

ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION: Toward Minimizing Urban-Rural Inequalities in Egypt

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Short Lead

This paper addresses urban and rural poverty in Egypt. It assesses current poverty alleviation efforts and their effectiveness in improving living conditions through a case study examining these issues in a number of villages. The paper introduces potential policies and actions that take into consideration contextual circumstances and globalization impacts.

Abstract

In many countries, especially those with economies in transition, globalization together with related economic, legal, financial and social trends, increase competition and fragmentation of cities. In Egypt the increasing social and economic differentiation is demonstrated by the growing socio-spatial inequalities and increased deprivation and difficulties for the poor.

The paper argues that globalization impacts not only increases poverty and inequality, but also widens the gap between the urban and the rural poor, as the government's attention is usually more focused on the former. The paper, therefore, aims at outlining means of reducing inequality and increasing the opportunities for the poor to live in adequate conditions, participate, and make choices.

The paper adopts a case study approach analyzing poverty-related problems and the effectiveness of current policies and actions in improving the living conditions in a sample of rural communities. Aspects of human deprivation are explored through extensive interviews with the community and local authorities alike. Finally, the paper demonstrates potential policies and actions that address the root causes rather than the symptoms of poverty.

Introduction: Globalization and poverty

Numerous studies and related literature have argued that increasing poverty accompanied by rising social inequality in less developed countries are linked closely to globalization.¹ International flows, open markets, and competition are some facets of globalization that have strong impacts on socio-cultural polarization. In addition to these, substantial liberalization and privatization policies that were adopted since the early 1970s, as well as the IMF's and the World Bank's economic reform and structural adjustment policies that have been in effect since the mid-1980s, further exacerbated social inequalities in Egypt.

Egypt's strife toward privatization and globalization has been at the expense of low-income and powerless groups. On the one hand, most public and private investment in the last three decades has been directed to upgrade major cities and to improve the environment for those who are involved in globalization trends. On the other hand, vulnerable and poor groups have been the most affected by the severe measures associated with economic reform such as accelerated privatization, freeing foreign trade, removing rent control and price subsidies, and devaluing local currency.²

Poverty Analysis and Indicators

Classical measurement of poverty usually concentrated on income poverty indicators such as poverty rate (the percentage of population whose per capita income or expenditures is below the poverty line), poverty gap (income shortfall relative to the poverty line), and income inequality measures (such as the *gini coefficient*).³ Poverty analysis, however, has recently shifted from simple poverty lines to multifaceted frameworks of analysis. The *Global UNDP Human Development Report (1996)* identifies two types of poverty, namely, income poverty, and capability poverty. The latter is a multi-dimensional measure of human deprivation to complement income measures of poverty. It takes into consideration the lack of the capability to be well nourished and healthy, of healthy reproduction, and to be educated and knowledgeable.⁴ Other recent studies on poverty in Third World countries also identify capability indicators of poverty such as:

- *Health and education indicators* that may include: infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, life expectancy, malnutrition rate of children, literacy rate, and years of schooling and school enrollment
- *Access indicators* such as: adequate housing, access to piped water, access to sanitation, access to social programs, and access to service and community facilities
- *Non-income deprivation indicators* such as: unemployment, child labor, and discrimination.⁵

Rural and Urban Poverty in Egypt

While estimates of poverty incidence vary greatly and are subjective to constant debate, most poverty measures suggest that poverty affects a large proportion of the Egyptian population. Measured on the basis of expenditure, a survey of living conditions conducted in 1995/96 concluded that about 7% of the population fell below the national absolute food-based poverty line (set at LE 594/year), about 23% fell below the national minimum basic needs poverty line (set at LE 814/year), and over 53% lived below the international poverty line (set at \$US 2/day).⁶

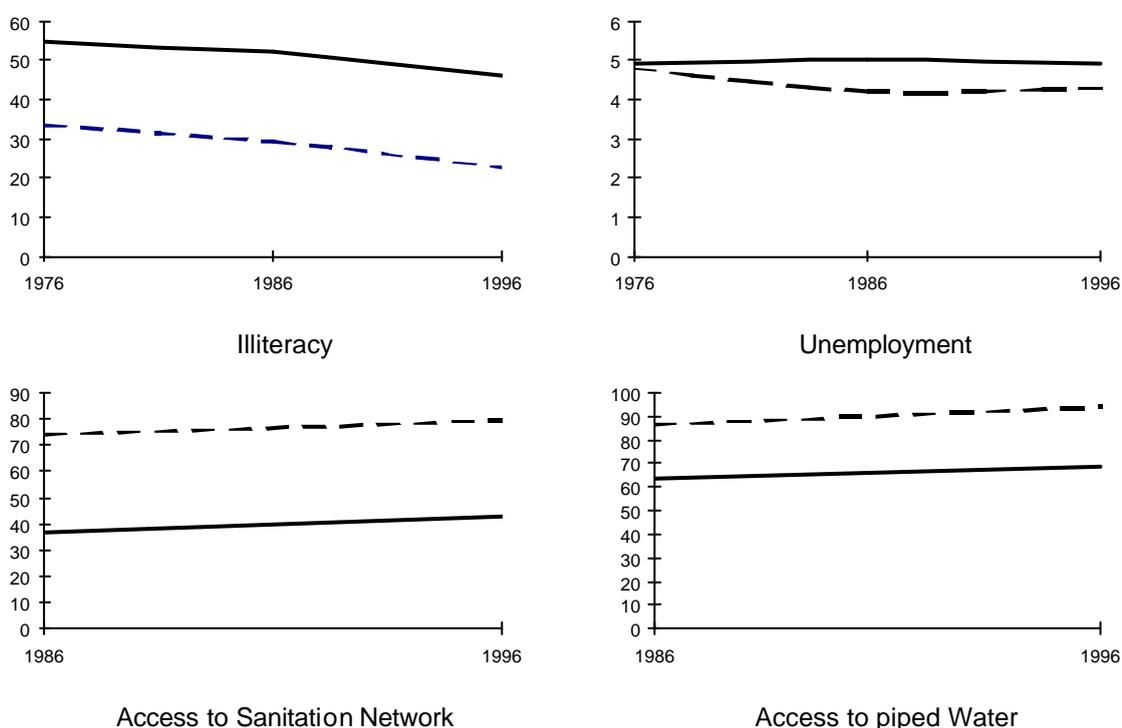
The *UNDP Human Development Report (2001)* adopts the 'Human Poverty Index' (HPI) to measure poverty as a manifestation of human deprivation. This index is a composite measure representing premature death, illiteracy, lack of access to basic infrastructure and services, and malnutrition. Among 12 countries in the Middle East Region, Egypt ranks the fourth in regard to human poverty, with a HPI showing that about one-third of the population suffers from poverty.⁷

The estimates of income poverty incidence, published in the *UNDP Egypt Human Development Report (1996)*, show that poverty is slightly lower in urban than in rural areas in Egypt (urban poor representing 22.5% and rural poor representing 23.3% of their respective populations in 1996).⁸ Such estimates imply that living conditions in rural areas may resemble those in cities and towns. Yet this implication has proven to be misleading, as research and reports have indicated that one of the important factors pushing up poverty incidence in urban areas is deeply rooted rural poverty. Poor living conditions in the Egyptian village have induced widespread migration from rural areas to better opportunities, jobs, and services in urban settlements since the 1950s. To date, rural migrants still present the major source of unskilled labor in the urban informal sector. Moreover, informal-sector processes have been responsible for the emergence and spread of squatter areas that shelter marginalized and poor groups in most Egyptian cities.

Based on the results of the above-mentioned study conducted in 1995/96, the poverty profile of the Egyptian poor is delineated by high illiteracy and unemployment rates, engagement in peripheral and low-wage activities, and distressed human deprivation conditions. Among households with an illiterate head, the incidence of poverty was 42% and 38% among urban and rural households respectively. Poverty incidence was as high as 54% (rural) and 40% (urban) of households whose heads were occupied in marginal activities. In rural areas, households with unemployed heads had the largest poverty incidence, as they represented about 54% of these households. Deprivation was strikingly high in rural areas, where the proportion of malnourished children reached 14%, unattended births accounted for about 67%, and the proportion of females with no education was as high as 48%.⁹

Figure (1) shows that there has always been a gap between urban and rural areas in Egypt regarding main indicators of poverty. Illiteracy rates have dropped in both urban and rural areas (from 34% to 23% in urban areas, and from 55% to 46% in rural areas between 1976 and 1996). During the last twenty years the difference between illiteracy rates in rural and urban areas has remained rather constant at nearly 20%. While unemployment rates dropped from about 5% to 4% in urban areas between 1976 and 1996, it remained fairly constant (around 5%) in rural areas in the same period. Accessibility to sanitation and water networks rose from 74% to 80% and from 87% to 94% in urban areas, and from 37% to 43% and from 64% to 69% in rural areas between 1986 and 1996 respectively.¹⁰ The consistency in the differences between urban and rural areas implies that development efforts are concentrated more in cities at the expense of bridging the urban-rural inequality gap.

Figure (1) Trends in some capability indicators of poverty in Egypt



Notes: Dashed line represents urban, continuous line represents rural
 Indicators measured in percentage

**Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS)
 Final Results of Population and Housing Census 1976, 1986, and 1996**

Statistics show that there has been an increase in rural income in the last three decades, most probably because of liberalization policies and workers' remittances. Paradoxically, this increase has been ineffective in alleviating rural poverty. *The UNDP Egypt Human Development Report (1996)* has listed possible reasons causing this contradiction as follows:

- Increase of income has been accompanied by relatively low level of human capabilities of the rural population (e.g. health, education, culture, and participation in community development)
- Increase in income was usually directed to building new housing units which have contributed to the accelerated growth of built-up areas of villages on agricultural land
- Difficulties of access to credit facilities because of institutional inefficiency or cultural and religious constraints
- Liberalization of input/output agricultural prices, coupled with the weakness of marketing capabilities and purchasing
- Unequal distribution in the structure of land ownership
- Low investment in agriculture in regard to investment in other economic sectors.¹¹

While poverty causes and effects are largely explicit and relatively easy to identify in the Egyptian village, it is difficult to assess them in urban areas because of the complexity of problems and the disparities related to social polarization. Moreover, in most urban areas income poverty and capability poverty are not necessarily related. As previously mentioned, there is a strong correlation between urban poverty and informal-sector processes of employment and housing. The informal sector is far more elastic and buoyant in creating jobs than the formal sector. Its small scale in operations and low level of capitalization indeed lower the cost of creating employment, in particular jobs that require low skills and less training. Informal activities, however, are characterized by serious limitations such as low productivity, lower income, inaccessibility to credit mechanisms, and lack of adequate service facilities and infrastructure.

Many factors, such as deteriorated living conditions, accelerated crime and social problems, and inadequate housing, have triggered the government's attention towards upgrading informal-sector settlements. Huge funds have been spent since the beginnings of the 1990s on improving living and housing conditions as well as the provision of infrastructure and utilities.¹²

Current National Programs and Funds for Poverty Alleviation

The last decade witnessed increased efforts to alleviate poverty and related problems in Egypt. As a result of the failure of traditional government interventions in tackling different problems of deprivation, social funds and programs were cropped up to resolve the problem of reaching the poor. The 'Social Fund for Development' and the 'Shourouk' program of rural development are two of the most effective social safety nets that have been recently implemented in the Egyptian context.¹³

The Social Fund for Development (SFD) was established in the early 1990s to mitigate transitional social problems resulting from the adoption of economic reform and structural adjustment policies. Such problems are tackled by the SFD by providing employment and income generation activities through programs of public works, community development, and small-scale enterprise development. However, the policy of the SFD is dominated by the project-based approach, and hence it excludes those who cannot work as well as those who are too poor to apply for project funding and wait for their implementation. Furthermore, emphasis on demand-based projects presents a number of obstacles to the participation of the poor such as routine and time-consuming procedures of submitting proposals and

applications, as well as tedious evaluation and gestation periods in the implementation of projects before income is generated.

The National Program for Integrated Rural Development (Shorouk) was launched in 1994 within efforts of developing local administration. Its main objective is to minimize the development gap between rural and urban areas through adopting sustainable policies of rural development that depend largely on grassroots participation. In attaining this objective, the program concentrates on the implementation of projects that efficiently utilize local resources, increase local employment opportunities, and enhance the effectiveness of local governmental and non-governmental institutions. Although there have been much concrete achievements in many Egyptian villages, the Shorouk program has faced many problems that constrained output and reduced the benefit of projects and activities. Such obstacles and concerns include:

- Lack of training for administrative staff
- Decline of earmarked and specified governmental funds that represent about one-third of required investment
- Bias in the prioritization of directing funds where the contributions of local communities might pull projects toward certain villages excluding others in urgent need
- Bias in project selection and implementation toward meeting the demands of influential and powerful individuals.¹⁴

Other activities and programs directed toward poverty alleviation are conducted through the Ministry of Social Affairs and Insurance in coordination with several governmental and non-governmental bodies (e.g. Nasser Social Bank, community development associations, local community organizations). The most outstanding of these programs are:

- Productive Families Project (since 1964)
- Social Security Program
- Family Development Fund
- Sadat Pension Scheme (since 1980)
- Mubarak Social Solidarity Program (since 1996).¹⁵

Limited awareness and usage of these institutions and programs indicates that serious efforts are needed in the dissemination of information and reaching the poor. Despite the implementation of several development projects and programs, current efforts for poverty alleviation, however, remain limited in both size and impact. Most of these efforts concentrated on financial support and project implementation rather than on human development policies advocating self-dependency and local empowerment. Furthermore, their failure to institutionalize genuine community-based participatory development has resulted in the continuation, if not aggravation, of poverty in Egypt.

Case Study: Poverty Alleviation Efforts in the Egyptian Village

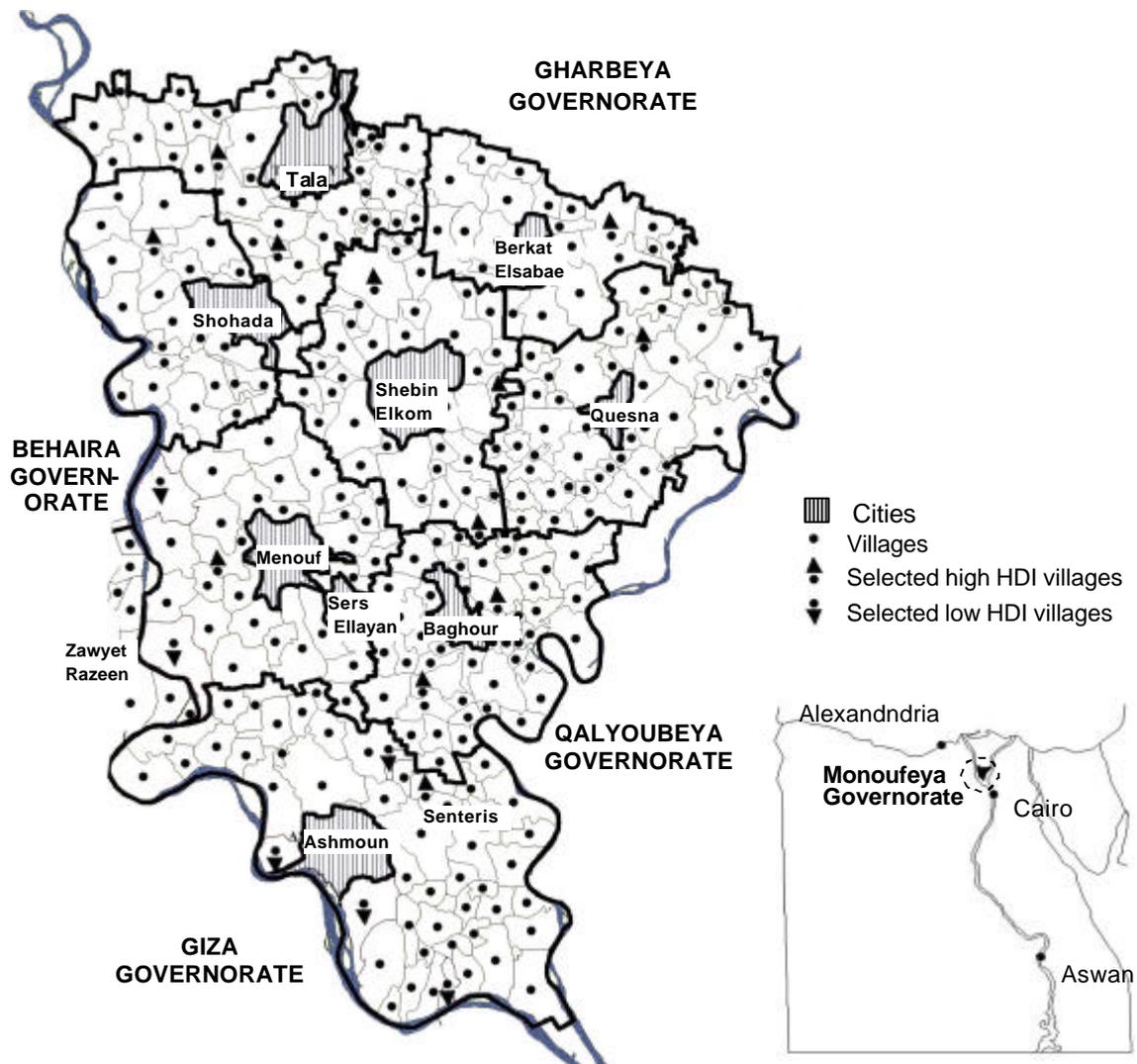
The case study aims at examining the effectiveness of current policies in the alleviation of poverty in rural areas. The authors have chosen to focus the case study on rural poverty as it, on the one hand, constitutes the more acute case in the Egyptian context. On the other hand, it is considered one of the main causes for urban poverty occurrence as previously mentioned.

The villages that this case study examines have been selected on the premises of a recent UNDP research project that measures quantitative indicators and assesses existing conditions needed for the formulation and implementation of local development programs and projects.¹⁶ One of the indicators used in this project was the *human development index* (HDI), which indicates some sort of a quantitative measure of the current level of

development in the village.¹⁷ The project grouped villages in two Delta governorates into three HDI categories, namely, high, medium, and low.

Selected villages for this paper's case study belonged to the two contrasting categories of villages with high and low levels of HDI in the Monoufeya governorate (located north of Giza governorate).¹⁸ The study of these villages adopted a two-fold course of action that depended on extensive interviews with local authorities and community residents alike. First, problems and needs of the community were identified. Second, different programs and projects implemented in the villages were assessed, exploring and evaluating their effectiveness in improving living conditions.

Figure (2) Selected villages for the case study



Source: UNDP & ORDEV (2003) Local Participatory Development Project for the Governorates of Monoufeya and Sharkaiya, Urban Research Center, Cairo University

Problems in the villages were rather similar, irrespective of the HDI category they belonged to, and represent the main predicaments that rural areas in Egypt suffer from. Environmental problems are mainly manifested by the pollution of streets, spaces, and water canals because of the lack or the inadequacy of sewerage and solid waste disposal systems. Poor housing conditions, inadequate supply of potable water, and the inefficiency or lack of basic community facilities are also common problems. The last decade has witnessed an increasing problem of unemployment, especially among high-level educated generations.

In the village of 'Sentris', one of the surveyed villages of the high HDI category, current efforts to upgrade living conditions include several environmental, infrastructure and service facilities projects.¹⁹ Most of the projects were implemented and funded through the 'Shorouk' program and local governmental funds allocated to the village by the earmarked budget of the national socio-economic plan.

The community, either through individuals or through active community development associations, has effectively participated by effort (e.g. participating in removing solid waste from water canals) or contributions (e.g. donating land for building a school and for the extension of a youth center) in these projects. Community organization and participation in such projects were indeed the main causes for directing and selecting projects that truly responded to the community's needs and priorities. Furthermore, the economic status and the standard of living of local residents gradually improve as a result of their increased participation in local projects. Consequently, they become more sensitive to issues such as environmental quality, service efficiency, and the effectiveness of infrastructure provision. Being active members of community-based organizations or local councils, they exert more pressure on local authorities to raise and acquire funding from various financial resource programs.

Another evident prerequisite for improving living conditions and reaching a high level of human development in the village was successful local governance. Most of the villages in the high HDI group had a strong and motivated local authority that allowed power sharing with the community and encouraged public participation. In such an enabling environment, national programs such as 'Shorouk' and the SFD have been successful in attaining their objectives through appropriate prioritization, selection, and implementation of projects.

In 'Zaweyet Razeen', one of the villages belonging to the low HDI category, development projects implemented in the last three years were not only few, but also ineffective in alleviating conditions of deprivation as they benefited a limited number of residents. Implementation of projects depended mainly on government resources. The 'Productive Families Project' program, for example, has funded projects that benefited only 9 families. Moreover, interest rates on governmental loans associated with these funding resources have resulted in reduced income for individuals.

The characteristics of both the local community and the local authority in villages with low levels of HDI are unsurprisingly contrasted with those in villages possessing high development indicators. In addition to an unorganized community, inactive community associations, and bureaucratic local governance, there are also corruption and mismanagement in the selection, funding, and implementation of projects. In 'Zaweyet Razeen,' the selection of projects is usually manipulated to benefit influential individuals rather than for the public interest. Absence of community participation and the apathy of residents have led to the absence of projects funded by national programs such as the 'Shourouk' program and the SFD.

Suggested Policies and Actions for Poverty Alleviation

Egypt's experience in combating poverty shows that responsive policies and actions are needed to achieve social justice and to overcome limits to economic prosperity. National policies, programs, and funds have proven to be ineffective as indicated by their limited qualitative and quantitative impacts. As shown in this paper's case study, ineffectiveness of policies was mainly related to implementation and management problems rather than the structure of programs or the procedures and mechanisms of funding. Intervention, therefore, must focus on 'people-centered' development and 'demand-driven' strategic policies that tackle key problems simultaneously.

In this section of the paper, the authors introduce potential policies and relevant actions toward alleviating poverty in Egypt. A key strategic policy intervention that is needed in the Egyptian context is *devolution* – the process of real transfer of powers between central and lower levels of government, and not just a deconcentration of policy formulation and implementation from central government in Cairo to their representative bodies in localities. Potential advantages for devolution may include:

- Capability to respond to globalization effects because of the greater capacity of devolved governmental bodies to deliver endogenous development approaches
- Capability of development policy makers to develop their own distinctive approaches to development and initiate new institutional relationships suited to local area
- Decisions can be rendered more responsive to the needs and preferences of the local community, and to local circumstances
- Capability of enhancing local participation of various actors operating at the local level
- Capability of partnerships to operate properly in coordinating the roles of the various actors in raising new resources including management skills and funds.²⁰

Furthermore, the paper argues that a shift toward multi-level governance involving new partnerships between national and devolved governmental bodies at the local level on the one hand, and between different levels of public administration and the local community and non-governmental organizations, on the other hand, is particularly important for poverty reduction and to counter social exclusion.²¹ Such governance enhances local capacities to make choices that fit local circumstances and improve local resource mobilization. To achieve such partnerships, an organizing framework focused on creating the right local environment for entrepreneurship and development has to be structured and adopted on national and local levels alike. On the national level, actions needed to promote the *partnerships approach* have to take into account strengthening the planning and management capability of staff in local government bodies in addition to enhancing coordination between local and central governments. At the local level, the following will be needed:

- Coordination and establishment of credibility between partners
- Adapting the strategic framework for partnership to the needs of partners
- Support for greater participation of grassroots organizations
- Promoting community participation and interaction at all stages of development
- Strengthening the roles of existing and potential NGOs in service delivery, social welfare, residential upgrading, lobbying and advocacy for attaining rights, etc.

Within this framework of devolved governance and partnership, empowerment of the local community and reinforcing capabilities and skills for the poor through their community-based institutions are essential strategic issues. On the local level, community development associations and local religious organizations enhance community involvement and increase community awareness about its benefits. Training and educational programs that are tailored for the essential needs of the community are pivotal in development efforts aiming at increasing capabilities of the poor.

The case study presented in this paper has asserted that unemployment was a common major problem in the Egyptian village. Facilitation of access to productive employment can be created by strengthening existing programs for small-scale businesses as well as creating new ones. There is also a need for creating special development organizations in poor residential areas, in addition to promoting and supporting development activities carried out by the informal sector. Enabling an environment for local economic activity requires the creation of employment opportunities through labor intensive and small-scale enterprises, encouraging and funding pilot projects, developing local funding and facilitating access to credit, and vocational training.

In assessing the suitability of various approaches to provide shelter and services to the poor, self-help policies should be widely emphasized through adopting the following procedures and measures:

- Subsidizing governmental housing loans
- Relaxing building codes and official procedures to approve housing construction or improvement
- Facilitation of access to land with reasonably secure tenure
- Provision of technical support for house improvement or extension
- Enabling the establishment and operation of housing cooperatives
- Creating micro-finance institutions to facilitate housing investment
- Providing infrastructure through partnerships between the community and local authorities.

Dissemination of information about governmental funds and programs and other organizations that help the poor, along with the continuous improvement of procedures and assessment of programs and projects to ensure that efforts reach the poor, are indeed prerequisites to enhance equity in accessing social and economic opportunities and ensure effectiveness of poverty alleviation efforts. More tax subsidies are needed for the poor to acquire credit for investment and job creation. More effort has to be directed towards expanding and developing social protection programs and safety nets for those who are excluded from the labor market and other vulnerable and deprived groups. Needless to say, unless efforts of poverty eradication take into consideration the genuine perception of the poor of their livelihoods, needs, and priorities, objectives of attaining equity or guaranteeing effectiveness would indeed seem far to reach.

A number of policies and actions can be adopted to improve the quality of life of vulnerable females. These may include the following:

- Developing gender sensitive programs of poverty alleviation
- Encouraging women (especially educated) to undertake small productive enterprises
- Organizing local social programs for women (especially in the areas of nutrition and health)
- Promoting the involvement of women in planning and implementation of development projects
- Combating female illiteracy through increasing classes and flexible school hours
- Flexible Direct assistance to the poor by means of national organizations.

In regard to rural areas, policies should focus on creating an enabling environment for smallholders of agricultural land and low-income agriculture workers. Actions needed at the local level include:

- Encouraging banking habits
- Improving agricultural land tenure rights
- Facilitating access to market information
- Providing technical and financial support for farmers and community development associations
- Reorganization of agricultural cooperatives
- Forming companies of land owners associations
- Establishment of small-scale agro-industrial projects.

The “Shorouk” program, which is considered one of the most successful programs in rural development, also needs considerable evaluation and improvement, particularly in regard to increasing funding and efficient coordination with national socio-economic 5-year plans. In addition, public investment in infrastructure networks and utilities in the Egyptian village has to be stepped up to improve living conditions and minimize urban-rural inequalities.

Endnotes

1. See for example:
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2. For further detail see Yousry, Mahmoud, et al. (1998) “Cairo as a World City: The impact of Cairo’s orientation towards globalization,” in *Globalization and the World of Large Cities*, ed. LO, F. and Yeung, Y., Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 270-313.
3. Hentschel, Jesko, and Radha Seshagiri (2001) “The City Poverty Assessment: An Introduction,” in *The Challenge of Urban Government: Policies and Practices*, ed. Mila Freire and Richard Stern, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank Institute, pp. 291-314.
4. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Institute of National Planning (INP) (1996) *Egypt Human Development Report*, Cairo: Al-Ahram Press.
5. See for example May, Julian (2001) “An Elusive Consensus: Definitions, Measurement and Analysis of Poverty,” in *Choices for the Poor: Lessons from National Poverty Strategies*, edited by Alejandro Grinspun, New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), pp. 23-54.
6. *The Household Income and Expenditure Survey* conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1995/96 has defined the *food-based poverty line* as the level of expenditure needed to meet basic nutritional requirements, below which persons are considered absolute poor, and the *minimum basic needs poverty line* as the level of expenditure needed to meet food as well as other basic minimum needs. The international poverty line was calculated in accordance to the *World Development Indicators*, published by the *World Bank* (2000).
7. United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Egypt Country Office (2002) *The Situation of Egyptian Children & Women: A Rights-Based Analysis*, Cairo: Elias Modern Publishing House, p. 5.
8. UNDP & INP (1996) *Egypt Human Development Report*, p. 25.
9. Ibid, pp. 32-8.
10. Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) (1976/1986/1996) Final Results of Population and Housing Census 1996, Cairo: CAPMAS (in Arabic).
11. UNDP & INP (1996) *Egypt Human Development Report*, pp. 39-49.
12. Ibid, pp. 54-5.
13. For further detail see UNDP & INP (1996) *Egypt Human Development Report*, pp. 74-94.
14. UNDP & INP (2003) *Egypt Human Development Report*, p. 94.
15. For further detail see UNICEF (2002) *The Situation of Egyptian Children & Women*, p.6.
16. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Organization for Reconstruction and Development of the Egyptian Village (ORDEV) (2003) Local Participatory Development Project for the Governorates of Monoufeya and Sharkaiya, Cairo: Urban Research Center, Faculty of Urban and Regional Planning, Cairo University.

17. The 'human development index' has been an indispensable feature in the successive *Egypt Human Development Reports* issued by the UNDP since 1994. It is measured by three main indices, namely, life longevity, education, and the GDP. The main indicator used to calculate the longevity index is life expectancy (under-five life mortality). As for the education index, the two indicators used are school enrollment, and adult (above 15 years old) literacy rate. Standard of living is measured by average GDP per capita in US\$ according to purchasing power parity. When the value of HDI goes below the level of *one*, this indicates that the locality is far from achieving human development goals. In this case, the development plan should identify the factors that retard development, and set up necessary policies and programs for achieving development goals, which are more inclusive than merely increasing income level.
18. The governorate of Menoufeya consists of 8 administrative units (markaz) that contain 191 villages with high HDI, 101 villages with medium HDI, and 6 villages of low HDI. Selected villages for the case study constituted of 11 villages of high HDI and the 6 low HDI villages distributed graphically in the eight administrative units. High HDI villages were: Kafr Elolwy and Kafr Zarqan in the Markaz of Tala; Horeen in the Markaz of Berkat Elsabae; Kafr Elshabae in the Markaz of Shohada; Batanon and Shubra Khalfoon in the Markaz of Shebin Elkom; Kafr Alakram in the Markaz of Quesna; Balmasht in the Markaz of Menouf; Sobk Aldahak and Bai Alarab in the Markaz of Baghour; and Sentris in the Markaz of Ashmoun. Low HDI villages were: Tamalay and Zaweyet Razeen in the Markaz of Menouf; and Kom Ayyad, Abo Awaly, Talya, and Kafr Mansour in the Markaz of Ashmoun.
19. Current projects underway or already implemented in the last two years in the village of 'Sentris' include clearing water canals, construction of 8 primary school classes and 12 preparatory school classes, pavement and lighting 7 kilometers of main roads, new electric transformers, and the extension of the youth center. The budget for these projects amounted to about LE 500,000.
20. A number of studies have adopted 'devolution' and 'deconcentration' as key intervention policies for combating alleviation. *See for example:*
 - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001) *Devolution and Globalisation: Implications for Local Decision-Makers*, Paris: OECD Publications
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21. For more detail on the concept of governance through 'partnerships' see:
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Acknowledgements

The authors wish to express their thanks to Hossam S. Amer and Tarek El Khabiri for their help in conducting the case study of this paper.