everett, who points out that local realities have to be reflected in agreements, otherwise "non-implementation" is often inevitable (2001: 468). Therefore, the development of the RPF should be a joint effort, incorporating all levels of governmental entities, CSOs, and inhabitant representatives. The aim is to develop and discuss further steps, adapt measures derived from international guidelines, and, if necessary, to clarify and adjust them into the Egyptian context. This should create a common will and clear line to facilitate faster incorporation into law and practice.

7 Towards Conclusions

Avoiding forced evictions with all their multiple intertwined, often negative impacts is a complex and difficult task. The 'removal' - or in the case of a natural disaster, evacuation - should end with and strive at every point for a proper resettlement of the affected people, and not simply for a physical relocation.

Natural disasters like the rockslide of 2008 in the informal settlement of Duweiqa (Cairo) call for an immediate reaction. Consequently, relocations were conducted, and further informal areas were classified as life-threatening, entailing the displacement of still more inhabitants. As in other comparable cases, it was and remains a challenging time for the political authorities, who face public pressure, juridical responsibility for the lives of the inhabitants, financial scarcity, and in the case of Cairo, additionally space constraints due to the high urban population density and a lack of available, nearby public land. Despite these more general challenges, no premature, rushed decisions should be made. International agreements and guidelines, revised and modified over many years, make recommendations for how to conduct inevitable evictions while respecting human rights - even in the critical case of a natural disaster.

The analysis of the case study performed on Istabl Antar and its two associated relocation sites, Haram City and Masaken Othman, revealed that several internationally recommended steps were not implemented (cf. table 1-1). To these missing or neglected steps belong inter alia the skipped consultation process with the affected community, significant shortcomings in the provision of adequate housing in the relocation sites, as well as a lack of independent, regular monitoring. This led to the evaluation that the case of Istabl Antar was a forced eviction according to international agreements.

Time constraints and financial aspects might have played a certain role in some decisions, but they cannot be invoked as main excuse for several missing steps the state is obliged to conduct. Primary causes are more likely a lack of regulating laws and national guidelines, missing institutional will, along with lacking **capacities, absence of a parliament, intended avoidance of panic (the reason for not providing information on risks) and the general lack of a comprehensive, integrated city-wide planning approach.**

A further critical review, concentrating on the specific local circumstances, yielded **the following additional reasons and considerations: Eviction processes include** many different aspects, steps and stakeholders, which have positive and negative influence on the process. Within these aspects, personal and economic interests **are partly involved, which becomes especially evident in the compensation system applied. International guidelines request a "full and fair compensation" (OHCHR, 2007: para. 21),** but fail to provide details. The analysis of the case-specific, **applied system revealed many critical aspects and far-reaching consequences.** Therefore, the present thesis suggests as first recommendation an improved, **context related compensation system (cf. chapter 6.2.2), aiming on one hand at the participation of the persons affected, and on the other hand at the removal of false incentives, which likely lead to bribery and corruption.**

Further recommendations and possible interventions were developed to reduce or prevent the above mentioned occurred deviations from internationally requested steps by taking into consideration Egypt, Cairo and case specific circumstances. Among these are the following:

First, the need to incorporate international standards, partly binding and already ratified by Egypt (cf. ICESR), into Egyptian national law. This requires on one side a further clarification and addition of definitions to existing articles in the **Constitution, and on the other side- which is even more urgent - the translation and implementation of these into actual law, accompanied by binding procedural guidelines.** Otherwise, the effectiveness and enforceability of these remain **questionable.**

For the preparation of procedural binding guidelines, the prior development of a resettlement policy framework (RPF) was advised. This development

should be a joint effort (as emphasised by many interviewees) of all entities and stake¬holders involved, ranging from various governmental entities to representa¬tives of the affected inhabitant, to CSOs. The discussions should lead to a consensus aligned with international standards. Thereby, responsibilities, guidelines, and task distributions need to be clarified and defined. In order to make future eviction processes transparent and to make the responsible parties accountable, international guidelines have to be contextual¬ised, if necessary even case-by-case. The result should be accessible, understand¬able, reliable, and implemented for and by all involved stakeholders. This surely is a difficult task, demanding shifts of mentalities and cultures. But if successful, it would form a very stable basis for further negotiations, and would additionally facilitate a much faster translation and anchoring of indispensable aspects into national law.

Furthermore, the current position, power relation and distribution between MURIS, the Governorate, and other Ministries is questionable and revealed deficiencies. Therefore it was suggested, that either MURIS itself should be strengthened, or alternatively be restructured and lifted to the Council level. By strengthening the position and mandate of MURIS, the position and condition of people living in informal areas (who form even the majority of the total population) would also be represented and taken into consideration in an adequate manner.

The outcomes of evictions, which do not from the beginning aim for a full resettlement, are most likely to be negative, and might range from psychological and physical injuries to inadequate housing situations to impoverishment by the loss of livelihood, and in general to a reduced quality of life.
The quality of life study conducted, which illustrated the evaluated satisfaction of inhabitants from the three considered areas, identified significant differences. Reasons for these are inter alia dissimilar proximities to services and divergent expenditures for daily goods. The result is a significant deviation in 'global neighbourhood and life satisfaction'. One noteworthy outcome suggests interconnections between architecture and urban design, and the tendency of people to move or to stay.

Due to the observed shortcomings in the relocation sites, but also concerning all further deviations from international guidelines, the third recommendation

requests short, medium and long-term monitoring of the whole eviction process (before, during, after) by an independent national body, as demanded by international guidelines (OHCHR, 2007). Tied to the implementation of an ombudsman (ideally combined with the modification of the present demonstration law) it would assure the possibility for inhabitants to react to state violations and problems encountered during evictions. Hereby, the inhabitants would receive the possibility and the duty to act as a pressure and responsible group.

The nature of the above recommendations as well as the outcomes of some investigations have to be seen as initial and preliminary, inter alia due to the limited sample size, or the interference with neighbouring disciplines. Therefore, further research in the following fields should be ensured:

The results of the conducted quality of life study provide a clear first impression of the living conditions of the affected people and their own evaluation. To obtain a truly representative result, a larger sample would be needed. Also advisable would be to conduct a quality of life study in a longitudinal manner and in more neighbourhoods, where and from where people were relocated. These results need to be made publicly available (open access), and the conducting parties - be it CSOs or state bodies - are requested to create awareness of the affected people of their rights, and to offer them legal support.

The remote location and the resulting negative effects create the demand for a precise and detailed search for alternative relocation sites for people who are still living in areas classified as life-threatening. In this regard, there should also be the institutional will to provide these areas, if they belong to the state. Also worthwhile to study and to test on site are offers of alternative housing types and their applicability for people living in endangered zones.

Thirdly, the development of a RPF requires the participation of a strong and independent inhabitant's representation. To this purpose, it must be clarified how to overcome individual interests and how to strengthen networks within affected communities. Additionally, the method of selecting eligible representatives must be clarified. Before the establishment of the RPF, the power relationships between governmental entities, inhabitants, and CSOs should also be defined.

The proposed transformation or relocation of MURIS would as well need further investigations conducted by political and juridical experts with a detailed knowledge of the local laws and conditions.

Last, but not least, further research and effort would be essential for the development of a holistic citywide plan, incorporating a functioning public transport system and investigating new directives for land distribution, which takes economic development into account, but prioritises marginalised people like the ones relocated from hazardous areas.

Around 13 000 inhabitants, half of those first identified, still live in areas of Cairo classified as life-threatening, and are planned to be relocated within the next few years. Therefore, the recommendations and further research needs listed here should be implemented and further studied as soon as possible. Modifications in the conduction of the process and in the offered relocation sites need to be realised in order to guarantee adherence to the "normative human rights framework, with primary emphasis on the right to adequate housing" (UN-Habitat 2014: 63) — and the necessary contextualisation. This is especially important with respect to further numerous relocations planned and partly already conducted in Egypt - for example, in connection with the expansion of the Suez Canal and the plans for Cairo 2050, which might or actually already entail the grievance of people. All parties involved, no matter whether administrators, inhabitants or CSOs, must therefore be aware of the necessity to ban and avoid forced evictions and to aim for an inclusive city.

Acronyms

AI	**Amnesty International**
CESCR	**Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**
CSO	**Civil Society Organisation**
ECCLR	**Egyptian Center for Civil and Legislative Reform**
ECESR	**Egyptian Center for Social and Economic Rights**
ECHR	**Egyptian Center for Housing Rights**
EGP	**Egyptian Pound**
EIPR	**Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights**
EvIA	**Eviction Impact Assessment**
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GLTN	Global Land Tool Network
HIC	Habitat International Coalition
IASC	**Inter-Agency Standing Committee**
IASC Guidelines	**Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters**
ICESCR	**International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights**
ISDF	Informal Settlement Development Fund
MURIS	**Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements**
NGO	**Non-Governmental Organisation**
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RPF	Resettlement Policy Framework
SCPUD	Supreme Council for Urban Planning and Development
UN Guidelines	Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Eviction and Displacement
UN-Habitat	**United Nation Human Settlements Programme**
تهجير	**tahgeer – migration**
اخلاء	**ächla – eviction**
محضر تسليم	mahdar tasleem – handover certificate (flat)

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Interviewees: Inhabitants

From Istabl Antar:

Inhabitant: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 (2015) Inhabitants and Relocation Processes [interview by Thonke, F.; translated by Azouz N.] Cairo, 02/07/08/10/12/13.03.2015

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From Haram City:

Inhabitant: 13 (2015) Inhabitants and Relocation Processes [interview by Thonke, F.; translated by Azouz N.] Cairo, 10.03.2015

Inhabitants: 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38 (2015) Inhabitants and Relocation Processes [interview by Thonke, F.; translated by Adel H.] Cairo, 17/20/21.03.2015

From Masaken Othman:

Inhabitants: 18, 19, 20, 21, 32, 33 (2015) Inhabitants and Relocation Processes [interview by Thonke, F.; translated by Adel H.] Cairo, 16/21.03.2015

For protection reasons the names of all inhabitants will be kept anonymous.

The Researcher holds full responsibility towards potential misinterpretations of the responses given by the Interviewees

Appendices:
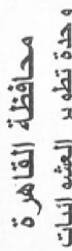
Appendix 1: list of estimated number of people, who need to be relocated; unclear situation: Istabl Antar I and II both classified as grade I and assigned to different areas
Source: Khalil Shaat (2015d)

(handwritten top right) 12.5.2015
Khalil Shaat

محافظة القاهرة
وحدة تطوير العشوائيات

(handwritten left) "Masaken Othman"

بيان بإجمالى حالات التسكين التى تم إعادة تسكينها
من مناطق الخطورة الأولى حتى ٢٠١٣/٣/١٣ *(handwritten: March 2013 / 2013 3 13)*
والمناطق التى تم إعادة التسكين بها

(handwritten) Prioritized Families to be taken

(handwritten right) "Suzan Mubarak housing"

إجمالى إعادة التسكين بالحى *(total Relocated in the district)*	الأسر الأولى ... بمدينة ٦ أكتوبر *(Care of in 6th Oct. Masaken Osman)*	مساكن هرم Haram city Housing (أوراسكوم) (ORASCOM)	مساكن النهضة Nahda Housing	مساكن الدويقة الجديدة New Dewe?ka Housing	الحى District	م
١٨٥٨ / 1858	٣٨٠ / 380	١٤١٩ / 1.419	—	٥٩ / 59	حى مصر القديمة Old Cairo	١
٢١١٥ / 2115	١٩٠٨ / 1.908	٢٠٧ / 207	—	—	حى دار السلام Dar Es Salam	٢
٤١٩ / 419	٤١٩ / 419	—	—	—	حى غرب مدينة نصر Nasr City West	٣
١١٠٣٨ / 11.038	١٦١٠ / 1610	—	٢٦٢٢ / 2622	٦٨٠٦ / 2.802	حى منشأة ناصر Manshiet Nasser	٤
١٥٤٣٠ / 15.430	٤٣١٧ / 4317	١٦٢٦ / 1626	٢٦٢٢ / 2622	٦٨٦٥ / 2.825	الإجمالى total	
١٥٤٣٠ / 15.430					الإجمالى العام general total	

(handwritten bracket left) Istabl Antar part of DarEs-Salam?

Appendix 2: list of relocated families until March 2013; included uncertainty to which area Istabl Antar is assigned (Old Cairo or Dar Es-Salam), due to unclear boarders.
Source: Khalil Shaat (2015d)

Friederike Thonke // MSc IUSD
Ain Shams University Cairo
University of Stuttgart

Research Topic:

Exploration of the process that is carried out, and challenges faced by different stakeholders tackling unsafe areas in Cairo. Case study: Istabl Antar

Interview-Guide:

1. Why:

1. What do you know about the cases of unsafe areas in Egypt/ Cairo?
   → what are the characteristics/ categories? (Maps existing?) Scale and nature?

2. How is/was your institution/ are you involved?

3. What is the procedure followed after the classification? How do you name it? (Relocation/ resettlement / eviction)

2. How:

- Do you know how 'relocations' are conducted in Cairo?
  → information about the specific case: Istabl Antar

Before relocation:

1. Who decides? Role your institution?
2. Who plans them? Time-plan? (steps)
3. What (financial) resources are available?
4. What are the steps conducted? (enumeration / information given and when by whom/ impact assessment)
5. Are the inhabitants or representatives involved (involvement: very high/ high/ medium / low / very low)
6. Who is responsible?
7. Problems faced?

During relocation:

1. Who is in charge of the process? Who is present?
2. Handling of inhabitants? (e.g. refusal to leave → reasons → reaction?)
3. Further occurring problems?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide, version for officials
Source: author

3. What:

After relocation:

1.   Where are the people relocated? Who decides it and what are the criteria?
     → how many in Istabl Antar
2.   What are the impacts of the relocation? (social, economical,physical...)
     → I've heard, that a good number of people is returning to their old location.
     Do you know the reasons why?

3.   (Def.) adequate housing → taken into account
     → does Egypt follow international agreements?

4. Reflection / Alternatives:

1.   Reflection on the conduction of the relocation processes?

2.   Def. Relocation / resettlement / forced eviction / displacement
     → process conducted according international agreements?

3.   How can the success or failure of relocation be assured?
     → How could this be achieved? - necessary aspects?
         (consolidation → *role of the inhabitants* → how could it look like?,
         alternative location -> map; idea Internal relocation)

4.   How could you/ your institution be involved?
     •   What could be your/ your institutions role?
     •   Are resources available? What kind?

5.   Why are the people still living in Istabl Antar within the area classified as
     unsafe?

                •   How do you judge the risk of the unsafe area category one on
                    the inhabitants? Very high / high / medium / low / very low
                •   do you think an immediate response/ action is necessary?

     → other problem? Reason for instability: leakage of sewage water?
     → Risk reduction planned?

Friederike Thonke // MSc IUSD
Ain Shams University Cairo
University of Stuttgart

Quality of life study:

Name:
Living area:

Demographical data:

1. Age:_____

2. Gender: 0 male   1 female

3. Place of birth:_____

4. Marital status: 0 unmarried   1 married   2 divorced   3 widowed

5. Are you the household head? 1 yes   0 no

5. Educational degree:
0 none   1 primary school   2 preparatory school   3 secondary school
4 vocational secondary school   5 institute   6 university

6. Employment
      6.1 status: 0 looking for work   1 day by day labourer   2 self-employed
                         3 continuously employed   4 student   5 retired
                         6 intermittent employed

      6.2. Field of occupation: 0 home based enterprise   1 administrative
                         2 homemaker   3 health provider   4 teacher
                         5 agricultural   6 handcraft (manufacturing) 7 factory (manufacturing)
                         8 repair   9 sales   10 service provider
                         11 others_____
      6.3. Current employment satisfaction:
5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

      6. 4 place of work: _____

      6.5. Mode of transportation:
         1 Microbus   2 Taxi   3 Tok Tok   4 Metro   5 by foot

      6.6. Time spend to reach work: _____

      6.7. Average transportation costs per day: _____

1

Appendix 3: Interview Guide, version for officials
Source: author

Environmental domain:

Quality of:

Housing:
1. How long are you living here? _____

      1.2 Where did you live before? _____
      1.3. For how long? _____

2. Tenure status: 1 renting   2 owner-occupancy

3. How many rooms do you have? _____

4. Do you have rooms without window? 1 yes   O no

5. Approximately size of the flat?
    1 >30 m^2 2 30-45 m^2 3 45-60 m^2 4 60-75 m^2 5 75-90 m^2 6 > 90 m^2

6. is cross gender sleeping in one room necessary due to not enough sleeping areas? 1 yes   O no

7. a) How many people are living in the dwelling unit? _____
  b) Are there any other households sharing the unit with you? 1 yes   O no

8. Do you have an individual: 1 kitchen   2 shower   3 WC

9. How would you describe the building conditions?
5 good   4 recently renovated   3 deteriorated   2 unsafe   1 needs demolition

10. Monthly rent: _____

Accessibility/ Availability of infrastructure:
1. Electricity: 1 yes   O no   2 sometimes black-outs

      1.2 If sometimes black-outs, how often?
      1 daily   2 2-3 a week   3 weekly   4 once every two weeks

      1.3. Average amount of monthly bill: _____
      1.4. Is there an electricity meter in your name: 1 yes   O no

2. Is your flat connected to the drinking water pipe? 1 yes   O no

3. Connection to sewage system: 1 yes   O no

      3.2 Quality of sewage-system:
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied
      3.3 Do floodings occur: O no   1 yes   - if yes: 1 inside homes   2 on the street

4. Connection to natural gas: 1 yes   O no

Overall: How satisfied are you with your housing conditions?
5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

2

Refuse Removal:
1. Who collects it? _____
2. How often? _____
   Are you: 5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

Health services:
1. Availability: 1 doctor   2 hospital   3 health centre
   Doctor: reachable by: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

   Health centre: reachable by: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

   Hospital: reachable by: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

2. How satisfied are you with the health service overall?
5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

Safety Situation:

1. Safety: Do you feel save in the area?

   Day: 5 strong agreement   4 agreement   3 neutral   2 disagreement   1 strong disagreement
   Night: 5 strong agreement   4 agreement   3 neutral   2 disagreement   1 strong disagreement

2. Street lighting:
   5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

3. a) Police station in the neighbourhood: 1 yes   O no
     b) do you need one: 1 yes   O no

Education in the neighbourhood:
1. Availability: 1 kindergarten   2 primary school   3 preparatory school
                    4 secondary school   5 vocational secondary school

   Kindergarten: reachable: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

   Primary school: reachable: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

   Prep. school: reachable: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          Time spend: _____

   Secondary school reachable: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          time spend: _____

   Vocational Secondary school: 1 by foot   2 microbus   3 bus   4 taxi   5 Tok tok
          time spend: _____

3

2. Quality of the educational facilities overall:
5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied
2.2Why:_____

Employment opportunities:
1. How satisfied are you with the existing employment opportunities?
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

Outdoor-spaces / Common space:
1. What kind are available: _____

2. For what kind of activities are you using the **outdoor-space** in your neighbourhood?
      1 cooking   2 drying laundry   3 working   4 playing   5 gathering   6 celebrations
      7 others: _____

      2.2. How often do you use them?
      1 daily   2 2-3 times a week   3 once in two weeks   4 monthly

3. Where are the children mainly playing: 1 outside   2 inside   please specify: _____

4. Satisfaction with **outside spaces**?
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

5. Do you have a **youth-centre** in the neighbourhood?   1 yes   O no
      4.2 What kind of activities is it offering? _____
      5.3. for whom: 1 boys (age:_____)   2 girls (age:_____)

6. a) What outside space or recreational facilities would you like add? _____
      b) what changes would be necessary? _____

Daily Shopping facilities:

1. Where do you mainly buy **your food**?

      1 street vendors   2 small shops   3 supermarket   4 mall

      1.2 Why: 1 availability   2 price   3 offer

2. Daily **expenses** for food for the household: approx. _____

3. How satisfied are you with the offered shopping facilities for your daily needs?
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

      3.2Why:_____

Transportation situation:
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

General neighbourhood satisfaction:
      5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

4

Personal Domain:

Satisfaction with:

1. Do you know the most people in your area? 1 yes   O no

   1.2. With how many neighbours are you in contact?
   1 1   2 2-3   3 4-5   4 5-7   5 > 7

   1.3 How much interaction takes place? We are meeting each other:
   1 every day   2 2-3 times a week   3 every second week   4 once a month

   1.4. a) Why are you meeting?
   1 taking care of the children   2 borrowing issues   3 chatting   4 relaxing
   5 accidentally   6 others_____

   1.4 b) Where do you meet?
   1 apartment of the neighbour   2 shared landing   3 in front of the house
   4 in the market   5 on the main street   6 others:_____

   1.5. How important is your neighbourhood contact for you
   5 very important   4 important   3 neutral   2 insignificant   1 very insignificant

   1.6**.** Neighbours
   5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

2. Are you a member of a neighbourhood/ community organisation? O Yes   O No
        If yes, what is its name: _____

3. Do you get support from NGOs family members, neighbours?
           1 yes   O no

   3.2. What kind of support do you get:
   1 food   2 clothes   3 free transport   4 financial   5 medical   6 others____

   3.3. How often:
   1 daily   2 weekly   3 monthly

4. Monthly expenses for the household:_____

5. You consider yourself:
        1 very pessimistic   2 pessimistic 3 neutral   4 optimistic   5 very optimistic

6. Family status and condition in the area
        5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

7. a) Do you have a lot of friends in the area?
        1 many   2 few   3 none
   b) Do you consider your relationship:
        5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

5

8. Personal health situation
    5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

9. Economic status
    5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

General life satisfaction:
    5 very satisfied   4 satisfied   3 neutral   2 dissatisfied   1 very dissatisfied

6

Comparison to former living area (Istabl Antar):

Situation now:

1. General **life satisfaction:**
5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

2.   a) Opportunity to get in contact with **neighbours**:
5 much more   4 more   3 same   2 less   1 much less

    b) Relations to neighbours
5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 worse   1 much worse

3. Employment
    3.1 Could you sustain your job? 1 yes   O no

    3.2. Field of work / occupation:
    1 same than in Istabl Antar   2 different: _____

    3.3 time to reach work:
    5 much more   4 more   3 same   2 less   1 much less

    3.4. Employment satisfaction:
    5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

    3.5 Employment opportunities
    5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

4. Daily expenses:

	Amount of money spent						Quality				Usage	
	Much less	less	same	more	Much more		worse	Same	better		yes	no
Transportation												
Food												
Medical-treatment												
Education												
Rent												
Water												
Electricity												
Gas												

5. Economic situation:
5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 worse   1 much worse

7

Housing situation now:

1. Area of flat:
5 much bigger   4 bigger   3 same   2 smaller   1 much smaller

2. Number of rooms
1 less   2 more

2. Overall quality of the flat
5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 smaller   1 much smaller

3. Services:

	Within reach (money & accessible)						Quality		
	Much more difficult	More difficult	same	easier	Much easier		worse	Same	better
Schools									
Health service									
Daily needs facilities									

4. Impact of relocation on:

	worse	equal	better
Health			
Feeling of safety			
Freedom to move For girls For women For men			

5. General neighbourhood satisfaction
5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

6. How did the service and infrastructure availability change since you arrived?
5 significantly increased   4 increased   3 same   2 decreased   1 significantly decreased

    6.2. What increased/ improved?_____

    6.3. What decreased? _____

8

7. Would you prefer to stay or to go back to the safe area in Istabl Antar?

     1 stay   2 go back

     7.2 What are the advantages in 6th of October: _____

          What are the disadvantages in 6th of October: _____

          What are the advantages in Istabl Antar (safe area): _____

          What are the disadvantages in Istabl Antar (safe area): _____

          What improvements would you deem necessary in this area?_____

     7.3. Do you have an opportunity to move somewhere else?

     1 yes   O no

     7.4. If yes: where could and would you like to live? _____

     7.5. What would your expectations be in this location?_____

8. What housing type would you prefer?

	Individual	**shared**
Apartment predesigned		(Gov. block housing)
Apartment self-build		

     8.2. Why_____

10. Please indicate the first five aspects, which are most important for you, to be available in your living area: (according to you prioritization please put number 1-5)

1 Affordable and comfortable access to work opportunity

2 Contact to neighbours

3 Clean water and sewage water infrastructure

4 Ventilation possibility in flats

5 Number of rooms

6 Physical housing conditions

7 Accessibility and Affordability of school

8 Accessibility and Affordability of health service

9 Daily needs facilities

10 Efficient Refuse Removal

11 Availability of recreation areas

12 Availability of usable outdoor and common space

9

Comparison to former living area (6th of October):

Situation now:
1. Why did you come back? _____

     1.2 What are the advantages in Istabl Antar: _____
         What are the disadvantages Istabl Antar:_____

         What are the advantages in 6th of October: _____
         What are the disadvantages 6th of October:_____

2. Did you have the financial possibility move somewhere else?
     1 yes   O no

2.2 If yes: Where_____
     Why you did not move there?_____

3: What housing type would you prefer?

	Individual	**shared**
Apartment predesigned		(Gov. block housing)
Apartment self-build		

     3.2. Why_____

4. What kind of building type did you live in originally in Istabl Antar? _____

5. General **life satisfaction:**
5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

6.a) Opportunity to get in contact with **neighbours**:
5 much more   4 more   3 same   2 less   1 much less

     B) Relations to neighbours
5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 worse   1 much worse

7. Employment
     7.1 Could you sustain your job? 1 yes   O no

     7.2. Field of work / occupation:
     1 same than in Istabl Antar   2 different: _____

     7.3 time to reach work:
     5 much more   4 more   3 same   2 less   1 much less

10

7.4. Employment satisfaction:

5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

7.5 Employment opportunities

5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

8. Daily expenses:

	Amount of money spent						Quality				Usage	
	Much less	less	same	more	Much more		worse	Same	better		yes	no
Transportation												
Food												
Medical-treatment												
Education												
Rent												
Water												
Electricity												
Gas												

9. Economic situation:

5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

Housing situation now:

1. Area of flat:

5 much bigger   4 bigger   3 same   2 smaller   1 much smaller

2. Number of rooms

1 less   2 more

3. Overall quality of the flat

5 much better   4 better   3 same   2 smaller   1 much smaller

5. Services:

	Within reach (money & accessible)						Quality		
	Much more difficult	More difficult	same	easier	Much easier		worse	Same	better
Schools									
Health service									
Daily needs facilities									

11

Impact of relocation on:

	worse	equal	better
Health			
Feeling of safety			

Freedom to move
    For girls
    For women
    For men			

General neighbourhood satisfaction

5 much higher   4 higher   3 same   2 lower   1 much lower

Please indicate the first five aspects, which are most important for you, to be available in your living area: (according to you prioritization please put number 1-5)

1 Affordable and comfortable access to work opportunity

2 Contact to neighbours

3 Clean water and sewage water infrastructure

4 Ventilation possibility in flats

5 Number of rooms

6 Physical housing conditions

7 Accessibility and Affordability of school

8 Accessibility and Affordability of health service

9 Daily needs facilities

10 Efficient Refuse Removal

11 Availability of recreation areas

12 Availability of usable outdoor and common space

12

Additional questions for inhabitants of Istabl Antar within the unsafe area:

1. Do you think it is necessary to move, out of safety aspects?

1 yes   O no

1b) if yes: 1 immediately   2 later

2. Would you prefer to stay within the settlement or to move out of Istabl Antar?

1 stay   2 move

       2.2 If stay: Why would you like to stay? _____

       2.3. If move:
              Why would you like to move? _____
              Where would you like to move? _____
              Do you have the financial possibility to move?
              1 yes   O no

       2.4.   Where would you move:_____

       2.5. If you have the choice between: 1. To stay   2. To move to 6th of October (gov.)

           3. Mokattam housing (gov. / under construction)   4. to get an compensation

           What would be your decision? O 1   O 2   O 3   O4

       2.6. If not 6th of October:

           Have you been there before?   1 Yes   O No

           Why would you not like to move there? _____

           Do you have relatives or friends living there? 2 Yes   O No

3. What housing type would you prefer?

	Individual	shared
Apartment predesigned		(Gov. block housing)
Apartment self-build		

       3.2. Why_____

13

4. Please indicate the first five aspects, which are most important for you, to be available in your living area: (according to you prioritization please put number 1-5)

1 Affordable and comfortable access to work opportunity

2 Contact to neighbours

3 Clean water and sewage water infrastructure

4 Ventilation possibility in flats

5 Number of rooms

6 Physical housing conditions

7 Accessibility and Affordability of school

8 Accessibility and Affordability of health service

9 Daily needs facilities

10 Efficient Refuse Removal

11 Availability of recreation areas

12 Availability of usable outdoor and common space

14

ORASCOM
Housing Communities

اوراسكوم للإسكان التعاوني
مشروع مدينة ٦ اكتوبر

محضر تسليم

بطاقة رقم / ٢١٢١٠٠١٠٥٠١٢١٧ ع

تم تسليم السيد/

والوارد إسمة في كشف حي مصر القديمة ضمن أصحاب عقارات شارع المحطة

وحدة رقم ٢٥٢ نموذج ٣٨ م طبقا لتعليمات محافظة القاهرة . وذلك يتم مقابل

قيمة ايجارية سبعون جنية شهريا ويتحمل كل مستأجر الاستهلاك الفعلي من المياة

والكهرباء والخدمات الاخري لحين صدور عقد الايجار النهائي .

مدير عام الشركة
٢٠٠٦/١١/٢٦

توقيع رئيس الحي

توقيع المواطن

شركة اوراسكوم للإسكان التعاوني
ادارة التشغيل ـ مشروع ٦ اكتوبر
س.ت، ٣١٩٤٠ القاهرة
ب.ض، ٢٤٢٣٠٠٦٦٩ الاستثمار

Appendix 5: Mahdar Tasleem (flat handover certificate)
Source: inhabitant 26

164

Sub-Domains: Environmental Domain & Mean vs. Overall Neighbourhood Satisfaction

Satis-faction with:	Housing	Quality & access-ability of edu-cation	health-service	Trans-por-tation	Refuse remo-val	Street lighting	Outdoor	Employ-ment	mean	General Neighbour-hood Satisfaction
Istabl Antar residents (unsafe area)	2	2	4	5	1	4	2	4	3,0	2
	3	4	1	4	1	3	1	4	2,6	4
	4	5	1	5	2	4	4	1	3,3	5
	5	3	4	4	1	4	2	4	3,4	2
	3	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	3,4	3
	2	2	4	2	1	3	1	3	2,3	2
	3	4	4	3	2	4	2	3	3,1	4
	2	2	1	4	2	2	4	1	2,3	3
	4	5	3	4	3	3	3	4	3,6	3
	2	2	1	4	1	3	1	4	2,3	3
	3	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	1,8	4
	1	3	1	4	1	3	2	4	2,4	1
	3	4	4	3	2	4	2	2	3,0	4
	2	1	4	3	4	3	4	2	2,9	4
mean	2,8	2,9	2,6	3,6	1,8	3,3	2,3	3,1	2,8	3,1
Haram city residents	2	3	2	1	4	4	5	4	3,1	2
	3	3	2	3	5	5	1	3	3,1	3
	4	3	1	1	5	4	4	3	3,1	2
	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	5	4,5	5
	3	1	1	1	5	5	2	2	2,5	3
	2	3	2	1	2	4	4	2	2,5	3
	2	3	1	2	5	2	3	3	2,6	4
	4	0	4	2	5	5	4	4	3,5	5
mean	3	2,5	2,0	2,0	4,5	4,3	3,5	3,3	3,1	3,4
Masaken Osman residents	4	1	6	4	5	3	3	2	3,5	4
	2	1	1	2	2	1	4	1	1,8	2
	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	2	1,9	2
	2	1	2	2	5	2	1	2	2,1	2
	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	1,5	1
	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	4	2,6	1
mean	2,3	1,2	2,3	2,2	3,3	2	2,5	2,0	2,2	2,0
returned residents	4	5	5	5	4	5	3	5	4,5	5
	3	1	1	3	1	3	3	3	2,25	4
	3,5	3,0	3,0	4,0	2,5	4,0	3,0	4,0	3,4	4,5

Appendix 6: comparison of mean of sub-domains of the environmental domain vs. overall neighbourhood satisfaction
Source: author

Sub-Domains: Personal Domain & Mean vs. General Life Satisfaction

Satis-faction with:	Oneself	family	friends	neigh-bours	Eco-nomic situ-ation	health	mean	General Life Satis-faction
	5	3	4	5	2	4	3,8	2
	4	4	5	5	3	5	4,3	3
	1	4	5	5	3	5	3,8	3
	4	4	5	5	4	5	4,5	4
	3	2	4	4	3	4	3,3	3
Istabl Antar residents (unsafe area)	2	3	4	2	4	2	2,8	4
	4	4	3	5	2	5	3,8	3
	2	3	4	3	3	2	2,8	3
	3	5	5	5	4	2	4,0	5
	5	1	0	5	3	4	3,0	2
	4	3	3	4	1	3	3,0	3
	2	4	4	4	2	4	3,3	2
	3	4	4	4	1	5	3,5	4
	2	2	4	3	2	5	3,0	4
mean	3,1	3,3	3,9	4,2	2,6	3,9	3,5	3,2
	3,0	3,0	5,0	5,0	2,0	3,0	3,5	1
	4,0	2,0	4,0	5,0	3,0	5,0	3,8	5
	4,0	2,0	3,0	4,0	2,0	2,0	2,8	2
Haram city residents	2,0	5,0	5,0	5,0	4,0	3,0	4,0	5
	3,0	3,0	4,0	4,0	3,0	2,0	3,2	4
	3,0	2,0	5,0	4,0	1,0	5,0	3,3	3
	3,0	2,0	4,0	5,0	4,0	4,0	3,7	3
	4,0	4,0	3,0	4,0	1,0	4,0	3,3	5
mean	3,3	2,9	4,1	4,5	2,5	3,5	3,5	3,5
	4,0	4,0	5,0	4,0	3,0	3,0	3,8	4
	3,0	3,0	4,0	4,0	1,0	2,0	2,8	2
Masaken Osman residents	2,0	3,0	5,0	5,0	2,0	2,0	3,2	3
	3,0	2,0	4,0	5,0	3,0	4,0	3,5	2
	1,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	5,0	2,3	1
	4,0	3,0	4,0	4,0	2,0	4,0	3,5	2
mean	2,8	2,8	4,0	4,0	2,2	3,3	3,2	2,3
returned residents	5	4	5	5	4	5	4,7	4
	5	3	5	5	3	3	4,0	3
	5	3,5	5	5,0	3,5	4	4,3	3,5

Appendix 7: comparison of mean of sub-domains of the personal domain vs. overall general life satisfaction
Source: author

DESIGN
BRIEF: II

ملخص
تصميم: ١

Buildings and Land issues: Proposed procedural/capital intervention(s) in Istabl Antar

Internal Re-Location Initiative

إنشاء وحدة تعاونية محليه

Who are the key actors?
من هم/هنّ الفاعليين/ات فيها؟

To allow a resettlement of the people from the unsafe cliff area within the settlement, there will be loans available for building owners (of the save area) to extent their existing building or to build a new one. The loans will be provided by the ISDF, distributed through a newly established Initiative Office (IO) that has a trustful function of distribution and control.

Why Internal Re-Location?
لماذا الوحدة؟

The following proposal tackles the issue of the threatening eviction of the people living in the area A2. This area is considered as unsafe, due to its location on the sloop of the mountain, where in earlier times, earth and stone slides happened. The proposed system is a win-win system, offers benefits for the Government, the building owners and the people to be relocated.

What is it?
ما هي؟

To avoid a resettlement to a far place, which is from the most inhabitants not wprefered. Therefore, this initiative proposes an internal re-location within the area of Istabl Antar. This internal re-location sustains the existing work of the people and their social networks.

What does it aim for?
إلى ماذا تهدف؟

The initiative is based on the recognition of plots - unused plots, old/unsafe houses that should be replaced and existing houses, which can be extended vertically. By the explained win-win system, additionally an already started harmful high rise extension can be stopped.

How does the process work?
من هم/هنّ المستفيدون/المستفيدات, وكيف؟

The financing system is proposed as follows:

House-owners, that are interested to extend their house, will be offered a loan, provided by the ISDF through the Initiative Office. The approximated building costs for the extension of one floor with an area of 50m² will be around 12 000 EGP. To start the building process, the owner has to provide 10% of this amount, what is around 1 200 EGP as a down payment.

The resettled persons have to pay the rent for the new flat to the IO. The IO will keep 10% of it to sustain itself, and pays the rest to the owner of the flat. The owner has to pay within 7 years the provided loan back. The guaranteed provision of the flat for resettled people is guaranteed for 15 years to avoid outsiders coming into the area and raising the rent prices.

Re-Location

How is it going to be planned?
كيف سيتم التخطيط لها؟

IUSD III - Ain Shams University: Integrated case study - Istabl Antar area | Phase III: Facts sheet - 2014/2015
Buildings and land issues group: A. El sayed, F. Thonke, M. Sha'ban, M. Ennori, M. Hendawy, R.Al Shadfan, S. Wladika

Appendix 8: Design brief of the Internal Re-Location Initiative
Source: IUSD 2015a

لخص

عدث عمليات نقل السكن في جميع أنحاء العالم بأعداد متزايدة، وإذا لم يكن الهدف من البداية
ملية إعادة توطين كاملة، فإنها تميل إلى نهاية المطاف الى عمليات الإخلاء القسري، التي تعتبر دوليا
نهاكاً لحقوق الانسان. أحد الأسباب المحتملة التي يمكن أن تؤدي الى نقل لا مفر منه هو حدوث
رثة طبيعية مثل تلك التي حدثت في عام 2008 في مستوطنة غير رسمية في القاهرة؛ حيث انهيار
صخرة التي اسفرت عن مقتل أكثر من 110 شخص. بعد ذلك الحادث، العديد من المناطق الأخرى
ني تقع في مواقع خطرة مماثلة للمنحدرات، تم تصنيفها على أنها غير آمنة ومهددة
حياة.الأطروحة الحالية تقوم بالتحقيق في عملية إعادة التوطين، التي يتليها بعد ذلك إجراء
نابلات مع أصحاب المصلحة المعنيين -بدءا من المؤسسات الحكومية المختلفة الى منظمات المجتمع
دني إلى المواطنين المتضررين. وقد تم تحليل ومقارنة العقبات التي تواجه كل هذه الجماعات
هدافها ونواياها المتناقضة جزئيا. بعد خطوة فحص العملية قبل وأثناء الإخلاء/الإجلاء، تم تقييم
وضع المعيشي عن طريق إجراء دراسة جودة الحياة لكل من الناس اللذين انتقلوا بالفعل وألوائك
ذين لا يزالوا بانتظار ترحيلهم من منطقة الدراسة المختارة، اسطبل عنتر (منطقة القاهرة القديمة).
نتائج كشفت من بين أمور أخرى، غياب نظام تشريعي داعم، ندور الموارد المادية والبشرية، تعرقل
نكوين المؤسسي، غياب وضوح نظام التعويضات، غياب هيئة رصد مستقلة. وفقا لمبادئ توجيهية
ولية، هذه العوامل تؤدي إلى تصنيف العملية التي أجريت كإخلاء قسري.ولذلك تم التركيز على
أسباب والدوافع الجذرية لهذه النواقص والانحرافات عبر دراستها في سياقها واختبارها. وأشارت
راسة جودة الحياة تأثير محتمل للتخطيط العمراني على ميل السكان إلى المغادرة أو البقاء في موقع
بادة التوطين. بناء على أوجه القصور والانحرافات المحللة، لقد تمت عمليات تدخل أولي شبيهة
لوخز بالإبر، وهي تحتاج إلى مزيد من البحث جزئيا، ولكن قد تساعد على جعل عمليات الإخلاء
لإجلاء المستقبلية أكثر اتساقا مع معايير حقوق الانسان، التي اعترفت بها مصر.

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ٢٠١٥.

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كلٌ في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة.

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث: فردريكا ثونكيه

التاريخ: ٢٠ /٠٧/ ٢٠١٥

النظر في النقل وإعادة التسكين
في إطار المناطق اللارسمية

تحليل نقدي لعمليات النقل وإعادة التسكين ووجودة الحياة :
حالة دراسة اسطبل عنتر ـ القاهرة

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

أعداد: أسم الطالب

لجنة أشراف

ا.د. دينا كمال الدين شهيب	أ.د. أستريد لاي	أ.د. محمد عبد الكريم صالحين
أستاذ الإسكان والتصميم العمراني	أستاذ العمران والتصميم الدولي	أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم المتكامل
المركز القومي لبحوث الإسكان والبناء	جامعة شتوتجارت	جامعة عين شمس

لجنة الحكم

	التوقيع	أ.د.........الممتحن الخارجي
		أستاذ...............
		جامعة ....

أ.د............
أستاذ..............
جامعة ....

أ.د............
أستاذ..............
جامعة ....

تاريخ المناقشة:...............

الدراسات العليا

ختم الإجازة

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:...............   موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

جامعة عين شـــــمس

جامعة شتوتجارت

٢٠١٥/٠٧/ ٢٠

جامعة شتوتجارت

جامعة عين شــــمس

النظر في النقل وإعادة التسكين
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فردريكا ثونكيه

المشرفون

أ.د. محمد عبد الكريم صالحين	أ.د. أستريد لاي	ا.د. دينا كمال الدين شهيب
أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم المتكامل	أستاذ العمران والتصميم الدولي	أستاذ الإسكان والتصميم العمراني
جامعة عين شمس	جامعة شتوتجارت	المركز القومي لبحوث الإسكان والبناء

٢٠١٥