Villager Participation in the Relocation of El Gourna, Egypt
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A report for Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors

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Involuntary Relocation
Each year approximately 4 to 8 million people are relocated due to large development projects, a number far greater than those displaced by wars, famines, and natural disasters (Betts, 2005; Stanley, 2004). Relocations typically result in the loss of important economic, cultural and social traditions, and an inequitable distribution of benefits and losses (Cernea, 1997). And, “Tragically, there are very few cases world-wide where resettlement … has been able to improve, or even restore, the livelihoods of a majority of those who must relocate” (Scudder & Habbob, 2008, n. p.).

Relocation of El Gourna
Beginning in 2005, residents of El Gourna, Egypt were relocated to a new site 3 to 4 kilometers away. The relocation had both positive and negative outcomes. Major improvements were provided and the quality of life has been upgraded, but serious issues remain. And although local participation was encouraged, it was only partly achieved.

The present study grew out of observations regarding the effects of relocations that were taking place in Luxor and El Gourna, Egypt. The purpose was to determine in what ways local villagers were involved and how local involvement and participation could be structured or enhanced so that relocation outcomes would be improved.

Preparations for the study began in 2007 and 2008. An extended field study in El Gourna itself took place from November 2009 to February 2011. Information was gathered from interviews, group meetings, informal conversations, documents, observations and participation in village life. An ethnographic approach was utilized to develop realistic descriptions of actual events and experiences, and to determine “what things meant for the participants” (Spradley, 1979, p. 95).

Theories of Relocation
At present, there are two principle theories of relocation, Thayer Scudder’s theory regarding stages of adjustment and adaptation, and Michael Cernea’s theory of impoverishment risks and reconstruction.

Scudder’s theory describes four stages of adjustment in relocation and resettlement: planning and physical removal; multidimensional stress and initial coping; economic and community redevelopment; and handing over of local governance and incorporation into the larger society (Scudder, 2003; Scudder & Habbob, 2008). Cernea’s approach involves an analysis of relocation risks and the development of counter strategies. He identifies eight primary risks: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, economic marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, and social disarticulation

Both theories agree that, “Resettlers are the key resource for achieving a positive outcome … (and that) government policies and the activities of project authorities have been the main factors constraining a successful resettlement process” (Scudder, 2005, p. 32). Research also shows that local involvement in relocation can significantly improve outcomes by providing critical local knowledge, innovative solutions, important new community roles, and strengthening residents’ determination and self-motivation to succeed in the new environment (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993).

Hussein Fahim (1966) had suggested a third conceptual approach emphasizing the interaction of the two primary cultural systems involved in relocation, a bureaucratic culture represented by government and the local indigenous culture. Although this concept has explanatory potential, it has not been developed further.

Anthropological case studies provide another important source for understanding involuntary relocation and emphasize three (See p.13) key issues:

1) the great difficulties and complexities involved in relocation,
2) the importance of pre-relocation studies, and
3) the positive effects that result from the “active involvement of people affected by resettlement in project decision making” and in the implementation of a relocation programs (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993, p. 6).
Two critical activities are needed to address these issues: “(pre-relocation) ethnographic research, and the active involvement of the people affected by resettlement in project decision making” (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993, p. 6).

Methods used to implement a program of local participation vary with the methods used by the local planning agency. For centralized or rational planning approaches, participation is encouraged to gain input and acceptance from key stakeholders, but average citizens are rarely involved. For activist or collaborative approaches, participation is sought as a way to involve “outsiders” who are generally left out of the planning process (Allmendinger, 2002).

Regardless of the method used, participation at the local level requires special attention to unique local conditions such as the political situation, the social position of the community within the larger society, special characteristics of the community, and the experience and capabilities of the residents in participatory processes.

Findings and Conclusions

On the positive side, living conditions for the villagers were improved. However, officials were unprepared for many situations that arose since no resettlement plan was prepared. For example, basic living conditions in the old village were misunderstood, new housing units were smaller and more crowded than what the villagers had before, and a significant number of residents lost all if not most of their income. Although plans for the village called for families to be housed close to each other, this was only partly achieved and has led to a diminished sense of community life. Following move-in, local government policies hindered the initiative of the residents to improve conditions in the village and brought about an unproductive tension between the two.

During the relocation, actual participation was limited to official formats and upper level officials and representatives, and did not involve informal or unofficial forms of communication taking place in the village, or average citizens. One reason for this was that “participation” was only understood in terms of public meetings, but not as participation between residents. Thus, although the intention was there, villager participation had only a limited effect.

Could more inclusive participation have achieved better outcomes? This might have been possible if the government was also willing to consider alternative solutions such as those proposed by residents. However, significant long-term improvements in participation and relocation must begin with a redefinition of the problem of relocation itself and a better understanding of the complex nature of relocation, resettlement, and local participation.

The primary recommendation is that a comprehensive Recovery Plan for El Gourna is prepared as soon as possible to address lingering problems. With respect to relocation, it is recommended that two unique but interrelated plans, a relocation plan and a resettlement plan are prepared to reflect the actual dual nature of relocation rather than only one plan that attempts to encompasses aspects of both relocation and resettlement. If viewed as a single venture, government will not be able to solve all the community issues, the community will not be able to carry government responsibilities, and benefits from local participation will fall far short of addressing complex community tasks of migration, resettlement and recovery.

Regarding local participation, it is recommended that an innovative inclusionary framework for participation is designed to addresses local political and social conditions, and formal and informal methods of village communication.

The gist of these comments is that relocation planners must carefully study and understand the social, political, and communicative structures of each local community and develop a participatory framework and strategy that fits the unique local characteristics, and that incorporates alternative participatory strategies. Project managers cannot properly plan, implement, or assess the impacts of relocation projects without understanding the uniqueness of the local community or without their full independent involvement and participation.
According to the World Bank, from 1986 to 1993, about 80 to 90 million people were displaced due to large development projects involving infrastructure, dams, reservoirs, airports, and urban transportation, a number far greater than those displaced by wars, famines, and natural disasters (Betts, 2009; Cernea, 1997; Cernea & McDowell, 2000; Dwivedi, 2002). More recent figures for displacement have been difficult to compile because a large number of projects are internal and governments are reluctant to share figures (Scudder, 2005). In addition, many projects are not financed by major lending institutions that keep track of such figures such as the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank (Dwivedi, 2002). But estimates are still between 4 to 8 million per year (Betts, 2009; Stanley, 2004).

Unlike refugees from wars or natural disasters, villagers who are involuntary relocated cannot maintain any hope of returning to their ancestral homes which are now either submerged behind a large new dam or replaced by new uses. It is, in essence, a permanent, irreversible change which engenders a deep sense of loss and grief (Fahim, 1983; Fernea & Kennedy, 1966; Marris, 1974; Scudder, 2003). In addition, the relocatees face the intimidating prospect of re-creating new economic and community structures often in unfamiliar conditions and amid an unknown host community. During these transitions, relocatees undergo a series of traumatic changes and adaptations as well as the disruption of traditional social structures, values, roles and customs (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993; Scudder, 2003, 2005).

While these changes may produce benefits for some segments of society, they frequently result in an inequitable distribution of benefits and costs (Cernea, 1997). In addition to personal and community losses and disruptions, achieving sustainable livelihoods remains one of the most critical and intractable problems in relocation. Failure to resolve this issue alone results in long term impoverishment for the resettlers (Cernea & McDowell, 2000). And, “Tragically, there are very few cases worldwide where resettlement caused by large dams has been able to improve, or even restore, the livelihoods of a majority of those who must relocate” (Scudder & Habbob, 2008). Case studies relocation, however, also points to a few examples where meaningful involvement of relocatees has contributed to better results (Cernea & McDowell, 2000; Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993; Scudder, 2005).
Beginning 2005 until 2010, residents of the historic village of El Gourna, Egypt, located on the west bank of the Nile opposite Luxor, were relocated to a new site about 3 to 4 kilometers away. The settlement of El Gourna consisted of about 24 hamlets and family clusters that included Arab settlers and older groups of Coptic and indigenous peoples (Van der Spek, 2003). The hamlets were gradually established over a period of 250 to 300 years on the dry, sandy limestone ascent of the Theban mountains opposite the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor).

Since the many tombs and caves remaining from the Pharaonic era provided good protection, visibility of the Nile Valley both north and south, and hiding places from roaming armies, conscription, and the annual Nile inundation, the early settlers gradually moved from the valley floor to the caves and unfinished tombs into an area now known as the Tombs of the Nobles (Figures 1.1, 1.2; El-Aref, 2007; Farag, 2004; Seel, 2008; Simpson, 2000). Over time, they built dwellings over or near entrances to the caves often incorporating them into their family compounds. Although many of the dwellings included only unfinished caves, some were built over finished or decorated tombs. The finished tombs, the Tombs of the Nobles, are one of Egypt’s greatest treasures. They contain priceless artifacts and wall paintings of fascinating scenes from everyday life in ancient Egypt, providing a detailed account of the life and times of the Middle Kingdom. Although the kings, queens, and princes of Egypt’s Middle Kingdom dug their tombs in the valleys and gorges lying deeper in the nearby table top Libyan (Theban) Mountains, the royal nobles told their stories in the cliffside tombs of the adjoining dry and rocky ascents facing the Nile (Figure 1).

Little is written about the early days of the village. Several brief accounts of El Gourna come from the records of travelers, adventurers, artists, and archeologists beginning in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. For example, there are description of the village from the writings of Richard Pococke and C. S. Sonnini in the middle and late 1700s, and from E.W. Lane’s travels in the 1820s. Caroline Simpson, a British archeologist writes, “In the 1840s, an English woman Mrs. Romer, wrote of Taref, ‘The entrances to these sepulchral chambers very much resemble the catacombs of the new cemetery of Kensal Green.’” Drawings from Robert Hay in the 1820s depict various scenes from village life that show dwellings on the mountainside, ruins of a Coptic church, several above ground tombs of Muslim saints, and other structures that were already historic at that time (Simpson, 2000; 2003).

With the arrival of European adventures and archeologists in the early 19th century, the Gournawii, as the local residents are known, became expert guides and excavators. Their livelihoods became entwined with foreign visitors. They worked as low paid labourers and guides for treasure hunters and archeologists, and from time to time sold artifacts from the tombs, or in many cases hand made replicas (antikas), in order to supplement their income (Van der Spek, 2003). Unfortunately, long occupation and unregulated trade in ancient artifacts had damaged some of the tombs and posed a threat to their preservation (Hawass, 2007; Kamil, 2008; Simpson, 2000).

In 1946, the Egyptian government initiated a program to protect and preserve the Tombs of the Nobles as well as other antiquities in the Luxor area. Well known Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy was commissioned to build a new village, known as New Gourna (Qurna), on the valley floor about 2 to 3 km. east the old village (Figure 2), for the purpose of relocating the residents (Fathy, 1969). Fathy used vernacular architecture and innovative low-cost mud brick construction to build the new village which included mosque, school, theatre, commercial center, and about 90 new homes. The project which lasted about 3 years was never completed and only a few families from El Gourna moved to the new village. After the flash floods of 1994/95, some of the Gournawii moved to El Suul, a hastily build village near El Tarif, but many remained on the mountain (Van der Spek, 2000; 2003).

1 Antikas: fine quality reproductions of Pharaonic art.  2 More information on old Gourna is available at http://www.qurna.org/discovery.html
Another attempt to relocate the residents began in January 2005 with the arrival of a new governor in Luxor. Aspects of participatory planning were employed in order to persuade residents to relocate, to keep them informed, and to gather information on the old village. As of February 2011, all the residents had been moved from the mountain and either relocated to the new village or have moved to other villages on their own. The old village of El Gourna has been completely demolished except for about 30 to 40 buildings in the southernmost hamlet of Gournet Mar’ï. The intention is to preserve these buildings as examples of the former mountain community.

The new village near El Tarif, called “Qurna Jedliida” or new Qurna, is not yet complete. Some streets and services are unfinished and detract from an otherwise satisfactory new village. Government housing has been built for many families, but other plots that were set aside for families who wish to build their own homes and for commercial use are still vacant. The Luxor Supreme Council has plans to provide better and more diverse employment opportunities and additional facilities such as recreational and health centers, but these plans have not yet been realised.

At the regional level, plans are being developed to diversify Luxor’s economy with the addition of small clean industries, some of which will be build on the West Bank. These may eventually provide replacement employment for the Gournawii, but more importantly, better homes, new schools, and city services such as water and sanitary have been provided for the residents.
The present study is the result of a studio project that took place in Luxor in February 2007. The project, which focused on the redevelopment of the Avenue of the Sphinx, also involved some planning for the relocation of long time residents from areas around the Avenue. And, as part of a larger overall redevelopment scheme for the Luxor area, another relocation was already taking place in El Gourna on Luxor’s West Bank. Observing the effects of these ongoing relocations led to preliminary research concerning relocation in general.

Initial investigations of the situation in El Gourna were followed by travel to Luxor in the summer of 2007 and to Cairo for the summer of 2008 to begin preparations for the study. The researcher returned to Egypt in November 2009 for the field portion of the study and lived in El Geziira, a village on the Nile River opposite Luxor and within easy access of El Gourna. The ongoing revolution in Egypt that began in January 2011, necessitated a return to the US in February 2011. Total time in the West Bank during this phase of the project was 15 months.

A study of the relocation of El Gourna and villager participation is important because it provides a unique opportunity to increase our understanding of these critical processes and to assess a recent relocation that included a participatory “experiment.” Since relocation has become an increasingly significant element in global economic development, and, as in this case, in the preservation of valuable heritage sites, a study of the components and functions of participation and local involvement in a particular case such as El Gourna can yield important information and insights regarding the actual process of participation.

The general purpose of the study was to determine in what ways local villagers were involved in the relocation and how meaningful participation and involvement of local residents in relocation and resettlement can be structured and enhanced to improve relocation outcomes. The steps undertaken to achieve this purpose were:

1. gather information on the relocation of El Gourna and determine the ways in which residents were involved;
2. describe, and explain what took place in the relocation, and the dynamics of villager participation;
3. develop interpretive principles grounded in the information that would clarify relationships between the villagers and the relocation;
4. formulate concepts and interpretations that could be compared with findings from other case studies as a basis for further study;
5. propose policy recommendations and ways to improve participation, inclusion, and involvement based on the study.

A related but important goal was to hear and report what the villagers had to say about their experiences in their own the voices (Stake, 1995).
4.0 Study Methods

Information for the study was gathered from interviews, group meetings, documents, casual conversations, personal observations, and participation in local village life. Multiple sources were used to confirm and test reports and observations. A qualitative and ethnographic approach was used in order to develop a comprehensive description of actual events and experiences, and to develop interpretative explanations and concepts grounded in information collected.

Information was recorded and transcribed in verbatim format as far as possible. Processing of information followed standard qualitative methods of “chunking”, or separating bits of information into discrete pieces, coding and placing these bits into descriptive categories, combining data into larger conceptual categories, interpreting the findings, and finally abstracting concepts and stating them in generalized forms. Conclusions and recommendations were developed and formulated based on insights gained from the processing and analysis of the information (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 194; Richards & Morse, 2007; Wolcott, 2001). The report also attempts to capture and retain the character and actual words and experiences of the residents.
Initially, studies of involuntary relocation were considered part of a larger domain of involuntary migration, and not as a separate issue, although there were significant differences (Voutira & Harrell-Bond in Cernea & McDowell, 2000). The literature dealing with population displacement focused predominantly on wars, famines, and natural disasters but had less to say about displacement due to modernization, development, land reform and reclamation, and population redistribution (Shami, 1993). According to Seteney Shami, most of the research regarding involuntary relocation had been in the form of individual case studies with little analytical discussion of the problems of displacement and relocation as a whole, and there were few theoretical studies that dealt with the causes and consequences of dislocation. Improvement in relocation theory began to occur when displacement was viewed as a “twin” faceted problem involving both relocation and resettlement, i.e., one that required rebuilding of both economic and social support systems (Shami, 1993).

The conventional planning approach for large development projects had been primarily economic, i.e., cost/benefit analysis (CBA). However, CBA proved to be inadequate because it did not realistically account for the true social and economic costs born by the resettlers and resulted in an inequitable distribution of costs and benefits (Cernea, 1997). It generally considered only aggregated costs such as threats to return on investment instead of the multifaceted risks and long term effects experienced by both resettlers and host populations (Cernea & McDowell, 2000). As observed by Michael Cernea, cost-benefit analysis was “incapable of answering displacement’s economic and financial challenges” (Cernea, 1999, p. 5). The negative effects of displacement were considered to be part of a natural evolutionary process of modernization and development calling for behavioral adjustment and viewed only from the perspective of the “greater good” for the society as a whole (Cernea & McDowell, 2000; Muggah, 2000; Shami, 1993).

An understanding of the consequences of relocation began to improve as critical assessments and specific case studies illustrated the disruption of not only economic and social conditions but of relational structures as well, with “devastating effects upon the powerless in society...” (Shami, 1993, p. 7).

5.1 Principle Theories of Relocation

At present, there are two main theories of relocation: Scudder’s theory regarding stages of adjustment and adaptation, and Cernea’s theory of impoverishment risks and reconstruction. Some additions and clarifications have been made to each theory, but no new comprehensive theory of relocation has been proposed (Scudder, 2005).

In the 1980s, Thayer Scudder and Elizabeth Colson developed a four-stage framework of adjustment and adaptation, i.e., a sequence of stages that relocatees go through based on successful resettlement (Scudder, 2005). They identified four stages: a) resettlement planning and physical removal; b) multidimensional stress, and initial coping; c) economic and community redevelopment; and d) handing over of local governance and incorporation into the larger society (Scudder, 2003, 2005; Scudder & Habbob, 2008). This framework was primarily behavioral and dealt with three forms of stress: physiological, psychological, and socio-cultural. And, it helped “explain why resettlers are the key resource for achieving a positive outcome” (Scudder, 2005, p. 32).

It is important to note that this theory applied to cases of successful voluntary resettlement. Later, these concepts were applied to involuntary relocation but questions were raised about the suitability of the analysis in these cases. Scudder has also acknowledged that many relocatees do not go through all stages and the fourth stage is rarely achieved (Scudder, 2005).

Michael Cernea, former Senior Advisor for Sociology and Social Policy at the World Bank, developed another model for relocation based on relocation risks and the need for redevelopment following relocation. “Risk recognition,” he emphasized, “is crucial for sound planning” (Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 33). Cernea defined risk as “the possibility that certain courses of action will result in future injurious effects — losses and destruction” (Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 19). A study of relocations funded by the World Bank led him to conclude that, “The most widespread effect of involuntary displacement is the impoverishment of ... relocatees” (Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 12). Cernea identified the causes of impoverishment as the loss of homelands, livelihoods and occupations, and social support systems. Once resettled, the displacees typically lack the means to reconstruct their livelihoods (Cernea & Guggenheim, 2000).

The solution lay, according to Cernea, in social and economic reconstruction of communities and smaller groups of relocatees so that they could rebuild their livelihoods and social connections. “Protecting and reconstructing displaced peoples’ livelihoods is the central requirement of equitable resettlement programs” (Cernea, 1997, p. 1569).
Cernea’s model requires the evaluation of risks and the development of counter strategies and is intended to be used from planning stages through implementation and into follow-up. His “Impovishment Risks and Reconstruction” model re-focused attention from compensation to redevelopment. The primary assumption for the model was that risks involved in resettlement “can be controlled through a policy response” (Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 34), an assumption that has been debated in relocation and resettlement literature as unproven and strongly in favor of the power of the state.

Cernea’s theory identifies eight fundamental risks involved in relocation and uses these factors as the basis for redevelopment planning. The eight risk factors described in Cernea’s model are (Cernea, 1997; Cernea & McDowell, 2000):

1. landlessness: the primary result of being removed from traditional homeland areas, a “de-capitalization” of displaced people;
2. joblessness: loss of jobs, occupations and livelihoods, difficulty in finding suitable employment in situations that fit the skills of the relocaees;
3. homelessness: loss of historic homes and places of family and village identification;
4. marginalization: difficulty in integrating into the host community, minimal subsistence on the margins of the larger society;
5. increased morbidity and mortality: increasingly subject to disease, poor health and greater mortality rates especially among the elderly and children;
6. food insecurity: uncertain availability of food supplies and undernourishment;
7. loss of access to common property: for the more vulnerable and traditional social groups, loss of shared common property as an important economic commodity, e.g., grazing land, water supply, fire wood and “edible forest products”;

In a more recent study of 50 large dam projects, Scudder suggested that if his theory of adaptations and Cernea’s theory of risk reversal are used in combination, they can provide a more complete approach to resettlement. Since the two theories complement each other, each overcomes the weaknesses of the other. And, as Scudder has suggested, no single theory of relocation is able to explain or clarify what actually happens in relocation or how to best proceed. Each case must be addressed by itself using a combination of theories and approaches. Thus, it may not be possible, or even advisable, to treat the complexity of relocation in a single theory (Scudder, 2005).

Scudder also goes on to point out that, “Resettlers are the key resource for achieving a positive outcome … (and) government policies and the activities of project authorities have been the main factors constraining a successful resettlement process” (Scudder, 2005, p. 32), pointing out the importance of villager involvement and the potential harmful effects of misguided government action. With this, Cernea and Christian Sorenson agree. “Dysfunctional communication between decision makers and groups affected by displacement are one of the roots of resettlement failure” (Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 51). Also, “It is important that ‘outsiders,’ including the government and humanitarian agencies, build on refugees’ own initiative-driven strategies for survival and reconstruction of livelihoods instead of imposing preplanned packages” (Sorenson in Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 201).

5.2 Case Studies

Anthropological case studies provide significant details for the study of relocation. Aside from the many other problems addressed, they show that meaningful participation of the local population is essential for successful resettlement and that there is a critical lack of correspondence between the goals and capacities of various relocation entities and the needs and often neglected resources of relocatees. They identify three key issues with respect to relocation: 1) the difficulties and complexities involved, 2) the need for pre-relocation ethnographic study, and 3) that cooperation, or its lack, between relocation officials and relocatees can have profound effects on the outcome (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993).

In sum, various studies, theories and approaches to relocation point to the local community as the core of the recovery process. “(Research) suggests that more encouragement given to the initiative, energy, and self-organizing capacity of oustees may unlock a potential insufficiently used in resettlement programs” (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993, p. 397).
Beginning with efforts to solve social and economic problems resulting from industrialization and the growth of cities, government planners have gradually sought greater public participation in planning processes. Early planning schemes, however, did not always include those citizens most directly affected and had uneven results (Hall, 2002). As democratic social and political theory and practice moved away from centralized control to more decentralized systems, planners sought to include more citizens and interest groups in the decision making process. This progression has also “been made necessary by the increasing bureaucratization and technical basis of decisions in current urban societies” (Peattie, 1968). And as a practical matter, the failures of centralized planning, especially in the US in the 1950s and 1960s, resulted in conflicts between citizens and local planning authorities, and calls for greater public participation (Jacobs, 1961; Laurence, 2006; Stiftel, 2000).

In western democracies, participation in planning processes has been sought as a way of obtaining greater acceptance of planning projects, of providing for and exchanging information, for providing citizens with a greater voice in the planning process, and for obtaining their input in decision making (Glass, 1979). In these environments, citizen participation has depended on certain pre-conditions such as common terminology, speech patterns and knowledge, legal or formal frameworks, locally organized groups and leadership, and planners and staff that have the ability to facilitate meetings. Participants themselves must also be capable of expressing their thoughts and working with others who may have contrary opinions. Given these prerequisites, some segments of modern society may still be unable to participate effectively. For example, limitations involving educational background, time, resources, and information may still exclude important sectors of the public (Allmendinger, 2002; Corburn, 2003; Forester, 1989, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2010).

Methods of participation used by planning agencies vary with the theory or philosophy of the planning unit. For rational or systems type planning procedures, participation is a way of consulting with and gaining input from key stakeholders and more powerful citizen groups who can relate to planning terminology and objectives, but it may still exclude other sectors of the population. For advocacy, equity, and collaborative type planning, the participatory methods employed are different due to the social and economic limitations of citizens and social groups that are not well connected to the larger society (Innes & Booher, 2010; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Peattie, 1968). For these groups, participation requires alternative methods involving some form of reaching out to the communities that will be most impacted by planning decisions but are generally be left out of the planning process (Allmendinger, 2002; Krumholz & Forester, 1990).

Inclusion of local residents who live at the margins of society in formal participation processes can be difficult (Innes & Booher, 2010; Quick & Feldman, 2011; Peattie, 1968). Frequently, these groups lack the social organization and local leadership needed for participation in wider planning process, or may not possess the necessary background and experience to participate in public meetings and other formal settings. However, gathering local knowledge from all segment of society is critical for all types of planning especially relocation. Local knowledge “provides crucial political and technical insights often overlooked by professionals (Corburn, 2003, p. 420). And planning processes frequently fail to capture this important knowledge and experience which is particularly important for the planning of complex projects such as relocation (Corburn, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010; Quick & Feldman, 2011).

Examples of successful involvement of marginal groups usually involves a reversing of participatory methods. In other words, instead of inviting residents to participate in formal and organized planning meetings in a controlled setting, planners and community workers have gone out to the residents in their communities and neighborhoods and met with them in informal settings (Innes & Booher, 2010; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Peattie, 1968). Information was gathered by means of what amounts to ethnographic methods, i.e., planners “gather data, take a poll, do interviews” (Petite, 1968, p. 85). However, experience also shows that even with the best of intentions, planners and community workers may still be considered as outsiders by these groups.
Participation and involvement in relocation can be even more problematic because of the unique and significant consequences and the complicated planning problems. The residents are involved in multifaceted processes that include not only relocation and resettlement, but the reconstruction of a new social and economic environment that goes well beyond the typical participatory scenario. It requires much more than discussion at public meetings.

For example, there are unique local conditions that affect relocation. Political conditions may not favour public involvement, social and cultural traditions may separate the community from the larger society, and unique characteristics pertaining to the community itself may require alternate methods of communication and of structuring participation. Thus, the uses of language and ways of speech, living conditions, and unique livelihoods and occupations, just to mention a few, can vary considerably from the normally accepted background pre-conditions for participation in planning activities.

Certain “practical” theories of participation and involvement have demonstrated success in “the field.” Landscape architect Randy Hester has suggested four ways of obtaining information on user needs and of involving citizens: town meetings, interviews, questionnaires, neighborhood observations, and post construction evaluation (Hester, 1975). These steps combine both formal and informal methods. As part of neighborhood observation, Hester also utilizes behavior mapping, a method of graphic observation and documentation, to discover and record the habits and “daily rituals” of people that are often not mentioned in surveys and interviews (Hester, 1985, 1993).

A second approach which has been gaining notice in architectural practice is “evidence based design” (EBD). As with Hester’s approach, EBD is a process that begins before the formulation of a project plan. It includes specific elements such as background research and assessment of project users, interviews and studies of users and user needs, translation of data into design guidelines, predesign analysis of site and program conditions, design and construction, and post occupancy evaluation. There are many benefits that offset the initial increased costs such as overall long term cost savings, both top down and bottom up expertise and input is utilized, and multiple data gathering methods produces a more comprehensive plan (Verderber, 2005; Verderber & Refuerzo, 1999).

Case studies of relocation also indicate that there are practical benefits to achieving meaningful involvement and participation at the local level. Such involvement improves outcomes by providing critical local knowledge and innovative solutions, important new roles for the residents during the resettlement process and for the future development of the new village, and by strengthening the determination and self-motivation of the resettlers to succeed in the new environment (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993; Choguill, 1996; Colson, 2003). It enables the residents to develop a sense of ownership, to take part in developing designs for homes and the new village that will more closely fit their activities and life patterns, to more quickly reestablish livelihoods and social structures, and to develop their own “initiative driven strategies” (Sorenson in Cernea & McDowell, 2000, p. 201). Local involvement also provides a dynamic management framework within which decision making can be shared and many of the diverse elements of relocation can be brought together into a more unified process (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993, Davidson et al., 2007; Ganapati & Ganapati, 2009).

In assessing the situation in the village of El Gourna, it was clear that several conditions which describe a community at the margin of the larger society applied. There was a distinct and authoritative political situation; El Gourna was a traditional community at the edge of the larger society; the speech patterns, culture and social organization of the community were unique; and the community was not experienced with typical public participation methods and pre-conditions such as public meetings, stakeholder workshops, and local group organization and representation. Given these conditions, an alternative approach that involved reaching out to the community, locating participation within the community itself, and gathering local information in a local setting were needed.
Since, a description and analysis of the participation and involvement of the local villagers depends on the actual relocation itself, the events, activities, and outcomes of the relocation can be used to establish a context and point to examples of how the villagers were or were not involved. Without these examples, it is difficult to see how the process of participation worked in reality.

### 7.1 Resettlement Planning

Although several types of redevelopment plans and some social and economic studies were prepared for Luxor, no resettlement plan was developed for El Gourna. At the time, only the physical design and some investment ideas for the new village shown on the architectural plan were considered. The absence of this plan resulted in many ad hoc arrangements and left important issues unaddressed.

#### Compensation

As there was no actual resettlement plan, and no anthropological study of the cultural and occupational conditions of the village, compensation problems arose. In addition, the idea of replacement costs as well as allowances for costs involved in moving and setting up homesteads anew were missing from the relocation planning. The agreed upon solution of one “flat” for every married man, although considered in public meetings in the main Diwan (a large meeting hall usually attached to a mosque) of the West Bank, was out of touch with the living situation of many families.

By the time construction was completed on the first two sections of the new village, compensation problems began to snowball. In the old village, there were considerable differences in the size of family compounds, the size of individual families, the number of families living in a compound, and the needs of each family. Some households also included additional family members such as unmarried adult sisters and brothers, divorced women with children, older parents and other relatives. And some families included unmarried adults and dependent children who were being supported by an unmarried head of household. These conditions did not come to light during the public discussions on compensation which relied on the authoritative opinions of upper level village representatives rather than on input from local villagers. The result was that all these different family situations could not be accommodated by the “married man” solution, or by the single prototype housing unit built for the residents.

### Lost Occupations and Sources of Income

From interviewing and visiting the residents, it became clear that a significant number of residents had lost all, if not, most of their income. No matter what occupation a resident might otherwise have, most residents also worked at night producing fine quality statues and figurines (antikas) from local stone and selling them to tourists who came to visit old Gourna (Van der Spek, 2003).

“The disadvantage is that they don’t have any extra income. Because he is a clerk in the government, he gets a salary. And after this, ... in his free time he was working at home doing this souvenirs and selling it. Now it’s totally closed” (Interview).

“Here in the new Qurna, it’s very nice. It’s clean, bigger, and I don’t deny that it’s much better. But I need to live. I have no income” (Interview).

This outcome confirmed Cernea’s observation that impoverishment due to lost livelihoods is the most significant problem for relocation. To reiterate,

*Impoverishment of displaced people is the central risk in development caused involuntary population resettlement, ... Protecting and reconstructing displaced peoples’ livelihoods is the central requirement of equitable resettlement programs.* (Cernea, 1997, p. 1569)

Relocation officials seemed unaware of the complicated ways in which villagers assembled their monthly income from many small sources and depended on tourists who visited the village rather than those who stayed in hotels in Luxor. Using generalized survey data from earlier studies, officials assumed that the occupations of the villagers would continue after the relocation (Yousry, 2004).

The other side of the economic dilemma is the additional household costs of living in the new village. Residents must now pay for services that the new village provides such as electricity, water, sanitation, natural gas, and for transportation costs to farms, markets, and jobs. Costs for these services in some cases exceed or require a large portion of the monthly family income. And since residents now produce few, if any, agricultural items for their own consumption, they must purchase similar or replacement products for family use.

#### Social Fragmentation

Although plans for the new village called for each extended family to be housed as nearly as possible in the same areas, it was only partly achieved. For example, family Horobat, the largest of the four families from old Gourna, is split into four areas. The splitting of larger families and the separation of more immediate families members from each other has led to a diminished sense of traditional community life and less participation in community events.
Figure 5  Village Talk in Luxor
7.2 Key Aspects of the Relocation

Phases of Relocation

One of the most distinct contrasts in the relocation was the difference between the first phase of the relocation when the families of Horobat and Hasasna were moved to new Qurna, and the forced relocation of Gournet Mar’ii in phase 3.

The first phase was characterized by greater participation and involvement of local and government leaders, cooperation between the government and local citizens, and greater satisfaction. The later phases, phases 2 and 3, were characterised by the absence of important government leaders, a growing resistance to relocation, the use of force and intimidation, and less satisfaction. As unexpected problems began to appear, this tension between the government and the villagers prevented the exploration of alternative solutions.

Government Interference with Villager Initiatives

In new Qurna, residents have shown considerable initiative by providing many improvements to the homes and the village. These improvements have enhanced the quality of village life and demonstrate a determination to succeed in the new environment. However, local government policies has hindered and even penalised residents for improvements. Villagers were subject to fines for planting trees, opening small shops and other business to compensate for lost income, and for adding much needed extra rooms to the housing units. The visitor can easily see a distinct contrast between the unfinished conditions of the streets and parks, the lack of maintenance, the poor quality construction in sections 4 and 5, and the initiatives and improvements installed by the residents.

Villager Involvement

In observing the modes of communication that took place during the relocation as a key to understanding participation, it became apparent that communication and participation were occurring at three different levels, however, only two levels were recognized as forms of participation, and secondly, communication was predominantly a unidirectional process. The levels of communication could also be described by means of the various meeting formats such as administrative and executive meetings, public meetings, and informal communication in the villages. The three level of communication include:

1. **Administrative and executive meetings:** This level generally involved planning meetings in Luxor, the discussion of technical details, and input from various specialists such as economists and designers and from higher level village representatives many of whom no longer lived in El Gourna.

2. **Public meetings:** Public meetings were held in the main West Bank Diwan. The purpose of these meetings was to obtain the support of the community, to inform the villagers of what would be happening in the relocation, to select a single prototype for the housing units, and to discuss problems with compensation. In these meetings, there was little sharing of information or collaboration between average residents, village leaders, and the relocation officials. Conversation was mostly between the “bigger” people.

3. **Village communication:** This was the most dynamic level of communication and informal participation during the relocation. It was the level of everyday “village talk”, but it was not accessed by the relocation officials although some appointed representatives did work at this level.
Village Talk

The concept of village talk as a significant form of village communication came to light during interviews as respondents described how they received news and information about the relocation and how they communicated with one another. It was the most active form of village communication and constituted a unique local social institution (Scones, 1998). It occurred whenever residents got together to share news, to talk to each other, or just to spend time together. Village talk took place in the streets, at the market, in the cafes and restaurants, at the mosque, in the diwans, and every night in front of the houses with residents, relatives, neighbors and guests seated on the “mastaba” benches. These places were the principle venues of social interaction in the village and were the core of village life.

One reason why participation did not include the level of village talk was that the concept or definition of participation did not include this informal aspect of communication. “Participation” was only understood in a formal sense, i.e., in terms of committee or public meetings, or as communication between public officials and residents, but not as participation between residents.

From time to time, residents were meeting in the local diwans and mosques and sometimes village representatives were involved. However, the overall process of participation did not include these meetings or tap into the level of village communication, where villagers could freely speak their mind, to capture the ideas, solutions, suggestions, and energy of the village community.

In addition, officials did not seek input from average residents. Participation only took place at official venues with “worthy” citizens, and the flow of information and ideas was only in one direction. Few officials or higher level representatives went “down” to the village to learn from the residents with the result that a flow of information and ideas from the village “upward” to the public and administrative meetings was only minimal.

The phenomena of village talk also indirectly revealed that the residents were not participating in meaningful ways and perhaps were not able to participate in ways that were considered appropriate. Ultimately public meetings were the only forums open to them. But “village talk” demonstrated that there was another form of participation that fit local residents and could be utilised to involve them in the project.

The independent existence of village talk also pointed out the critical need for two-way discourse, a discourse that involves an exchange and an assessment of information and ideas between parties such that information and ideas flow back and forth and not only in one direction (Forester, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2010). It implies that, for El Gourna, and by extension for many small traditional villages, representatives from the government “side” would not only carry information to the village but would also go out into the village themselves, to the third level of communication, meet with the local population, sit with them, listen to them, and gather information and ideas from them (Forester, 1999; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Peattie, 1968). Relocation officials and representatives would thereby learn from the residents about their lives, about the village, and about their thoughts and hopes for the project.

It also implies that the villagers would engage the government representatives by “telling their stories” and describing for them their conditions and listening to and understanding issues that are important from the government perspective (Forester, 1999). In El Gourna, the most appropriate format for this type of communication was the third level, i.e., the level of village communication, and in various other venues of informal communication where the villagers felt most comfortable. This aspect of communication was the missing “side” of the discourse. But it is also a kind of involvement for which the villagers might need assistance. In such cases, relocation officials may need to assist in the villagers in the formation and local organizations and representative groups, and in identifying capable spokespersons that can communicate effectively with relocation officials.

Could more inclusive participation have resulted in better outcomes? This might have been possible given other conditions as well, for example, if the government was also willing to consider alternative solutions, or if other factors did not constrain outcomes such as local governmental capacities or a limited budget. Thus, if the government was willing to work out some form of resettlement for the hamlet of Gournet Mar’ii in the Bairat area, which was their place of origin, some residents would have still have moved to new Qurna, but many would have been happier to remain the Bairat area. Or, if the government was willing to work with residents who depended on visiting tourists for their income by providing alternative ways for them to continue their trades, especially in the old Gourna area, by retaining some of the old homes as shops and craft centers.

Another example of potential cooperation after move-in would be if residents were allowed to trade and exchange houses so that relatives and family members could move closer together, or to allow families to add badly needed additional rooms.

In sum, although the intention was there, the process of villager participation had only a limited effect on relocation because it did not involve local residents at the village level and the main issues addressed in the various higher level forums were limited. Official “participation” was restricted by definition to formal meetings that involved government representatives, consultants, and higher level village representative. And, it did not recognize or take advantage of “local knowledge,” i.e., resources, ideas, and solutions that were available at the village level.
7.3 Consequences of the Relocation

Taken as a whole, the relocation of El Gourna had both positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand, major improvements were provided. There are better services, better houses, new schools, town services have been provided and the quality of life has improved. On the other hand, serious issues remain. The project is not complete. Streets, parks, services, and residences remain unfinished. Most resident have lost a significant portion if not all of their income. In many cases, compensation was not an equal or fair exchange. Poor construction in about 30% of the houses in sections 4 and 5 has caused walls to crack and some houses to be unsafe, and represents a complete loss of value for these residents. In addition, the lack of government support for the initiative and improvements provided by the residents has discouraged them and prevented innovative solutions from being proposed or utilised.

For the families of Gourna, the relocation has also brought complicated changes. In essence, residents went from a traditional rural way of life to town life. This has resulted in significant trade-offs such as a change from limited independence, self-reliance and autonomy to being a small part of a larger political and economic system, from a self-sustaining traditional economy to a wage economy, from rural services to city services and cash payments, and from a life based on day to day living to a future based on training and education yet with the ever present threat of dependency and unemployment.

In addition to these changes, many unique features of the old village may be inevitably lost such as the skills of world class craft workers and the local craft trades, a well known and widely acknowledged tradition of local hospitality, and a unique cultural and historic site as well as the historical importance of El Gourna itself.

One of the most difficult and emotional issues in relocation is the sense of loss and sadness experienced by the villagers when leaving the old village. A resident from family Horobat describes:

“While we were moving from the old Gourna to the new, I didn’t think it would be hard for me or difficult. Then when they started to destroy our house I was very sad. … I felt like unconscious. I didn’t know what to do, where to go. Pain, painful. My father and my mother they cried. They let the mother go to another part of the family that she doesn’t see the house while they destroy it … (It was) the saddest time in my whole life when the loader came and destroyed the house. The father, … that was the first time to see him cry. … And he couldn’t move, like paralyzed. That was too sad. … In old Gourna, it was my life and it was my memories.” (Interview)

Peter Marris (1974) explains that the loss of one’s homeland is a personal loss, not just a loss of place, and results in a loss of personal meaning and purpose. In order to make sense of life, Marris says, one needs to preserve “a thread of continuity,” i.e., a continuity of purpose, meaning, and relationships. In relocation, cultural and social continuity is easily broken (Soudier, 2005; Fahim, 1983). The villagers must navigate through a process of grieving and bereavement which takes time. There is a need for ritual and resolution of issues involving change and loss. Eventually, a continuity of relationships, meaning and purpose must be re-established if the community is to recover (Marris, 1974).
8.1 Improving Relocation Planning

The traumatic changes involved in relocation and resettlement go far deeper than just a change of location or the design of a new town and present complex challenges for the planning process itself. There are difficult questions to answer such as how the community will regain a sense of purpose and meaning, and how residents will deal with critical losses such as the loss of income and occupations, and the loss and disruption of individual social positions and community functions. All of these questions are related and must be addressed by relocation planners on a holistic basis.

Whether they originate at a local or regional scale, the challenges for relocation planning involve issues at various levels that are intrinsically bound up with and influence each other in complex ways. For resettlers however, the critical effects and long term consequences tend to crystallise at the local level.

Long after the planners, designers, and government officials have all departed, what remains in this transition is the relocated residents themselves. They carry within themselves the solutions, the innovations, the determination, and the potential for adaptation that successful relocation depends on. Stefano Bianca refers to this as a “regeneration from within” (Bianca, 2000, p. 335). This human dimension of relocation must be carefully considered and receive equal emphasis with economic and engineering concerns. If not, it can result in irreconcilable tensions between the relocatees and government administrators, long term harmful consequences, and dependency for the resettlers. What seems most certain in this process is that recovery and regeneration of village life cannot be achieved by external means.

As with the findings above, the conclusions and recommendations discussed below involve issues of both relocation and participation since these two are intimately interrelated.

8.2 Recovery Plan

Since no resettlement plan was prepared for the relocation of El Gourna, the principle recommendation for the immediate formulation of a comprehensive Recovery Plan for new Qurna. A Recovery Plan can be developed following well known and accepted models available from several sources including the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ABD) and following concepts discussed in this article. The ADB Safeguard Policy Statement (2009) is particularly suitable because it is simple, complete, and workable. This plan should be developed as a collaborative effort between relocation authorities and citizens at the local level, as well as their representatives at higher levels. A recovery plan is essential in order to address short and long term problems that are an intrinsic part of relocation and that have developed since residents have moved into the new village.

8.3 The Dual Nature of Relocation

Improvements in relocation planning must begin with a better understanding of the complex nature of the process. In other words, the “problem” needs to be redefined. As described in the literature, involuntary relocation involves two aspects, relocation and resettlement/recovery (Cernea, 1997; Fahim, 1983; Scudder, 2005). However, a conclusion of this report is that relocation is more that two phases or two aspects of a single project. Rather, relocation involves two unique and distinct but interdependent operations or ventures, not one, i.e., 1) relocation, and 2) resettlement and recovery. This concept goes beyond the description of relocation as two phases or two elements of a single government program.

These two functions are undertaken by two unique and distinct entities. Although distinct, the two are also intimately interconnected in a larger dual enterprise, or joint venture so to speak. This dual enterprise has been intuitively recognized by the two principle theories of relocation, Cernea’s Risks and Reconstruction theory which focuses on government responsibilities and reconstruction, and Scudder’s theory of the stages of adjustment and adaptation which deals with the recovery of the villagers. However, relocation, both in practice and in literature, has been approached as a single government project with the government responsible for both aspects.

As a dual undertaking, each entity has its own goals and objectives and its own capabilities and resources vastly different from the other. The dual aspect of relocation requires the preparation and implementation of two, or possibly three, plans: a relocation plan, a resettlement and recovery plan, and an overall joint participation program. Model relocation plans recognize the importance of local involvement in relocation, but not as a joint venture (ABD, 2009). They do not capture the distinct nature of the two undertakings, the government program of relocation and the village undertaking of migration, resettlement, and recovery.

The idea of separate plans for relocation and resettlement is not new. Most institutional lenders require such plan elements, but not as unique plans representing two distinct undertakings. Rather both plans have been considered to be part of a single overall government plan and are dominated by that perspective. Each party involved in the relocation must develop its own plan in collaboration with the other partner, much in the tradition of advocacy planning, or possibly public private partnerships (Davidoff, 1965; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Sagaly, 2007). It is obvious that the local community will need assistance in this undertaking, but the potential benefits for both parties would easily outweigh the problems and costs of going it alone.
The implication for local participation is that if relocation and resettlement are approached only as components of a single government program, the benefits and function of local participation will fall far short of addressing the complex nature of the community’s tasks of migration, resettlement and recovery. The probable outcome is that neither party will achieve its goals.

8.4 Villager Participation

It is essential that the social, political and communicative structures of local communities be carefully studied using alternative techniques such as ethnographic inquiry and participant observation, and that a strategy of participation and inclusion be designed to fit unique local characteristics. Since the villagers themselves are the most important source of local information and potential ideas and solutions for relocation and resettlement, their input is crucial and essential.

In the relocation and resettlement of El Gourna, three levels and several formats of participatory communication were identified including both formal and informal means of communication. The notion of village communication, or village talk, fits in at this point. It is easy to think of village talk as just conversation in the village and miss its institutional character (Scoones, 1998). As an important social institution of communication and interaction in the village, it provided a communicative function similar to that which is provided in more modern or middle class communities by organized community and interest groups and the media (Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006).

In situations similar to El Gourna, where local populations are not experienced or lack the required resources and capacities to participate in the organized ways such as executive meetings, public meetings, or stakeholder meetings, relocation staff must be prepared to reach out to the residents, rather than expecting the resident to come to them, and to assist them in developing the capacity for meaningful participation and involvement. This will require much more than inviting citizens to participate. It will involve actively soliciting their input by entering into dialog and working with the community in the local setting. It includes such activities as supplying technical information and assistance, equipping and encouraging local resident to participate, identifying capable representatives and leaders, helping residents form interest groups according to their needs, and possibly providing staff assistance (Innes & Booher, 2010; Krumholtz & Forester, 1990; Peattie, 1968).
8.5 Principles of Participation

One of the objectives of the study was to identify principles that could be used to enhance and improve participation in relocation. The following principles were identified from the information gathered and from experiences in interacting with the villagers, and summarize the points made in this report.

1. **The local population must have the capacity to interact and to participate.** Residents must have the necessary information, the skills to organize and communicate effectively, and the ability to learn and communicate with others. If they do not have these background skills, relocation officials should assist them in acquiring them. In addition, since they must have the time and resources for effective participation, adjustments in the participatory methods utilized will have to be made to accommodate their way of life. In plain language, the participatory framework must fit the local population (Glass, 1979).

2. **The local population must be willing to participate.** Citizens on the edge of a larger society often do not participate because they feel they will not be respected or they will not be listened to (Innes & Booher, 2010). Program officials must demonstrate to the residents that their input will matter.

3. **Relocation planners must actively solicit the involvement of the local population using alternative methods.**

4. **The design of an effective participatory and inclusionary framework should include the follow objectives and components:**
   - a. gathering local knowledge and identifying local skills through interviews, participant observation and local involvement,
   - b. participatory methods that build on the local communicative processes,
   - c. identification of potential leaders, spokespersons, representatives, mediators, and advocates who are approved by the villagers themselves, to represent them in meetings and other formats,
   - d. assistance in the formation of interest groups to encourage participation on specific issues such as potential new livelihoods, and vulnerable people groups and occupations.

In sum, the thrust of these comments is that relocation officials need to develop a “policy framework” or a strategy of participation and inclusion designed to “fit” the unique systems and capabilities of local populations. These structures will be different from one community to the next, but the same principles of careful study at the village level and development of a unique participation framework apply.

Finally, the scope of local participation must be expanded to include a wide range of activities, not only participation in initial planning stages but in the processes of moving, rebuilding, post-occupancy adjustments, and follow-up monitoring. All forms of participation and involvement such as site selection, input on the design of the new village and the new homes, cooperation with specialists regarding potential new occupations or training, the physical construction of elements of the new village, and the many subsequent adaptations that life in the new village will require such as new shops and businesses must be considered.

Participation in relocation should be seen in this broader framework with the residents as a fundamental source of ideas, solutions, and energy to build a new community. The research at El Gourna revealed that both local villagers and government officials preferred this type of involvement in the build-out of the village, but it was not achieved.

8.6 Implications of the Study

The implication of this study is that project managers and relocation officials cannot properly design, implement and manage a project as complicated as a relocation without the full involvement and participation of the local community. It requires personal contact with the affected communities and input from their point of view. Thus, planners and managers need to employ alternative participatory methods that involve leaving the comfort of the office and going into the community on a regular basis and learning from the local population about their situations, their needs, and their aspirations and dreams.

Planning for and assessing new projects that involve relocation also requires an assessment of where things might go in the future, what the long term impact of relocation will be on the residents. Extensive involvement with the local population is necessary to perform this assessment and to formulate predictions. Once a village is relocated, a continuing relationship with the community should be maintained that will monitor the impact of the relocation and assist with recovery.


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