

Social Bonding in Unsafe Areas and Territorial Stigmatization: The Case of Ghaba and Laslki Shelters in Ain el-Sira

不安全地区的社会联系和空间污名：Ain Al-Sira地区森林和无线避难所的现状研究

Nevine Zakaria Mohamed Amin
Associate Professor of Political Sociology
Faculty of Education-Ain Shams University
nevenzakria@edu.asu.edu.eg

Abstract

Through analyzing the nature of risks the residents of Ghaba and Laslki shelters in Ain el Sira are exposed to, this paper attempts to investigate the extent of what the effect of social bonding on residents of two shelters lead them to both adapt to their worse socioeconomic conditions and reduce their feelings of territorial stigmatization.

It relies on the theory of the territorial stigmatization of Loic Wacquant and Bourdieu's theory of 'symbolic power' as well as Goffman's model of the management of 'spoiled identity'. It, also, adopted Putnam's classification of social capital; bonding, bridging and linking. This paper conducted (6) Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) with 49 of respondents in both shelters, added to one workshop and three interviews with employees of NGO.

The paper concluded that the principles of bonding social capital played a key role in the lives of residents of Laslki compared to Ghaba in tackling their problems. The implementation of such principles between residents positively contributed to their tackling the scarcity of opportunities and resources. Also, although the policy of development is the best policy for the philosophy of the urban planning, the removal policy that was followed in both shelters is the most appropriate solution in light of extremely poor conditions of such shelters.

The conclusion indicates the importance for the future researches to assess, through setting indicators, New Public Governance (NPG) in new cities where residents moved to for evaluating the degree of partnerships between all sectors for securing the sustainability for better future.

Key words:

Social Bonding, Territorial Stigmatization, Risks, Ain el-Sira, Participatory Approach

الترباط الاجتماعي في المناطق غير الآمنة والوصمة المكانية: دراسة حالة لإيواءات الغابة واللاسلكي في منطقة عين الصيرة

نيفين زكريا محمد أمين
أستاذ مساعد علم الاجتماع السياسي
كلية التربية-جامعة عين شمس

من خلال تحليل طبيعة المخاطر والمشكلات التي يتعرض لها سكان إيواءات الغابة واللاسلكي في منطقة عين الصيرة، تحاول هذه الورقة البحث عن مدى تأثير ربط رأس المال الاجتماعي على سكانها، إضافة إلى مدى تأثيرها على تكيف قاطنيها مع ظروفهم الاقتصادية والاجتماعية السيئة، وتقليل شعورهم بالوصم الإقليمي.

وقد اعتمدت الورقة على نظرية الوصم الإقليمي لنظرية لويك واكانت، ونظرية بورديو عن "القوة الرمزية" بالإضافة إلى نموذج جوفمان لإدارة "الهوية الفاسدة". كما تبنت الورقة تصنيف بنتام القائم على ربط، وتجسير، وترباط رأس المال الاجتماعي. وقد أجرت هذه الورقة ستة (٦) مجموعات بؤرية (FGDs) مع تسع وأربعين ٤٩ من المستجيبين في إيواءات الغابة واللاسلكي، وكذلك إجراء ورشة عمل واحدة في منطقة المدابع، قبل إخلائها الآن، مع عشر (١٠) من المشاركين، إضافة إلى إجراء ثلاث مقابلات مع مدير واثنتان من الموظفين في جمعية رعاية بائعي أطعمة الشارع في منطقة عين الصيرة.

وتوصلت الدراسة إلى أن الأسس التي قام عليها ربط رأس المال الاجتماعي لعبت دوراً رئيسياً في حياة سكان اللاسلكي مقارنة بالغابة بمنطقة عين الصيرة في التعاطي مع مشكلاتهم، كما ساهم تطبيق هذه المبادئ بين السكان في التعامل بإيجابية مع ندرة الفرص والموارد. وعلى الرغم من أن سياسة إعادة التطوير هي أفضل سياسة لفلسفة التخطيط العمراني، فإن سياسة الإزالة التي تم اتباعها في الغابة واللاسلكي بمنطقة عين الصيرة تعد الحل الأنسب في ظل الظروف الصعبة للغاية لمثل هذه الإيواءات.

تشير الخاتمة إلى أهمية قيام الأبحاث المستقبلية بتقييم الحوكمة العامة الجديدة (NPG) من خلال وضع المؤشرات في المدن الجديدة التي انتقل إليها السكان لتقييم درجة الشراكة بين جميع القطاعات لضمان الاستدامة من أجل مستقبل أفضل.

Social Bonding in Unsafe Areas and Territorial Stigmatization: The Case of Ghaba and Laslki Shelters in Ain el-Sira¹

Nevine Zakaria Mohamed Amin
Associate Professor of Political Sociology
Faculty of Education-Ain Shams University

Improving unsafe areas is extremely important to the state's development plans as it varies between replacement, renovation and resettlement, etc. According to urban planning policies, resettlement is the most appropriate policy as shelter development, compared to demolition and resettlement, would cost less and it would be easier for municipal authorities to standardize long-term, stable systems of service delivery than to set them up from scratch at the resettlement site².

Paragraph 28, of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Development Driven Eviction, has stated that the resettlement process should be conducted in full consultation and participation with affected groups, persons and communities. However, countries should also consider all alternative plans proposed by vulnerable groups and local communities (United Nations Comprehensive Guidelines, 1997).

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²Resettling of the families has improved their lives as resettlement rescues people from the sub-human conditions in which they are forced to live as 'squatters' transforming them into neat, organized communities that have access to genuine public services. Moreover, the failure of the resettlement strategy thus reflects a larger failure of imagination. It is not possible to imagine some areas without the working poor, like any other citizens, have the space and opportunity to try and achieve a better life. Furthermore, resettlement can empower residents to participate in finding solutions for developing their areas with the government that became so keen to follow decentralization policies that are based on networking with the residents beside the collaboration with other private and civil society associations as fundamental mechanisms to achieve real and comprehensive development.

In Egypt, The Informal Settlements Development Fund (ISDF) has released that all informal settlements will have been developed by the end of 2021 at a cost amounting to L.E.39 billion (2.5 Billion \$). And that an estimated cost of L.E.318 billion has been allocated to develop informal settlements. It declared that total of 312 informal settlements have been developed out of 357 informal settlement areas in the state's development plan as there are 152,000 feddans of informal settlements in Egypt, accounting for 37 percent of urban space in the country. They are expected to be developed by 2030(Egypt Today, 13 April 2021).

This paper focuses on the shelters of Ghaba and Laslki in the area of Ain el-Sira as it analyses the nature of risks and dangers the residents of both shelters are exposed to and the extent of what the elements of social bonding they followed with each other did eliminate their feelings of territorial stigmatization and reducing these risks the governorate failed to resolve. It, also, investigates the effects of social bonding on the territorial stigmatization of residents in Ain el-Sira and monitors the extent to which residents participated with each other and were given the opportunity to both address their common dangers and present their views and visions of the problems they suffer to local officials of the area.

In addition, the paper shows main perceptions and evaluations of risks in unsafe areas adopted by the governorate and the ISDF's ones differ from those of the residents. This paper examines forms of risk and develops a broader concept that considers the roles of government, institutional interests, and Non-Governmental Organizations in the social construction of risk. In other words, it deals with risk both as an objective reality and as a cultural phenomenon.

An introduction:

The needs of the global economy topped the neoliberal agenda at the expense of national goals that are concerned with the social returns. This puts the government at the center of governance and not the manager. As such, planning becomes a de facto practice in which multiple arguments are managed through trade negotiations between various actors, while

opposition is either ignored, or employed to protect predetermined goals and strategies (Kalyani & Gautam Bhan, 2008). Mike Davis Marshalls argues that recent trends are creating a growing underclass of workers who are 'radically separated from the formal world economy and set up a new social class of the dispossessed (Davis, 2006).

Improving unsafe areas is extremely important to the state's development plans as it varies between replacement, renovation, and resettlement, etc. According to urban planning policies, resettlement is the most appropriate policy as shelter development, compared to demolition and replacement, would cost less and would be easier for municipal authorities to standardize long-term, stable systems of service delivery than to set them up from scratch at the resettlement site³.

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The eleventh goal of the Sustainable Development Report 2030 issued by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), related to sustainable cities and societies, confirmed the link between sustainable development and the mechanisms and methods of building in urban spaces, especially since more than half of the world's population lives in cities, which will reach two-thirds of the number of people living in cities, or about 6.5 billion people in the year 2050. With the increase in both population and migration rates, slums have become an important feature of urban areas with dense population. This was indicated by the Sustainable Development Report: Egypt Vision 2030, which aimed to

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draw and implement a dynamic and interconnected urban map that would double the urban area and develop slums (Strategy of Sustainable Development: Egypt Vision 2030, 2016).

The urban goals of Egyptian strategy were reflected in the Egyptian state's plan for urban development and planning, as the Egyptian Ministry of Housing, in cooperation with the Informal Settlement Development Fund, adhered to specific classification criteria⁴. Slums in Egypt were classified into unplanned areas, which are safe areas that have not been established by using urban planning tools, unsafe areas that contain houses (50%) or more that increase the criteria for insecurity. It can be noted that 296 out of a total of 357 of unsafe areas were developed during the period (2014-2020), and the population of unsafe areas decreased to (35%) in 2019 (Human Development Report, 2021). In line with the principle of implementing comprehensive strategies for realizing the right to housing, basic services such as schools, youth centers, and health centers have been provided to ensure a safe environment for citizens.

Resettlement policies are divided into three types: Resettlement to the same site as it is often unsafe areas with dilapidated buildings and moderate population density, Relocation to a new area as the areas are of imminent danger, and sometimes with high population density as residents of self-relocation choose to take financial compensation and resettle themselves. Each of the three types is applied separately, or a combination of these types is applied depending on the desire of the residents the plan adopted by the state (UNCHS, 1991).

⁴ The classification criteria are the following:

A-First-class risk areas: exposed to slippage of stone blocks from mountains - torrents - or to railroad accidents, and they are dealt with by immediately transferring residents to housing units in the nearest place, and financial compensation for providing housing. B-Second-class risk areas: housing built by using waste building materials, or on landfills, or destroyed or dilapidated facilities and they are dealt with through financial compensation for the provision of housing, and housing rehabilitation, and the replacement of housing on the site. C-Third-class risk areas: areas lack clean water or sanitation, areas under the influence of industrial pollution, or areas under power lines, and they are dealt with by transferring or converting overhead power lines to ground cables, adjusting the conditions of contaminated factories, implementing safe water and drainage systems. D-Fourth-class risk areas: areas on state land or endowment lands where their inhabitants lack a stable life and they are dealt with through legalizing tenure for a fee, and providing alternative housing.

The United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat) has identified the main criteria that contribute to the success of resettlement projects, which are (UNCHS, 1991): the population participation, development of resettlement areas, compensation grants and social development. Added to that, the successful development of unsafe areas leads to better citizen integration in the society, the shantytowns and dilapidated housing units become good homes, and unsafe areas become residential suburbs (Cities Alliance, 2008).

The present paper adopts approaches to resettlement in unsafe areas after their development as an ideal solution in case of the capacity of these areas to be developed. This tendency sticking to the Millennium Development Goals that can eliminate slums, improve cities, reduce crime, and protect lands. On the other hand, the methods of removal and resettlement will achieve more positive returns on the content of these goals, in the event that residents of those insecure areas participate in presenting their problems, and find solutions to them with the government and the private sector. The reasons for the paper's adoption of resettlement through development methods are to deal with urban and social purposes through: reforming deteriorating urban areas that suffer from high population density and most of their dilapidated buildings, or for social purposes: areas with crimes, social problems, and common health diseases, or to achieve economic and national projects: such as expanding roads and utility networks, or taking advantage of slums.

Regarding the area of the study, the specificity of Ain el-Sira came after issuing Decree of Cairo Governor No. 5725/2017, which lists 30 settlements in Cairo as "extreme risk" (the danger pillar) for evacuation and demolition to the second degree to be rebuilt/ re-planned. The "re-planning" is well not defined in the Egyptian case. There are no specific determinations on re-planning steps. As a result, the residents of the area in general and within Ghaba and Laslki in particular were confused regarding the meaning, limitations, and actions that the government would take to re-plan the area.

Ain el-Sira in Masr el-Qaddima district has four areas listed as unsafe grade 2. The neighborhood comprises Magra al-Oyoun, the 700-year old aqueduct connecting the Nile to the Citadel because it is under investment so the government could be coercing UNESCO not to include it. It remains the seat of the traditional leather tanneries despite the relocation of most tanneries to Badr city, 45Kms north east of Cairo governorate in 2017. It is one of late President Nasser's public housing projects and is also the seat of three temporary shelters established in the 1980s by the municipal government. This area consists of several neighborhoods such as the Souq (market), Iwa'at El Ghaba (Ghaba shelters), Ard Meet Maskan (the land of 100 houses), Chicago Square, Ard el Ahlam (Dreams Land) and Iwa'at el Laslki (Laslki shelters). The areas listed as 'unsafe' are the shelters of El Ghaba and Laslki. State Popular Housing Estates (Iskan Sha'abi) started under Nasser in 1958 and the first shelters were injected in the green open spaces between block houses in 1960 to host survivors of run-down buildings from other areas around Cairo and from other governorates, predominantly from Upper Egypt.

Research Problem:

Residents of unsafe areas are exposed to several risks and dangers at all levels, and they are stigmatized and underestimated spatially by others who are representing the middle and upper classes. This paper focuses on the shelters of Ghaba and Laslki, as both of them are classified as unsafe areas, in the area of Ain el-Sira as it analyses the nature of risks and dangers the residents of both shelters are exposed to and the extent to which the elements of social bonding they followed with each other did eliminate their feelings of territorial stigmatization and reducing these risks the governorate failed to resolve. In other words, it analyses the social bonding through monitoring the impact and embodiment of bonding and bridging social capital on the sense of territorial stigmatization or not.

It, also, investigates the effects of social bonding on the territorial stigmatization of residents in Ain el-Sira and monitors the extent to which residents participated with each other and were given the opportunity to both address their common dangers and present their views and visions of the problems they suffer to local officials of the area. The paper also

examines forms of risks and develops a broader concept that considers the roles of government, institutional interests, and Non-Governmental Organizations in the social construction of risk. In other words, it deals with risk both as an objective reality and as a cultural phenomenon.

The main question is: To what extent does the effect of social bonding on residents of Ghaba and Laslki in the area of Ain el Sira lead them to both adapt to their worse socioeconomic conditions and reduce their feelings of territorial stigmatization?

This paper is based on six sub-questions as follows:

- 1- What is the nature of risks and challenges residents of Ain el-Sira confront, and the ways residents of Ghaba deal with various risks and vulnerabilities compared to the ones of Laslki? What is the nature of social bonding among residents of Ain el-Sira?
- 2- How does the social bonding in Ghaba differ from the one in Laslki? And the reasons for the existence of such difference between the two districts within Ain el-Sira?
- 3- How do the social connections between residents of Ghaba and Laslki match with Herschi's adoption of the elements of social bonding?
- 4- To what extent the types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking decrease the feelings of territorial stigmatization among residents of Ain el-Sira?
- 5-To which extent do respondents from residents of Ain el-Sira prefer the policy of resettlement (redevelopment) compared to the policy of eviction or vice versa? And why?
- 6-Is there any type of partnership between the public, private and NGOs for developing the area of Ain el-Sira? And how do these three sectors work in reducing such risks and challenges?

Literature review:

Rivera's perceives risk as a mediator between territorial stigmatization and feeling safe. Thus, the adaptation and the acceptance of risks mechanisms are followed by residents of unsafe areas in the event that able to achieve other strategic goals.

Although risk assessment is the result of accurate subjective judgments, opinions of experts and ordinary people that may carry many biases, identification, evaluation, mitigation and prevention are the primary drivers behind risk management (Slovic P & Others, 1981). Examining human cognitive processes related to making wise decisions about dangerous activities is a very difficult task. Such processes would raise questions about the fundamental issues that must be addressed by the entire community of scholars, policymakers, and citizens.

There are three research trends related to describing the paradox of fear and risk: The first trend is that the demographic and physical characteristics of people, and the degree of severity of the risks, determine their exposure and sensitivity to the occurrence of crimes (Killias, 1990; Semmens, 2004; Warr, 1984, 1987). The second trend is that the paradox of fear of risk results from regional stigmatization that forces popular perception (the public, politicians, and media) to view the place as a “no-go area” and its residents as “outcasts from urban areas,” resulting in a negative feeling among the population of the area (Wacquant, 2008b). The third trend indicates that the fear risk paradox is an emotional reaction resulting from interactive dynamics between personality traits, interpretive processes and physical, social and environmental situations related to some aspects of personal harms and losses (Ferraro, 1995; Garofalo, 1981; La Garange, Ferraro & Supancic, 1992).

This paper claims that stigmatization in Ghaba and Laslki areas is a consequence of the three mentioned trends. That is represented in the demographic and physical characteristics of residents, and the territorial stigmatization imposed by popular perceptions and viewpoints of public opinions. Additionally, there is a dynamic relationship between personal characteristics, and the social and environmental conditions of the population.

The combination of social isolation, loneliness, and poor socioeconomic status within unsafe areas leads to harmful behaviors on health (Algerm & others 2020). They compare feelings of loneliness in deprived neighborhoods and in other public spaces. By analyzing cross-sectional data from (5113) residents of 12 deprived neighborhoods, and other data on (14,686) individuals from Danish health and morbidity represented at the national level, they found that the dynamic correlation between social isolation and loneliness did not significantly change the relationship between the socio-economic status of the population and risky behavior of health. In addition, when social isolation and loneliness are combined with a worse socioeconomic situation, rates of health-hazardous behaviors increase (Ibid, 2020).

Neighborhood disturbance is an ambient threat that stimulates perceptions of helplessness, and feelings of mistrust and isolation that lead to attacks of anxiety, anger, and exhaustion. Using data in the 1995 Crime and Health Survey, a probability sample of (2,482) adults in Illinois, with a follow-up survey in 1998, it was be found that perceived neighborhood disorder is associated with high levels of anxiety, anger, and depression (Ross & Mirsky, 2009).

Likewise, differing levels of economic and social polarization within a limited local geographic area intensify stigma and divergence in a context in which low wages and rising housing prices create a strong sense of social insecurity. Not only does “territorial stigmatization” marginalize the rights of certain regions, but it also provides a means by which those who do not reside in such sites can assert their own social, cultural, and ethical distance. This could be encoded in the contradiction between the stigmatized areas and the stigmatization that can be applied to the inhabitants of these areas (Watt 2006, p. 794). Negative stigma not only represents inequality in a particular way, but also plays a role in its reproduction, which must be taken into account in the context of the current social, economic and political climate. According to Wacquant, territorial stigmatization is a mean of public justification that both reproduces and perpetuates social inequalities.

Corzban and Leary (2001) supposed that there are several systems designed to exclude others from social interactions, and that the behavioral manifestations of these exclusion mechanisms generate

stigma. Many of the characteristics that lead to social exclusion are chosen on the basis of stigma and stem from sophisticated adaptations designed to make people avoid interactions that are likely to impose various social costs on them. The study concluded that self-esteem and performance variables can be beneficial, and that reaching priorities for the types of interactions that people intend to avoid may be beneficial. The task of analyzing representative systems is the stigma, and the links between them, as a possible direction for future research.

Rivera (2014) examines the suitability of the material and housing conditions of marginalized people to counter the trend of mass stigmatization, and the associated lower social status. This is reflected in the need to foster more meaningful and reciprocal interactions between Ghaba and Laslki in an effort to eliminate marginalization. In her study of the Beltway District of Chicago, Kefalas (2003, p. 5) observed how whites "spread their class-based moral values into their physical surroundings, while strengthening moral and symbolic boundaries against social groups that threaten their way of life." Likewise, for those interviewed in the area of Laslki, this area was not a vehicle through which notions of "respect" and "merit" were expressed.

Rivera showed that the perception of risk is mediated between territorial stigmatization and a sense of security and safety, and that the greater the stigma being felt, the greater the person's adoption of the perceived risk associated with vulnerability. This negatively affects the level of safety. This sense of insecurity is assessed by tracking the evolution of the stages of physical morbidity, and social disruption resulting from the stigmatization of the population, and through assessment of dealing with risks and their consequences (Rivera, 2014).

Additionally, there is a direct relationship between the spatial stigma that reflected on the population of the area, and the size of the population who perceives the risk. This relationship depends not only on the characteristics of the places and the quality of the risks to assess the level of safety, but on other individual factors. These factors include the likelihood of certain crimes occurring, the modes of exposure to harm, and the extent to which risks and consequences are dealt with (Rivera, 2014). In view of the current paper, the degraded place (Ghaba) was considered the most dangerous, compared to (Laslki) area, which

negatively affected the physical and social conditions of the area's residents whose inhabitants can be evaluated as more stable and less vulnerable to diseases and risks. This expectation comes as a result of strong social interactions among its residents, and their ability to perceive and deal with the size of risks and limit their negative effects as possible.

Van der Pligt (1998) argues that although the risks associated with the stigmatized place were recognized, its inhabitants accepted the potential risks and found a way out to address them. This means that accepting risk generates precautionary behaviors that can help them achieve their goal and address potential risks. Generally, risk refers to the "possibility of achieving the undesirable negative consequences of an event" (Rowe, 1977 as cited in Tierney, 1999, 216). Risks that are related to the built environment may be natural or technological.

Some researches in the area of risk perception have also revealed that voluntary risks taken are more likely to be accepted. For example, Fischhoff (1985) goes further by believing that people may accept risks, and the potential for harm resulting from them, in the event that this serves other strategic goals for them, but that they will reject any possibility of harm if they realize that the risk imposed on them is inconsistent with both their beliefs and values, and their desired goals (Van der Pligt, 1998).

In addition, the correlation is positive between the absence of danger surrounding the person and his feeling of safety. When assessing risks, people predict the risk or the magnitude of its consequences that affect the aspects that they value (Renn, 1998); they predict their level of confronting such risk, and whether they can control it and its potential consequences. The study confirms that modifying the physical environment is not sufficient to reduce fear and insecure feelings. Instead, risk control is closely related to an understanding of the way people perceive and accept risk that will prove most effective in explaining safety perceptions in the event of victimization (Van der Pligt, 1998).

The Theoretical Framework:

In investigating the nature of risks and problems encountering the residents of Ain el-Sira and the extent to which the social bonding can reduce the feeling of stigmatization and marginalization, this paper adopted the triadic connection between symbolic space, social space, and physical space and the urban spectrum. This connection manifested the engagement of Wacquant's concept of 'territorial stigmatization'⁵ and Bourdieu's theory of 'symbolic power'⁶ as well as Goffman's model of the management of 'spoiled identity'⁷. Added to that, this part analyses Putnam's main classification of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

The triadic connection explained how the blemish of place impacted the residents of dilapidated districts, the surrounding denizens and commercial operators, street level public bureaucracies, specialists in cultural production (journalists, scholars, and politicians), and state officials and policies (Wacquant, 2014).

In terms of territorial stigmatization, forms of "contemporary stigma" within the state are influenced by patterns of governance, ethnic composition, demographic situation, and urban development. For Loic Wacquant (2007-2008); for example, certain neighborhoods within cities face many forms of physical and symbolic degradation and marginalization.

This new form of marginalization has three distinct features: First, high unemployment rates and instability lead to elimination on the

⁵Territorial stigmatization is not a static condition, a neutral process, or an innocuous cultural game, but a consequential and injurious form of action through collective representation fastened on place (Wacquant, 2014a). Territorial stigma is closely tied to the strain of poverty, subaltern ethnicity, degraded housing, and street crime. It becomes democratized and nationalized as it is renowned and reviled as across class and space as self-inflicted destitution and depravity (Wacquant, Ibid, 2014).

⁶Symbolic power is a type of power associated with symbolic systems and their ability to impose a vision of the world. Developed by Pierre Bourdieu, the concept describes how cultural categories that make certain things thinkable and other things unthinkable become instruments of domination that naturalize a given social order (Bourdieu, 1977: 24).

⁷Identity is spoiled when everyone is viewed as dangerous, to some degree. Some of this danger is rooted in the past, but some is based in ongoing relations that contain trauma: experience that is both deeply painful and depressing. Goffman relies extensively on autobiographies and case studies to analyze stigmatized persons' feelings about themselves and their relationships to "normal" people (Wacquant, Ibid, 2014).

working class, and the spread of the precariousness of work. It is noticeable that the areas of Ghaba and Laslki are exposed to different forms of territorial stigma, in a disparate but increasing way in Ghaba area in particular, compared to Laslki area, due to the deterioration of the population's social and economic conditions, and the high unemployment rate despite the geographical convergence of both regions. At the level of Ghaba, its inhabitants face not only physical degradation, but also the symbolic humiliation that is "now associated everywhere with living in areas widely recognized as "restricted areas," because it is a region rife with crime, chaos and moral decay. Despite the moral rejection of the inhabitants of this insecure Ghaba area by the residents of other areas, the residents of this region can adapt to reality and bear the costs of living in their area (2008: p. 29).

As a result of high unemployment rate and insecurity in the basis of wages, the "entitlement" that is related to wages, including safe and well-paid work, is difficult to be achieved, specifically for those who reside in areas that have suffered severely from unequal distribution of economic and social benefits. Through the application of this idea to Ein El-Seira, it can be noticed that under the unfairness in distributing entitlements and thus the lack of appreciation among residents of this area compared to other civilized areas in Cairo, they suffered from low educational levels, high unemployment rates, and expensive housing prices.

Second, the increasing number of residents of some neighborhoods suffers from "low standards of living in degraded neighborhoods", as public and private resources "dwindle" and the struggle for scarce resources increases. Third, living in a "degrading and humiliating neighborhood" is accompanied by an increased stigma (Wacquant, 2008: p. 25). Wacquant believes that this kind of stigma is a "defect" and the place (Wacquant, 2007: p. 67) devoted to the "neighborhood of exile" includes contemporary "urban outcasts" (2008: p. 169). By conducting qualitative interviews in Ghaba and Laslki, Wacquant's idea of "territorial stigmatization" was renovated.

This paper examines the ways in which these forms of stigma are manifested, with a focus on the different levels. Wacquant applied the concept of "territorial stigmatization" as a central feature of the

discourses that seek to affirm the existence of "lower class" at the social and cultural levels in an identifiable manner. For him, this diverts attention from the social, economic and political processes that should lead to dealing with "advanced marginalization" in favor of a simplified discourse that identifies inequality as the result of disjointed cultural choices (Wacquant, 2008, p.89).

Thus, territorial stigmatization, according to Wacquant, not only has symbolic effects, but it also plays an influential role in decisions about investment, resource allocation, and service delivery. Sampson (2009) also notes that negative perceptions of the region and perceived "turmoil" about it further marginalize these areas, and stigmatizing them exacerbates their deprivation. Nevertheless, and in agreement with the claims of both Sampson and Kant, it can be emphasized that such perceptions and implications of stigmatization apply to regions prone to extreme poverty such as Ghaba. The tendency to view deprivation in terms of cultural difference and the prevalent deficiencies among the interviewed persons from families in particular has led many to replace the idea of allocating resources on a hierarchically organized educational concept of 'merit' with the idea of allocating resources on the basis of "need". It should be based on providing employment opportunities, preserving property through crime prevention, and adhering to established social and cultural norms associated with the values of 'respect' and 'fairness' (Rhodes 2011).

Before discussing the types of social capital that can be utilized in analyzing the nature of social bonding between residents of Ghaba and Laslki, it can be mentioned that Putnam did not differentiate between physical capital and social capital, as he saw social networks as creating individual and collective value. While physical capital refers to the availability of material things, social capital refers to the relationships between individuals, which would form social networks, exchange benefits, and increase trust among members of society, which leads to the achievement of common collective goals Putnam, 1996).

The term 'bridging and bonding social capital' was formulated at the end of the 1990s. Putnam's book *Bowling alone* (2000) made the concepts central to the discussion of social capital (Lancee, 2012). Connecting bonding, bridging, and linking social capital is one of

Putnam's classifications of social capital, the one that analyzes the nature of social connectivity between Ghaba and Laslki shelters:

Bonding social capital includes social cohesion within groups arising from relationships between people of the same race, social status, shared values, or location (Pretty 2003). Bridging social capital can be described as the structural relationships and networks that connect social groups and organizations through cooperation, coordination, social support, or information sharing (Narayan and Pritchett 1999). Linking social capital involves the intersection of situations that link those who suffer from poverty with those in influential positions (Pretty 2003). These types of social capital may individually and in concert to a community's ability to function as a unit, comply with criteria, and build connections through local and external organizations and networks.

1-Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital is centered on family and close friends as it connects similar individuals. This type of social capital reinforces specific identities and homogeneous groups. It is useful in reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity, as it helps the individual to remain strong in the light of group loyalty (Field, 2005). Bonding social capital assumes strong connections and trust. Such connection is based on the closed networking, which builds relationships with all its members (Coleman 1988). In terms of structural social capital, the concept of bonding is based on the idea of the 'strength of strong ties' (Lin, Ensel & Vaughn 1981; Coleman 1990). It refers to adopting social cohesion within densely connected communities or groups (Sanchez and Pinkerton, 2009).

To measure bonding social capital, only links that connect the same ethnic group are included. It encompasses friends who come from the same country and family members who are ego-significant and descend from the same country. In the case of Laslki, it is noted that its residents are relatives coming from the same place: the upper Egypt, unlike Ghaba, as they also have kinship and in-law relationships and that reflect the noticeable effect of the strength of family ties and their handling of risks and problems (Lancee, 2012).

2- Bridging Social Capital:

Bridging social capital connects between individuals who are different from one another, tending to coexist between multifaceted identities, rather than fostering a narrow grouping. This type creates internal networks, and may lead to the reproduction of inequality (Field, 2005). It is characterized by a network of interconnected relationships based on poor trust as it refers to the set of bonds that constitutes individual's "widespread" social network containing structural holes (Burt 2001), exemplified by socio-economic gaps, such as race. Structural bridging social capital has been defined as the connections existing in the individual's network that transcends racial divide. The cognitive bridging social capital is characterized by weak trust, i.e. attitudes and values such as outward orientation that contribute to the exchange of resources in an individual's extensive social network.

Putnam stresses that bridging social capital is linked to rich-resource network links and their utilization, the effect of bridging between ethnic groups, and the connection that provides access to valuable resources. Hence, one needs to compare the links between two groups: one rich resource and one poor-resource (Lancee, 2012). It focuses less on connections within similar groups, and more on connections between different groups and individuals (Molinas 1998; Narayan and Pritchett 1999; Nyangena 2008). While bonding social capital is closely connected to 'get by', bridging social capital is linked to 'get ahead' (Narayan 1999; Putnam 2000) is mostly discussed from the perspective of poor group resources.

3- Linking Social Capital:

Linking Social capital refers to the links between communities (Crowe 2007) and/or societal links with external agencies and non-governmental organizations (Sanchez and Pinkerton, 2009). Linking social capital formation is closely interlinked to those falling in poverty, including people with influential positions (Pretty 2003). This type of social capital may contribute to a community's ability to function as a unit, comply with criteria, and build connections through local and external organizations and networks (Call and Jagger, 2017). It can be noted that strong societal ties, as measured by linking social capital, are associated with higher odds of teamwork success. Conversely, access to external market forces,

indicated by the presence of linking social capital, may reduce the possibilities of teamwork success (Call and Jagger, 2017).

Linking Social capital is similar to bridging social capital, except that the first type operates between two individuals or two groups who differ in social status, wealth, or influence (Pretty 2003). For example, the connectivity may be between a community group and an external agency, such as an extended agency or non-governmental organization (NGO).

The Main Definitions:

(A)Insecure areas and resettlement:

Areas that have one roof but lack adequate: 1-housing as dwellings is with dilapidated or cracked buildings. 2-living space, where more than five people can live in one room. 3-infrastructure as these areas are separated from clean water, a sewage network and secured tenure.

(B)Stigmatization

Stigmatization is the process of devaluing an individual who possesses a perverse trait as an individual's actual social identity does not meet the normative expectations of society for the traits that such an individual should possess. It is a form of perversion that leads others to judge individuals as being unlawful to participate in social interaction.

Main elements of Stigmatization:

- It is not a static state, a neutral process, or a harmless cultural game
- It includes recognition of these individuals' unlawful participation in social interactions
- It reflects a form of dependency and malicious action through established collective representation in place
- It represents inability to fulfill the requirements of the role of social interaction

-It is closely related to poverty pressures, ethnic differences, declining housing and street crime.

-It becomes democratic and nationalized because it is famous and blamed as crossing class and space as corruption

(C)Social Bonding

A social bonding is the binding ties to a family. It is the degree to which the individual is integrated into the living area as part of the society. Social ties also include social bonding at school, workplace, and housing within the community. The greater the social bond exists, the greater the likelihood of conformity with society's expectations. This type of social connections limits this form of stigma that stimulates notions of entitlement in resource allocation among inhabitants of these unsafe areas. This sort of collaboration reduces the "cultural" sensitivity that sees social inequality and marginalization as a manifestation of cultural difference and dysfunction rather than as a result of social, economic and political gaps and discrimination.

Main components of social bonding:

1-Attachment: people are most connected to others (family and friends); For example, they are more likely to follow community rules. The social and emotional connections with others embody normative expectations.

2-Commitment: people have an obligation when they care about what they would lose if they committed deviant acts; For example, property, reputation, and opportunities as values and assets that delinquents may lose. Thus, people who have a greater commitment to those values, and the assets that they have achieved or desire to realize are less likely to violate the rules of society.

3-Participation: individuals who were indulged in legitimate and traditional activities would have a lower chance of committing violations of community norms.

4-Faith: residents, who have a greater belief in society's norms, will be more likely to follow them. "People [who] do not have an attitude that

respects the rules of society... [may] feel no moral obligation to commitment regardless of personal benefit” (Hirschi, 1969, p. 25).

Methodology:

In designing the data collection tools, the paper incorporated Amartya Sen's approach to capabilities (opportunity and agency) (Sen, A, 1992 and 2000). The paper adopted a qualitative methodology focusing on purposive and non-random technique.

This paper conducted six (6) Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) in both the area of Ghaba and Laslki. It, also, organized one workshop in the area of Madabee added to conducting three (3) interviews with the manager and the two employees of Street Food Vendors Welfare Association at Ain el-Sira. The dates of holding FGDs are: July 24 and 28 2018, August 4 and 16 2018 and September 12 and 15 2018. And the dates of conducting interviews are as follows: the first interview was conducted in September 18, 2018 with the manager of the association. The two remaining interviews with the two employees were conducted in September 20, 2018.

FGDs capture eight broad dimensions of the risks that residents confront and perceive over the course of one year: work, health, skill, education, tenure, social and physical risks, the non-human environment, as well as basic facilities and infrastructure, added to potential risks and the extent to what the social bonding addresses these risks in case of the absence of the government.

The number of respondents of FGDs, whose ages are ranging from 17 and 80 years, reached (49) participants; 34 members from Ghaba residents and 15 members from the area of Laslki. It can be noticed that there is a predominance of illiteracy and low-levels of education including workers and old men and women of respondents who are involved in economic activities. At first, concerning Ghaba shelters, FGDs were conducted with eight (8) of young men, and eight (8) of young women with age range between 17 and 30 years.

Additionally, the study conducted discussions with ten (10) of men of workshop owners, with age range between eighteen (18) to seventy three (73) years old. They work in the fields of doku, lathing, meat,

leather, and mechanics. The elderly, with a sample size of eight (8) of them; three men, and five women aged between (51-80) years. Second, the number of respondents in Laslki from men is (6) six of young people, aged between (17-25) years and their level of education in low or middle educational level. The elderly people in Laslki reached Nine (9): five (5) women and four (4) men aged between (49-65) years. The discussions extended to include the area landmarks and the main reasons that encouraged the residents to settle either in Ghaba or Laslki. Also, FGDs were focused on collective spatial risks and personal ones encompassing the risks residents were confronted in the aspects of health, nutrition, education, work / income / compensation / work injury costs, housing and tenure, marriage and children, safety and social bonding, sports and leisure time and environment and pollution. The discussions, also, covered the reasons for bringing out these risks and suggested solutions, and eventually, the influence of relevant responsible authorities on addressing the problems of residents.

It is noticeable that the sample of Ghaba's residents represented more than twice of the sample of Laslki. This is resultant from that the dwellers in Ghaba were at greater risk and had multiple infrastructure problems of water, electricity and poverty.

(Annex1: FGDs' Questions).

A-Ghaba and Laslki areas in Ain el-Sira: an overview

Ain el-Sira, in the ancient Cairo, has four areas listed as unsafe Class II. It is a multi-neighborhood area such as the Marketplace (El-Souq), The Forest House (Ghaba Shelters), Dead Ground (Land of 100 Homes), Dreamland, Laslki and the Chicago Square. Popular residential real estate in the state (popular housing) began during the era of Abdel Nasser in 1958 and the first shelters were injected into open green spaces between residential homes in 1960 to host survivors of dilapidated buildings from other areas around Cairo and other governorates, mostly Upper Egypt.

While the first buildings of Ain el-Sira were constructed in 1958, Ghaba's shelters were established in 1960. The fieldwork focused on two specific areas; Ghaba and Laslki, the two areas that are neither examined nor surveyed by previous researches, in view of their multiplicity and informality. These shelters, which reached (150 ones) in both areas encompass four entrances; each entrance has four (4) rooms and a

bathroom. The Ghaba shelters were a garden and then replaced by buildings. It became a semi-agricultural area as trees were removed from the surface of the earth, not from the roots to facilitate the construction of buildings. This led to the presence of many insects, flyers, and animals causing various infections and diseases.

Ain el-Sira representing "unsafe" areas was initially created as temporary shelters by former governments. The original designs of these shelters were inconsistent with safe building standards. This led to the increase of design risks and the successive governments did not work on modifying original designs or monitoring the interventions of the residents in the design. If the logic of residents' buildings was considered and incorporated into designs contracted with the government and its affiliate bodies, this would have mitigated design risks and opened options for site modifications.

Some unsafe areas arose as shelters built by former governments such as Ghaba and Laslki shelters in Ain el-Sira, which appear as small squares surrounded by yellow walking steps on the main map. A larger outdoor footpath surrounds the row houses of the area, known in the 1960s as public housing or communal housing. Both shelters are based on the original locations of open green spaces tucked into each block. Each block of row houses had a square-shaped open space in the original grid design.

Converting open green spaces into shelters was the government decision. In the form of single-storey row blocks, each block consists of two rooms with a shared bathroom intended to serve two families (nuclear or extended). The accounts of the first generation of residents discussed the effects of this design on their everyday interactions and the lack of privacy it involved. However, with demographic changes including an increase in average household size and household composition, nearly the entire population modified the original design by extending rooms over each block using adobe and clay. Concrete structures were unaffordable at the time.

The closed location of Ghaba, surrounded on the four sides by popular residential blocks, led to its isolation from the roads and could have contributed to perceiving it as a place for illegal activities. This has

resulted in lower rents in this area which in turn has brought individual tenants thus changing the area's demographics.

Though Laslki shelters had a similar design, its location on the main road within the popular apartment blocks made it relatively more opened than Ghaba. It was also more accessible to renters, which led to the relatively increase in rental rates compared to Ghaba.

It is noticed that there is a wide variation in the construction methods between the shelters and within the shelter itself. The houses are built of thermal bricks, some of which are made from concrete with four floors. While the buildings in Ghaba are made of wood, most of Laslki shelters are made from concrete. The houses are divided into two types within Laslki: houses built from iron and columns, and other houses built from iron without pillars.

B-Ghaba and Laslki in Ain el-Sira: Long History and Compelling Present

The specificity of Ain el-Sira came after issuing the Cairo Governor Decree No. 5725/2017 listing (30) settlements in Cairo, including this area, as extreme risk areas with grade two of risk (Cairo Governor Decree No. 5725/2017). This section focuses on the characteristics of Ghaba and Laslki areas.

• Demographic and Ecological Characteristics:

The demographic transition of the two areas Ghaba and Laslki affected the range of social bonding, tendencies, and behaviors among their residents. As soon as the residents of Ghaba are separated from each other and some of them are drug users and delinquents, the residents of Laslki collaborate with each other as most of them came from the Upper Egypt. For more illustration, several participants, who live in Ghaba shelters, were originally coming from informal settlements (squatters), such as Zinhom dwellings, Manshyat Nasser, and El-Sayeda Zeinab. However, other residents of Laslki come from either Upper Egypt or other demolished areas from 1980 to 1985 in Bulaq and Al-Madbah (Slaughtering Place), adjacent to the land of 100 houses (Masaken).

One third of the respondents lived in Ghaba claimed that the existence of the shelters (Eiwaat) is closely connected to their existence beside Al-Madabee, where most economic and working activities of Al-Eiwaat's residents, particularly men were carried out. Through conducting FGDs with most industrialists and artisans within the area, it can be noticed that they are either working, or were working, or wishing to work within the area of Al-Madabee. However, with the closure of all mechanical, plumbing and baking workshops, the unemployment rate among workers in the area has increased. One of Ghaba's residents said: "when workshops of Al-Madabee were opened, no worker had a time to spend on a café. However, most of these workshops are now closed, and instead of working, more than (200) of workers spend most of their times on the café".

In the case of the demolition of Al-Madabee houses, the vulnerable tenants rent rooms in Ghaba, not in Laslki shelters whose residents are owners and not renters. The rent prices in Ghaba ranges from two hundred (200) to three hundred (300) Egyptian pounds per month, which is the cheapest compared to the prices in Madabee as rooms' prices varied from six hundred to one thousand Egyptian pounds per month.

In addition, respondents claimed that as long as the area of Al-Madabee is adjacent to houses of Ghaba and there is a possibility of the demolition of all the area, the shelters of Ghaba can be exposed to collapse. Moreover, regarding any incidents of theft and bullying, any event occurred in Al-Madabee affects the stability of Ghaba.

- **Educational, Professional and Financial Characteristics:**

There is a consensus among participants that education is a great value, although most of them have been deprived from it as they find a difficulty of paying school tuition. Obviously, craftsmen emphasized on the fact that their lower financial status is the only reason for preventing them from being educated and taught their children. One of the workers stated: "All of us wanted to learn, but the bad socio-economic conditions forced us going down to work". One of the butchers said, "I am a butcher and I am happy with what I am doing; however, if I completed my education, my social status would have been different".

Moreover, many residents of Ghaba are unemployed as all shops are closed, the entire area is being removed, and more craftsmen are becoming irregular workers. This situation is adversely affecting their economic and financial status. In this context, one of the industrialists noted: "I can work a month and stay in the second because my work is not fixed after the mechanic shop was closed in Al-Madabee. I move from an occupation to another and I spend all the money I have earned instantly. I have three sons and daughters in different education stages, I have too many responsibilities and I do not know what can I do! I want a job with an appropriate salary. Additionally, there is a lack of health insurance treatment in case of work injuries".

The analysis shows a high rate of under-employment or hidden unemployment: workers who are "working harder and getting less". These workers are working much below their capacity and earning the minimum wage. It is clear that temporary work in the informal sector, which is the only option available to most workers in Ain el-Sira, provides neither a decent living wage nor a sustainable livelihood in the long term. One third of respondents of Ghaba suffer from irregular wages and temporary impoverishment. For instance, illness of the main breadwinner, daughter marriage, or damage to an asset such as a sewing machine or rickshaw led to taking girls out of school to free their mothers from household chores, enabling them to do paid work, send children into the labor force, and obtain small, short-term loans from relatives and friends.

In addition, the residents of Ghaba and Laslki have survived a series of shocks that led to push them into poverty: dilapidated homes, depletion of savings, loss of work, deprivation of basic services and entitlements, and the risks of life in an insecure environment. One of the most chronic problems confronting the residents of Ghaba and Laslki is the problem of loans with high interest rate. For instance, when one gets a thousand Egyptian pounds loan, he/ she have to pay one thousand Egyptian pounds as an interest. Also, the person can pay five hundred pounds interest only when the loan repayment within five days. Moreover, in case of getting five hundred pounds loan, you have to pay five hundred pounds interest. One of the most famous women who lent shelters' residents was a well-known woman, who lived within the area of Ain el-Sira. When the

complaints of some people within shelters increased, she was arrested and sentenced to one year; then, she was released. One of the young women said "She saved 250 thousand Egyptian pounds, and other people claimed that she collected about million and a half Egyptian pounds ... I with other residents quarreled with her in an attempt to regain our money till she was arrested by the police as some people called Public Fund Investigation, and sentenced to one year and one thousand Egyptian pounds she should pay as a fine".

- **Infrastructure, Maintenance, and Working Threats:**

In terms of infrastructure, most of the Ghaba's residents agreed on the fact that water is available. However, it is contaminated and constantly being cut off as they can get it at 4: 00 pm for just one hour daily, which make some people to get water from the neighbors. One of the young women in the area noted "it is possible to take water from your neighbor, wash with your neighbor, and you feel as if you totally live with your neighbor. Thanks God, our house at the beginning of the street as we have a small faucet and the door is opened to any neighbor to fill the water".

All participants agreed that they suffer from the problem of sewage because it is rinsed every day as it enters houses. According to them, the sewage problem comes from pipe damage, contaminated water, and sewage sinks in some rooms. Without any interference from the government and neighborhood officials, and dealing with the problem, neighbors collect money with each other, and repair the sink by their own. In Laslki, the infrastructure problems compared to Ghaba are less severe where water and light are more available.

For sewage, the problem lies in the random ways of constructing buildings that led to the leakage of sewage under the houses. One of the elderly confirmed the role of self-efforts in solving such problem saying "No one of the officials comes to our area to participate in solving the sewage problem as we fix our problem at our own expense" Another one of the elderly noted: "in the past four years, the officials came with the electricity police to install electricity meters; however, they intended to edit records against the residents with 100 pounds as a fine".

Through the explanatory study of Ghaba and Laslki, it is common to see empty spaces filled with piles of foul wastes, surrounded by flies and stray animals. The government would seem to have disowned its responsibilities with regard to waste disposal even before the evictions. Local organizations, including an NGO working on waste management, have made only a negligible impact in this situation.

It can be noticed that buildings within Laslki are more developed than those within Ghaba in materials, water, sewage and hygiene. The residents of Laslki are owners, but the residents of Ghaba are just renters. One of old women in Laslki said: "We are in Laslki have developers, builders, scrapers, cleaners in comparison with Ghaba, and we all come from upper Egypt, not like Ghaba whose residents come from different directions from Egyptian various areas.

Concerning Pollution, some men, sometimes, resort to doing their work indoors, which may lead them to use some tools such as oxygen pipes for welding, and other machines that work without any concern for occupational safety, environmental pollution, quality control, or labor rights. However, criminalizing their activities on these grounds is not a logical response, since some units from factories that require work in industrial areas, also can ignore these considerations.

Hand-claim is considered one of the prominent features of Ghaba and Laslki as types of unsafe areas. Some residents of slums, who settled in Ghaba, like Zenhum and Al-Dweika moved from old areas into other unsafe ones. This is confirmed by one of the youth lived in Ghaba as he said "Some people who live in shelters are removed from Zeinhom without getting lease and ownership contracts. Thus, they resorted to their relatives to live within old areas". Another one noted: "My sister lives with us and my father asked her to build a floor over our home. She was living in Al-Dweika and her home was removed".

It can be noticed that these residential areas are not controlled either in the appropriate way of construction, or the physical form of the building, or the standard method of implementation, particularly within the area of Ghaba. These areas, including Ghaba, are also unlicensed, and some of these buildings are not in compliance with the requirements of the building laws and the provision of facilities. One of the craftsmen

mentioned that" I have built a ceiling, and made a room, a bathroom, and a kitchen. I am living with my mother, sister, and a married brother who had to build another floor". Another resident says: "It is desirable to expand on the same lane of four entries. As a resident, I have taken one meter and a half, or two meters in order to expand the courtyard and build a room as a small square seeking not to bother the surrounding neighborhood". It can be noted that the lack of infrastructure and service delivery systems, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in Ain el-Sira is an example of a failure of planning, or a mere blatant disregard for the rights and needs of poor families.

- **The Partnerships between Governorates, the Private Sector, and NGOs**

About two third of the respondents asserted that the private sector did not help in establishing recycling factories or setting up small enterprises. In terms of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), they did not establish crafts training centers at Ain el-Sira area and did not seek to launch and support training programs.

More than half of the sample indicates that there is a positive relationship between the presence of officials and municipals in the area and imposing fines and exposing hazards to the residents. This is instead of seeking to solve their problems in: restoring the shelters, providing clean water and repairing the sewage. These households do not have the option of paying less for using less as they are vulnerable to threats from the providers of these temporary services. Accordingly, the question of choice between legal and illegal services does not exist. Rather, the choices are within a matrix of feasible and available options.

Regarding collecting garbage, despite the fact that there is a lack of trust among most inhabitants and the local authorities, these residents expressed their serious desire to cooperate with the local authorities and the officials of Ain el-Sira. This form of cooperation is manifested in cleaning and collecting garbage, paying for the litter boxes, guarding, installing water pipes, and paying electricity.

- **Malnutrition and Health:**

During Mubarak's political system, government plans lacked social safety nets, and if they existed, they were not implemented or activated. The interviews highlight the sense of powerlessness and humiliation that impeded respondents' ability to think, plan, or aspire to anything beyond the daily struggle for survival.

Malnutrition in Ain el-Sira area has generally been exacerbated among its residents in light of unsustainable monthly income of their families. Low incomes and low standard levels of works, the absence of proper ventilation, and the leakage of sewage have led to malnutrition, tiredness and exhaustion, as well as the spread of chest diseases such as bronchitis and tuberculosis. There is almost unanimity in both Ghaba and Laslki that meals residents have are low and sometimes restricted to one meal at night. They do not have breakfast and do not rely on a variety of healthy foods. They also stressed that the main meal is eating beans and falafel as there is a difficulty of eating meat and chickens because of high prices, and they almost rely on tea and smoke. One of the craftsmen said in this context: "we cannot afford to purchase meat and chickens; for instance, the price of meat is 150 pounds per kilo. Thus, we eat meat once a month. What we do eat, in Ein El-Seira, just beans and falafel".

Ghaba is a breeding ground for transmitting diseases and infections because of the high density of individuals within rooms, the lack of both clean water's sources and waste disposal and garbage, the negligence of officials in these areas, malnutrition, the lack of diversity of food sources, and lack of animal proteins and essential vitamins. According to the responses of the participants, the most important disease is the spiral microbe. This disease is due to the spread of rubbish and waste. Another disease is asthma and difficulty breathing, and the sensitivity of the smell of the tanneries. Craftsmen also referred to many symptoms and injuries such as headaches at work and salt in their bones. Some of the craftsmen stressed the difficulty of treatment in public hospitals, saying: "public hospitals do not allow us to enter, even if I enter the hospital without having a nepotism you have no place there." Some of the participants attributed the spread of diseases in shelters to the spread of animals such as snakes, spikes, mice, cockroaches, particularly in Ghaba in comparison with Laslki. Additionally, Ghaba is easily exposed to fire because of their wooden roofs, which are covered with rubbish. One of the Ghaba's shelters says: "If we assume that if there is a fire in one of the shelters, they will all be exposed to fires in a second. As the places are narrow and all ceilings are all wood as fire trucks will not

be able to put out the fire. If a cigarette is thrown, it will destroy the entire area."

- **Shelters of Ghaba and El Laslki between Development and Evictions**

In terms of the development of areas of residents, through following the popular culture⁸, one third of respondents in Laslki see this development as the best solution, following the campaigns to reduce thefts and counterfeiting. This is confirmed by a young man in Ghaba who refers to Tal-El-Akareeb as an ideal model of developing experiment, claiming: "We want the neighborhood to follow what it has done in the area of Tal-El-Akareeb by evacuating the residents, demolishing their homes, constructing new buildings in the same area, and resettling the residents of the area."

Although the area has monuments, as some respondents have claimed, the government deliberately tends to remove it. One of respondents notes: "Despite the desire of many respondents to move to another area cleaner and wider; however, the workers and job owners want to develop their own areas because of the proximity to their areas of work. One of the craftsmen says: "The inhabitants of Ghaba settled in their places that are considered so close to their work. When the worker earns 100 Egyptian pounds a day, and he has to move to another area such as the 6th of October area, the way he can spend on transportation, housing, water and electricity...etc. All of these necessities require budget of (500 - 1000) Egyptian pounds, but when I stay in my area, I will not pay for all these items."

Regarding the relocation of residents to new areas, such as Al-Asmarat, most residents of Ghaba prefer to move to other areas because they are renters, not owners like Laslki. They will feel their

⁸This paper does not refer to popular culture as artistic expressions in music, craftsmanship, and rituals that are usually associated with the rural and urban lower class and which are often described as a tangible product of a fundamental worldview. Rather, it envisions popular cultures as practical forces that develop in the daily work of housing in specific spaces. In this case, spaces are classified as "unsafe" and whose built environments are dilapidated, decaying, or destroyed. By engaging on a daily basis with these designations and the accompanying state rhetoric, the popular cultures of the population are constantly emerging - in response to or challenge to such discourses. They appear simultaneously as "socially constructed" as a product of present and past activities and as "socially institutionalized" or as part of the context in which the activities take place (Joseph and Nugent, 1994).

humanness, compared to what they suffer in their shelters, and will have an opportunity for their children to live a dignified life. An elderly person stresses that there is no material cost to the population in case of moving to new cities. He said "The residents who will be evicted to new areas will not pay much, each family has to pay only (150-200) pounds, I do not have any problem as long as I live in a clean environment, and I live in comfort, and it is not important that my children even do not eat, as long as they live in a clean place like Al-Asmarat."

C-Main Results and Conclusion:

-Main Results

1- In terms of the main risks and dangers of Ghaba and Laslki, it can be noted that risks and dangers residents of Ghaba and Laslki are exposed to be diversified to include dilapidated homes, contaminated water in case of its availability, leaking sewage inside buildings in light of random construction of buildings, piles of foul wastes, spread of diseases; for instance, the spiral microbe and asthma, as a result of the diffusion of rubbish and waste, environment pollution in light of working outdoors and using tools contradicting to occupational safety, depletion of savings, loss of work, malnutrition, deprivation of basic services and entitlements and the problem of loans with high interest rate. Rates of unemployment have risen under the closure of the workshops of Al-Madabee. Most inhabitants suffer from irregular wages and enforced their children to leave schools and involve in the labor force. Most of Ghaba's and Laslki's residents are deprived of education because of worse socioeconomic conditions.

2- There is no planning of the buildings at the level of form and content, and implementation in light of the absence of facilities, and the non-conformity with the requirements of building codes. Not only did residents of Ghaba and Laslki suffer from lack of access to services, but they also resorted to informal and illegal sources of services.

3-Concerning Hirschi's adoption of the elements of social bonding, it can be concluded that his elements encompassing attachment, commitment, participation and faith (Hirschi, 1969) clearly exist in the inhabitants of Laslki compared to the ones of Ghaba, as they all come from Upper

Egypt to live in the area, committed to serving and achieving each other's interests. They, also, communicate with each other through marriage ties and close social relations in light of each of their belief in preservation on the development of their shelters. They are keen to deal with the dangers they are exposed to in terms of infrastructure, sewage, garbage, loans, and others. Also, they realized that if not every member in the area can collaborate with each other, the area and its inhabitants will be exposed to dangers that no other party can solve or deal with.

4- Regarding residents' adoption of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, it can be mentioned that the principles of bonding social capital played a key role in the lives of residents of Laslki in Ain Al-Sira compared to Ghaba. The implementation of such principles between residents contributed to dealing with the scarcity of opportunities and then resources. These links also limited the negative impact of the feeling of territorial stigmatization between inhabitants and made them more adaptable to their poor socio-economic conditions. Mechanisms of exchanging services and interests were based on building trust based on kinship, friendship and social relations as residents of Laslki mostly came from the Upper Egypt and the rest of them come from other demolished areas. While bonds of friendship, sometimes, play influential role in the social networks of Ghaba's dwellers, ties of kinship, affinity and kinship play stronger and sustainable relationships in the area of Laslki.

5- In addition, and on the contrary to the residents of Ghaba who are coming from unplanned areas and not related to each other, it can be mentioned that residents of Laslki are based on the principles of social cohesion and trust cooperate with each other to fix problems caused by infrastructure defects. They assist each other in building their houses as they have developers, builders and scrapers. More specifically, the paper concluded that returns to bonding social capital are expected to be lower for women compared to men, since within-group connections are sometimes not connected to work for women than for men.

6- Bonding not linking social capital is the only factor assisting the residents of Laslki to overcome their problems and risks from one hand and reduces the feelings of territorial stigmatization on the other as it

empowers residents of Laslki to perceive and overcome risks as a mediator between the territorial stigmatization and feeling safe. Though worse demographic and physical characteristics residents suffer and be stigmatized by popular perception (public, politicians and media), social cohesion they stick to make them more responsive to their personal harms and losses, and more adaptive to neighborhood disturbance.

7- Related to development or eviction to new areas, the study reached that one third of respondents in Laslki see the development of the shelter as the best solution by evacuating the residents, demolishing their homes, constructing new buildings in the same area, and resettling the residents of the area as they do not want to move to new areas in terms of the amount of money they will pay in return for the displacement of new areas, added to the investments that the government will benefit from in the event of their displacement. On the other hand, most respondents of Ghaba asserted on their preference to move to other areas because they are renters, not owners like the situation in Laslki, and will have an opportunity for their children to live a dignified life.

8- Although the policy of redevelopment is the best policy for urban planning, compared to the policies of evacuation and removal of Ghaba and Laslki, it can be concluded that the removal policy is the most appropriate solution in light of extremely poor conditions of such shelters. It is the appropriate way outs in shelters that are lacking to all bases of life and human dignity; for instance, deteriorating physical conditions of the buildings, the random constructive additions of the people in addition to worse social conditions. At the level of Ghaba and Laslki, two removal decisions were issued; the first one was issued in 2014 and the second in 2020, pending implementation of the removal, which is expected to be implemented within the next four months.

9- For exploring the nature of partnership in securing residents of Ghaba and Laslki's services, it can be mentioned that there is a lack of the role of municipalities, the private sector, and NGOs in: tackling the risks and problems facing residents of Ghaba and Laslki and in providing them with the material, technical, and social support. Accordingly, no linking social capital, represented by NGOs and officials, tended to support residents of either Ghaba or Laslki except for an NGO as a local organization working on waste management, have made only a weak

impact in this respect. So, the reflection of linking social capital was weak as Private sector and NGOs did not assist the residents of both shelters to overcome their problems and address their surrounding risks.

-Conclusion

In comparison with municipalities' negligence to intervene for limiting their difficulties and risks, bonding social capital managed to resolve several issues the residents of Laslki suffered from; for instance, available water, getting rid of leaking sewage and piles of rubbish, added to providing job opportunities and that assist them to coexist and reduce their feeling of territorial stigmatization.

For the residents of laslki, bonding social capital had a positive impact on their transition to employment and the reduction of feeling stigmatized. Added to such social cohesion resulting from this type of social capital, Laslki community managed to build trust based on ties of shared socio-economic status, kinship and intermarriage. Such ties helped them to facilitate interaction and their pursuit of interests (Mearns 1996; Vedeld 2000; Pretty 2003).

Bonding social capital with low-educated residents of Laslki is considered the most effective and has gained their much attention, compared to the adoption of bridging social bonding as it is not reflected through their social connections as they do not have the adequate awareness to conduct structural relationships and networks that link them to social groups and organizations through cooperation, coordination, social support, or information sharing (Narayan and Pritchett 1999). However, it can be concluded that modifying the physical environment is not adequate to overcome the feelings of fear without understanding the ways residents perceive risk and their way outs to feel safe and satisfied.

Future researches could move in four main trends: The first trend of researches is built on New Public Governance (NPG) and the extent to what the participatory approach has been implemented in the new locations like Bashayer El Kheir in Alexandria, the Asmarat with its three phases in Cairo, and El Mahrousa (1) in Badr el-Salam district.

The second trend of researches is based on the capacity buildings in new areas and the efforts of the three sectors: public, private and non-state in increasing human educational, awareness, health and employment capabilities to tackle their future problems and that will not allow them to expose to humiliation and stigma and prevent their new areas from dilapidation. The extent of what there is a real reliance on de-politicization of planning the city as a priority in addressing the concept and organization of public space that can be expressed through many actors explaining the arenas of urban politics, where many actors and perspectives interact with each other in ways that make political interests and power hierarchies visible and thus so opened to questioning and challenge (Mitchell, 2005).

The third trend, recent researches direct their trajectory to the connection between the space and the nature of social relationships; the relational space and the extent of what the bonding social capital has changed through their transition from unsafe areas into new ones. In addition, it will be important for the new researches to figure out the shape and features of bridging and linking social capital and the reproduction of the self through existing in this new sphere.

The fourth trend deals with the evaluation of new locations the residents of unsafe areas are moved to discussing and assessing the strengths and drawbacks of this transition for keeping up with sustainable life given to enlightened humans that entails ongoing support stemming from all sectors and at all levels. Assessing new areas requires analyzing the physical and the environmental dynamics of the built environment, dwellers' characteristics according to data base in addition to social and gender aspects seeking to get accurate and integrated solutions.

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