PEOPLE-ORIENTED GOVERNANCE AS A TOOL FOR SUCCESSFUL URBAN UPGRADING PROJECTS IN CAIRO: A QUESTION OF SUSTAINABILITY

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Abstract

Cairo, the wide metropolitan city is continuously suffering from urban deterioration and spread of informality. Consequently, lots of donor agencies (Public, Private, and NGOs) were triggered to collaborate within many urban upgrading projects. However, the sustainability of these projects remained a challenge; this is due to the absence of many stakeholders during or after the design and implementation phases, in addition to the lack of proper empowerment and capacity development of local community to govern and maintain their newly developed urban spaces. Thus, the credibility of such projects is critically questioned in this research. From this premise, this research postulates that the involved stakeholders within executed upgrading projects must consider the effective people-oriented methodologies in the design, implementation and post implementation of the urban upgrading projects; to ensure the sustainability of these projects. Hence, this paper aims at investigating success factors and deficiencies within two implemented upgrading projects in Cairo, and the ability to apply set of governance procedures to counter such drawbacks.

Thus, this research paper adopts three main methodologies: the first is reviewing literature on concepts of Urban Upgrading and Good Governance to figure out how to implement within different urban upgrading projects. Subsequently, the research demonstrates the conceptual framework for having people-oriented governance tools that enables the all influential stakeholders to effectively contribute and collaborate. The second method is through focusing on the situation in Egypt and analyzing two major urban upgrading projects in Cairo, ‘Al Darb Al Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’, in which the research compares three urban development conditions: Prior the intervention, after the urban upgrading of the area, and finally the current status; to monitor the projects sustainability. Subsequently, the stakeholders participating in each of the three stages will be investigated. Later, the third analysis phase revolves around comparing both case studies simultaneously; to assess the overlapping governance factors contributing to success or failure of the project, and to map the replicated strategies threatening the sustainability of such urban upgrading projects in the context of Cairo. Finally, the research comes into a conclusion that people oriented governance is an important tool towards effective involvement of all relevant stakeholders. Ensuring such sense of ownership and collaboration leads to more sustainable upgrading projects.
Key Words: Urban Upgrading, People Oriented Governance, Sustainability, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Masaken Zainhom

1- Introduction and Conceptual Framework

Recently, the world has been conscious that the driving objective for any urban development should stimulate a process of local community empowerment and guarantee sustainability measures. Moreover, communities should be offered equal and appropriate opportunities to participate regardless any income gaps or social disparities (JICA, 1994). In this respect, most of the newly arisen urban agendas are embracing the emergent civil society (UN-Habitat, 2003). Hence, this paper questions feasibility of incorporating people oriented tools within urban upgrading projects ensures sustainability? Within the same point of view, this section highlights the conceptual paradigm of this research on Urban Upgrading and People-Oriented Governance. Thus, both concepts are to be demonstrated and further discussed within this research towards successful and sustainable urban development projects.

1-1 Urban upgrading

Urban upgrading is broadly defined as “physical, social, economic, organizational, and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively among citizens, community groups, businesses, and local authorities to ensure sustained improvements in the quality of live for individuals” (Cities Alliance, 2003). Generally, urban upgrading is concerned with developing urban poor areas, and attracting investments to the city through social and financial programs that pre-invest in the capacity development of the citizens. In this regard, benefit of upgrading rather than any other development approaches is simply that people obtain an improved, healthy and secure living environment without being displaced. Thus, tenure of their properties is guaranteed, while the quality is enhanced even more; this is significantly better than relocating them to other higher cost or remote alternatives.

Subsequently, experience has shown that upgrading projects of slums and old city deteriorated areas not only associated with improving the physical environment, but also imply social and economic benefits that are particularly high (Afify, 2004). This comprises recovering and/or installing urban infrastructure like water, sanitation, waste collection, lighting, accessibility and transportation. Upgrading also is interrelated with security of land tenure and rehabilitation in terms of houses structures, as well as providing access to social facilities such as health and education (The World Bank, 2011). Hence, the process to successfully upgrade a building, neighbourhood, or even a whole settlement involves the integration of several actors from diverse disciplines, and should be supported as well with Authorization, and Fund; in order to achieve the desired outcomes.

1-2 People-oriented governance

Governance principles and approaches gained more significance and popularity; in which it became widely adopted by most of the donor agencies, social scientists, and civil society organizations. This global interest in governance stems out from the need to have a proper identification of stakeholders and their particular roles. At the same time, people are becoming more aware of the necessity to know who are the institutions (whether public or private) involved in the process of managing their affairs (UNESC, 2006). Thus, governance
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advances on more community driven developments and encounters a lot of challenges and resistance of the governments to consider the participation of others.

Subsequently the United Nations promotes for 8 principles towards good governance, which are: Participatory, Consensus oriented, Accountable, Transparent, Responsive, Effective and Efficient, Equitable and Inclusive, Follows the rule of law. (UNESCAP, 2007). Therefore, governance encourages governments to allow the involvement of other actors in the process of active urban management.

On the same side, OECD1 argues that “stimulating productive energies ..., encouraging broader participation of all people ..., and a more equitable sharing of their benefits, must become more central elements in development strategies and development cooperation”. In this regard, four investment lines are proposed towards better people oriented development projects, which are: Human resources, Political reforms, multi-actors governance models, competitive market economy (JICA, 1994). Moreover, the recent socio-urban fragmentation has led to the rise of civil and private sector to be in charge as well as the private sector (Harvey, 1989). Consequently, this research paper promotes for these four lines to be measured within urban upgrading projects by using UN governance principles (Table 1) ; towards further investigations of extent of considering people oriented governance within the following case studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investment lines of people oriented development (JICA, 1994)</th>
<th>Driving key Actors</th>
<th>UN governance principles to be checked (UNESCAP, 2007)</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Resources</td>
<td>Local Community Civil Society organizations</td>
<td>• Responsive</td>
<td>Physical and social capacity development programs should reflect and respond to the area actual needs and assets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Reforms</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>• Accountable • Transparent • Equitable and Inclusive</td>
<td>The state is the legal framework that can ensure political reforms towards transparency, and should be accountable to its citizens. In this regard, it should secure as well equal opportunities for everyone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-Actors</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>• Participatory • Consensus oriented</td>
<td>All actors should consider the importance of engagement of others and allow participation of all towards consensus and collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive market economy</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
<td>• Effective and Efficient</td>
<td>The private sector in particular, is the investment seeking party that ensures the work efficiency and feasibility. However, monitoring Private sector role is a necessity to guarantee that it is not breaking the law or manipulating people’s interests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
In this regard, the research argues that people oriented governance doesn’t necessarily mean to be only led by the local community. Therefore, governance in this sense is more about effective and collaborative planning; in which integration of different stakeholders should be highlighted towards the achievement of sustainable development and local democracy (Rai, 2004). However, the counter arguments should be considered as well regarding the involvement of many actors; where it always raises the fear of making the governance process harder in terms of resolving conflicts and non uniform preferences. Furthermore, unclear terms of stakeholders’ cooperation threaten the sustainability of the project in case any of the stakeholders drops out. The above proposed model and arguments are to be further investigated within the case studies presented in this research paper.

2- Overview on Urban Upgrading in Cairo, Egypt

Housing Sector in Egypt has experienced various political, economic and social transitions. However, many of these changes contributed to the appearance and spread of urban informality and deterioration. In this regard, the State has been developing different strategies and actions since the 70s; towards mitigating or developing these urban poor communities. Consequently, this section provides an overview on associated expansion deficits contributing to the exiting urban informality and deterioration, in addition to briefly demonstrating the counter development strategies.

2-1 Urban informality and deterioration

It can be monitored within the Egyptian urban context that the country shifted between diverse political driven development; which appeared in the form of inconsistent social and economic growth. However, such incoherent development contributed to the appearance of large numbers of spontaneous neighbourhoods, in which 60 percent of Metropolitan Cairo’s residents live in informal settlements, an estimation of 11 million residents (Sims, 2011). On the other side, the relatively old formal settlements and communities were subjected to deterioration in terms of physical and social services. In this regard, two main factors overloaded cities and resulted in the spread of urban deterioration and informality which are: high population growth rates, and migration to the city for better Economic opportunities in cities (Afify, 2004).

Therefore, these incidents have largely contributed to the appearance of informal settlements. Furthermore, overloading the city of Cairo in light of the State’s weak capacities added to the urban deterioration of existing planned settlements.

2-2 General outlines on urban development in Egypt

The challenge of mitigating the informal and deteriorated urban state in Egypt provoked the evolution of the way-out strategies, for instance: enabling policies, resettlement, self help, and upgrading. Accordingly, these approaches were imposed by the raised awareness regarding the right of each citizen to live in an adequate house, where protection against negligence or forced eviction is guaranteed. In this respect, the Egyptian government has followed many approaches that vary according to: the scale of intervention, financial capacities, and land value. Thus, ‘Khalifa’ explains in the following diagram (Figure 1) the changing official policies during the time between the 70s and 2000s; in which the State
shifted its urban development paradigm each time towards less eviction of urban poor, and more incorporation of other actors:

- Eradication: Clearance operations involving major interventions, if not the complete eradication of the original settlement;
- Upgrading operations to renovate what is already in place. These range from small to large interventions;
- Restructuring operations, which are usually embedding extensive investment programme, and involve reorganising the parcel plan and displacing varying numbers of residents on a temporary or permanent basis.
- Integration, which follows the global shift towards integrated urbanism and sustainability to resemble a more advanced development paradigm, in which all relevant disciplines and actors collaborate.

Hence, it can be observed that Urban Upgrading was a main component in the development policies of informal settlements, where the following two policies can be considered as updates to the urban upgrading core framework.

2.3 Urban upgrading triggers in Egypt

After the 1992 earthquake, a plan and a budget were prepared to upgrade all informal settlements in Cairo and Giza. The plan covered the period from 1992-93 and followed the State's socio-economic 5-year plan (Afify, 2004). Since then five official agencies participate in planning for upgrading informal settlements. These are:

- Central Cabinet responsible for housing and Planning
- Department for Physical Planning at the governorate level

Figure 1: Timeline Review of the Changing Urban policies and Approaches in Egypt (Khalifa, 2013)
• Specialized authorities for municipal services such as sanitary drainage, potable water, electricity, street paving, planning and organization, and cleanliness and green areas
• Urban districts (inside the cities)
• Consulting offices (in some cases).

It is worth to mention that one of the main accidents that triggered the state towards approaching more vital and dynamic solutions for the problem of urban informality in Egypt was the collapse of the unsafe cliff of Al-Dewika in Cairo; as the area was inhabited and collapse caused the death of so many people in this tragic incident. Consequently, the Presidential Decree No. 305 for the year 2008 was issued for the establishment of the ISDF under the direct authority of the Egyptian Prime Minister’s Cabinet. The ISDF came out as an innovative solution to overcome many of the challenges obstructing collaboration of previously mentioned official entities towards the development of informal settlements. Recently in 2014, a new government was formed, in which the ISDF is now affiliated to the specialized Ministry of Urban Upgrading/Renewal and Informal Settlements was established; in order to work on urban integrated development projects related to Informal Settlements in Egypt. Accordingly, this ministry is expected to overcome the lack of coordination between the agencies participating in the planning, funding, and implementing of upgrading projects. (El-balad, 2014)

It can be concluded that the Egyptian government enhanced the urban upgrading governance framework over the years. However, there are still concerns on financial capacity to implement development projects for the urban poor, community participation, and sustainability. Hence, the following section investigates the performance of two upgrading projects in Cairo based on the previous discussed premises within this research.

3- Case Studies on Urban Upgrading Projects in Cairo: ‘Al Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’

In this section, the urban upgrading projects of two cases: ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’ are investigated in terms of involved stakeholders and their influences on project initiation, execution, and post upgrading performance. Accordingly, the methodology and research focus within the case studies are illustrated in Figure 2, in which these two cases were selected in particular for representing multi actors and diversity of backgrounds and enjoyed a political support through its initiation and implementation.

Figure 2: Research work plan for investigating Case Studies (Authors)
3-1 Al-Darb Al-Ahmar

‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ is similar to other historic neighbourhoods in Cairo (Figure 3), where it suffers from deteriorated built environment and the physical collapse of many of its significant monuments. These old neighbourhoods lack basic urban services such as: sanitation, and waste management. Such depreciated urban status can be connected to the low rents, and negligence by the state to invest in such urban poor areas. While on the other hand, it is worth to mention that ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ is characterized by solid community connections to the place which rise from the aged social bonds. At the same time, the area has small economic activities owned by its inhabitants. Despite the physical deterioration of the district, the community’s entrepreneurial and social spirit is very strong (AKTC, 2005).

3-1-1 Triggers towards upgrading

By late 2004, AKTC\textsuperscript{2} targeted socioeconomic development of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’. The main trigger behind the project initiation was when AKTC was completing the revitalization of ‘Al-Azhar’ Park; a former ruins dump in Cairo, the opportunity was open towards a parallel rehabilitation program for ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’. It is worth to mention that the project targeted mainly ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’; since it represents a densely built-up district lying on the Park edges, and bordered by historical Islamic sites. Additionally, the area itself includes remarkable historic buildings and mosques that are worth to be renovated and preserved, to which the accelerated deterioration of the area required quick holistic actions. Subsequently, the project applied both physical interventions represented in housing and monument rehabilitation, and socioeconomic interventions towards participation and capacity development of the community (AKTC, 2005).

3-1-2 Upgrading actors and execution

The project consisted of a series of pilot projects, which started with developing the park as a channel for a wider impact on the ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’. Partnerships between various actors were initiated by the AKTC towards bringing together several partners (see Table 2) such as: municipal institutions, representatives from the area, residents and workers in the

\textsuperscript{2} Agha Khan Trust for Culture
area. Later on, Community priorities and socioeconomic needs were identified and listed through consultation and participatory meetings. At the same time, various donors supported individual programs within the project, for instance the Egyptian Swiss Development Fund supported the project’s initiation, and Ford Foundation supported the housing improvement programme and the rehabilitation of the ‘Darb Shoughlan’ Community Centre (AKTC, 2005).

Table 2: Involved actors and donor agencies in the urban upgrading of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ based on data in AKTC published reports (Authors)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>AKTC’s initiatives in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar was legally supported by its institutional partners:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donors</td>
<td>• Governorate of Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Egyptian Ministry of Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Supreme Council of Antiquities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Donors who supported individual programs: | • Egyptian Swiss Development Fund The Ford Foundation |
|                                          | • World Monuments Fund                                                                    |
|                                          | • Robert W. Wilson Challenge to Conserve Our Heritage                                     |
|                                          | • Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Italian Embassy in Cairo                           |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Planned framework for the further development of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Project</th>
<th>• Finalized with the Egyptian Fund for Social Development. The agreement foreseen implementation of physical rehabilitation and community development activities, through the year 2007.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Follow up and Management</td>
<td>• 'Al-Darb Al-Ahmar for community development'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The project implementation period implied preliminary identification of the residents needs through conducting meetings and surveys with local community. Thus, the project focused on specified areas of intervention such as: trainings, sanitation, housing rehabilitation, microfinance projects, waste collection, health care and a community centre; which were identified among other priorities for development. Afterwards, four year plans were produced (Starting from 2004). The project itself was divided into two phases. The first phase targeted the outcomes of the socio-economic survey, and the second phase aimed at: providing basic social service, restoring of the ‘Aiyubuid’ wall, and rehabilitating a number of houses in the area. It also targeted the construction of an urban plaza with parking area at the northern edge of the site (AKTC, 2005).

It is worth to mention that throughout both phases, entrepreneurship projects were promoted, and local labour and employees were hired. Thus, the park construction stimulated not only the physical development of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’, but also the discovery of distinctive talents and skills within the community. Hence, due to the wide and integrated scope of the project, nowadays ‘Al-Azhar’ Park and ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ restoration projects became live examples as the successful urban upgrading projects, locally and globally.

3-1-3 Post urban upgrading

The project implied the establishment of a non-profit company to manage and supervise the project, which is ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar for community development’. The project embedded strong social framework as well; to ensure its sustainability. Besides that, it was planned that the institutional partners in the project (Governorate of Cairo, Egyptian Ministry
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of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities) would encourage and sustain the implemented projects in ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’. However, over the past 3 years and exactly post the 25th of January public revolution in 2011, the law enforcement in most of these high dense old districts was absent. In addition to this, there has been lack of consensus among different groups of stakeholders; due to the rapid political and social changes within this short period.

Thus, the urban condition of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ has been suffering recently from: absence of state regulations and power, lack of investments due to the political unrest in the country as well as fear of NGOs to participate in serious development programs, besides the conflicts among the local community itself. Hence, one can monitor now the demolitions of old stone structured buildings in favour of high rise concrete ones. Another limitation to the project’s sustainability is the operational management framework that didn’t involve the same stakeholders that were present during earlier stages. Consequently, this has left the community supporters of the project and AKTC management alone with no legalization or security power to face the informal contractors’ strong network protected by local thugs (Youm7, 2014). Since then, the political and financial support of the project have gradually diminished except for management and maintenance of some executed interventions, in which there aren’t any new development initiatives to continue working in the area.

3-2 Masaken Zainhom

‘Masaken Zainhom’ is administratively affiliated to ‘Al Sayda Zainab’ (see Figure 4) district which has strong historical roots. The area is 50 feddan hosting about 4000 family. For a long time, ‘Masaken Zainhom’ was a temporary shelter provided by Cairo governorate to the people who lost their houses. Although, the shelters provided were of extremely deteriorated conditions (wood shelter walls 4X9 meter). For around 30 years, the inhabitants lived in poor urban, environmental and social conditions. This resulted in labelling the area of ‘Masaken Zainhom’ as one of the informal and deteriorated urban areas (Tadamun, 2014).

3-2-1 Triggers towards upgrading

A political decision was the main driver for initiating an urban upgrading project in the area. It was in 1998, when the former first lady Suzanne Mubarak, promoted the development of the district during one of her visits to the headquarters of the Red Crescent Society, which is located in the area of ‘Masaken Zainhom’ and was run by Suzanne Mubarak at that time. Subsequently, the Governor of Cairo contributed to proposing a development plan to build the

Figure 4: Location of ‘Masaken Zainhom’ and insight before Upgrading from, the map from Google search and picture by Rehab Sobhy (Tadamun, 2014) and illustrations by Authors
first set of housing in the region to re-house its residents. Attaching the name of Suzanne Mubarak to the project has raised a considerable interest both from governmental agencies such as the Cairo governorate and contractors to contribute to the project as well as to collect donations from many businessmen (Tadamun, 2014).

3-2-2 Upgrading actors and execution

Cairo governorate, businessmen, NGOs were motivated by the command of Suzanne Mubarak to participate in the project. The Red Crescent organisation was the primary responsible body for coordination through the planning and execution process of the project. Consequently, it facilitated communications, and synchronized between different actors and residents. Cairo governorate provided the temporary houses, and supervised the implementation process. The governorate also delegated the urban planning and design work to a consultancy firm (Associated Consultants) that volunteered to be part of the project. The strong political empowered both private and public sectors towards the success of the area urban upgrading (Tadamun, 2014).

Table 3: Involved actors and donor agencies in the urban upgrading of ‘Masaken Zainhom’ based on data in Tadamun published article (Authors)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>• Suzanne Mubarak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
<td>• Red Crescent organisation: coordination and fundraising campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donors</td>
<td>• NGOs and Private Sector (Non-Profit Funding of project, the donations were collected and managed by Red Crescent organisation) • Governorate (State): Land and project ownership, Temporary houses, and supervision of construction and implementations • ‘Associated Consultants’ group: volunteered to provide the architecture designs and urban plans of the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow Up</td>
<td>• Red Crescent organisation and Governorate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The project consisted of three phases. As a start, the socioeconomic needs of the residents were identified; afterwards, houses were designed and built accordingly. Later, services provision and maintenance of infrastructure took place. In this regard, the area was divided into three parts for implementation, where the residents were moved to temporary public housing in ‘Alsalam’ or ‘Helwan’ districts in Cairo until the construction work of their new houses was done. The first implementation period took place between 1999 and 2000, while the next two periods were between 2003-2004 and 2005-2007. The built up area is 30% and the houses provided are 67 square meter (Tadamun, 2014).

It is important to mention that the role of the Red Crescent organisation was multidimensioned, where it was responsible for: managing the project in its early stages, communicating with the residents to identify their needs, informing and promoting for the project plans, facilitating services provision, and initiating awareness campaigns and capacity development activities during the project’s operation (Tadamun, 2014). Additionally, the financial responsibility was divided among different actors, in which the project was ensured through incorporating various income sources (private sector, NGOs, State). On the other hand, the political support that sparked the project guaranteed the alliance of interests of such diverse actors.
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Post urban upgrading

The Red Crescent in ‘Masaken Zainhom’ focused on both the social and physical aspects for development. The residents completely appreciate the upgrading efforts which contributed to uplifting their living conditions from various dimensions, except for some feedbacks regarding the quality of some of the provided services. Not only inhabitants of ‘Masaken Zainhom’ live now in adequate structures, but also they benefit from the available utilities and services such as: potable water, natural gas, school, nursery, health units, and the community centre. Although the project is not profitable and depending on donations, it was planned that it sustains through the rent revenues. Hence, this constant income generation source was supposed to cover the maintenance expenses for buildings and ensure services provision. However, the dependency of the project on donations raises important questions on the feasibility and sustainability on the long run (Tadamun, 2014).

Since the strong attachment of the name of ‘Suzanne Mubarak’ was the main driver for executing the project; thus, the 25th of January revolution in 2011 and the ousting of Mubarek’s Family from the Republic Presidency raised a lot of concerns on the sustainability of the project. Nowadays, and after 7 years from finishing the last phase of implementation, some areas in ‘Masaken Zainhom’ maintained its physical quality. On the other hand, others took advantage of the weak enforcement of law; in which the households added informal barns, shops, and refuse to contribute in the preservation and development of the place. In this regard, the Red Crescent complains about the non cooperative community and District authorities; where officials consider this informal behaviour as a general character of Egyptian community. Additionally, the area is not considered now as a priority within the official development plans. Thus, it can be argued in this case that the personalised approach to initiate an upgrading project does not guarantee a sustainable solution in dealing with informality in Egypt. Meanwhile, this is observed in the deteriorated services in ‘Masaken Zainhom’ (Tadamun, 2014).

4- People-Oriented Governance as a Tool for Successful Urban Upgrading Projects in Cairo: A Question of Sustainability

It is important to highlight that the widely used eviction policy for informalities was not adopted in both cases of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’. Hence, this indicates the openness of urban upgrading approaches to consider and integrate people’s connections and will to stay in their neighbourhoods. Although the sustainability of the presented projects is still under question, but it is worth to mention that ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’ provide a real positive showcase. Subsequently, it is interesting to examine both projects not only for other citizens to learn from, but also for planners and policy makers regarding how to deal with informal and deteriorated areas in Egypt. Thus, these showcases present real practices demonstrating that upgrading can always be possible. Accordingly, this section introduces the research reflections on both cases through two steps:

- Investigating if both urban upgrading projects are considered people-oriented
- Analyzing set of key success drivers and obstacles towards sustainability
4-1 Reflections on case studies: people oriented governance indicators

The research argues that both projects implied most of the people oriented tools throughout their implementation. This premise is further illustrated below in terms of research previous analysis of the cases and the research conceptual framework (Table 4).

Table 4: Conceptual Framework towards People Oriented Governance (Authors)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simultaneous review: ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’</th>
<th>Investment lines of people oriented development (JICA, 1994)</th>
<th>Reflections based on UN good governance indicators</th>
<th>Lack of law enforcement and collaborated efforts of stakeholders to monitor the post upgrading phase. This absence of law contributed in the domination of informality, and deterioration of many of the developed properties.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Resources</td>
<td>Both projects were quite <strong>responsive</strong>; in which they considered identification of needs, and included physical and social capacity development programs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Reforms</td>
<td><strong>Transparency and accountability</strong> were considered through project agreements, donations, contracting, and budgets. Both projects as well supported the urban poor, which indicated <strong>equity and inclusiveness</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-Actors</td>
<td>Both projects involved the <strong>participation</strong> of multi actors representing the State, private sector, local community, and NGOs. It is worth to mention that the political support given at the starting phase (especially in Masaken Zainhom) increased <strong>consensus</strong> on interests and diminished conflicts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive market economy</td>
<td>Microloans and rent revenues were the main drivers to generate income that could be utilized in the maintenance and conservation of the achieved development. Besides that, the implementation <strong>effectiveness</strong> and operational <strong>efficiency</strong> can be observed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In light of previous achievements and concern of both urban upgrading projects of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’, it can be premised that actual development phases of the projects were mainly oriented towards the needs of people to a large extent.

4-2 Reflections on case studies: sustainability key drivers and obstacles

In this subsection, the research highlight set of indicators that could enhance or weaken the sustainability of both projects as follows in Table 5.
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Table 5: Sustainability Indicators for Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Masaken Zainhom by Authors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drivers pro sustainability</th>
<th>Al-Darb Al-Ahmar</th>
<th>Masaken Zainhom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adopt grass roots development approach and community needs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ensure a strong political will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify a responsible organisation which coordinates the project.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Connect private and public actors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote holistic integrated approach - upgrading both physical and social dimensions.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identify a responsible organisation which coordinates the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal with the district’s historical monuments is an asset and shall be used as main resource for development.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Promote holistic integrated approach – upgrading both physical and social dimensions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraged micro financial projects to generate income for the community.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Promote rotation of financial and institutional roles among actors, which makes everyone feel responsible for the achievement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consider the community needs and involve them in the development process.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ensure quick execution process.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacles against sustainability</th>
<th>Al-Darb Al-Ahmar</th>
<th>Masaken Zainhom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Micro projects only are not enough, Macro projects have to be promoted to ensure wide scale financial stability.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Changing the national political management that initiated and supported the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak communication between local communities and governmental authorities, it could be done by third external party.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Development based on persons not a purpose.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently, it can be concluded that applying people-oriented governance tools through urban upgrading projects in Cairo is feasible. This was illustrated through live examples of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’. However, it is important to examine drivers and obstacles that have the ability to stimulate social, economical and environmental sustainability of the project, such as:
• Linking various actors towards the public interest
• Availability of non profit organisation for management and coordination
• Involving the community, and ensuring the incorporation of its needs
• Political will and law enforcement to achieve and preserve desired outcomes

5- Conclusion

The capability to implement Urban Upgrading approaches in Cairo was an essential trigger during the various sections of this research paper. In this regard, the research briefly demonstrated the general concept behind urban upgrading and its presence through Egyptian policies. Subsequently, the research monitored the evolution of urban upgrading approaches in Egypt, from just site and service projects into holistic restructuring and rehabilitation mega interventions. At the same time, the research introduced people-oriented governance as a crosscutting framework that maintains collaboration among various actors representing: the State, Private sector, NGOs, and the local community. In this respect, a conceptual framework was proposed to investigate two cases of the urban upgrading projects in Cairo.

Hence, the cases of ‘Al-Darb Al-Ahmar’ and ‘Masaken Zainhom’ were analyzed as positive and live examples on the upgrading of deteriorated neighbourhoods. It was shown within these two areas how the local inhabitants were given the opportunity to participate towards the enhancement of their areas. Therefore, it can be concluded that the involvement of various actors has to be encouraged, and community needs have to be included in the development process. That’s why, people oriented approach in dealing with informality is recommended within this research as an essential mechanism towards successful upgrading. In this respect, reflections on both projects were discussed regarding the incorporation of good governance principles such as: participation, transparency, and responsiveness.

Furthermore, both cases displayed a good example on integrated frameworks that enhanced the social, physical and economic efficiency. Accordingly, the research highlighted set of indicators within each project regarding its continuation and preservation. Finally, the research reaches a conclusion that absence of any of the governance components such as law enforcement or participation threatens the sustainability of upgrading projects. Thus, it is not enough to incorporate people-oriented governance throughout the implementation of the project, but also it should be highly considered after the upgrading process. Thus, the following up responsible actors should be adequately authorized to ensure and steer up the project sustainability. Accordingly, the research promotes for achieving a higher quality of urban spaces that supports: human resources, political reforms, multi actors’ engagement, and competitive local economic development.

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