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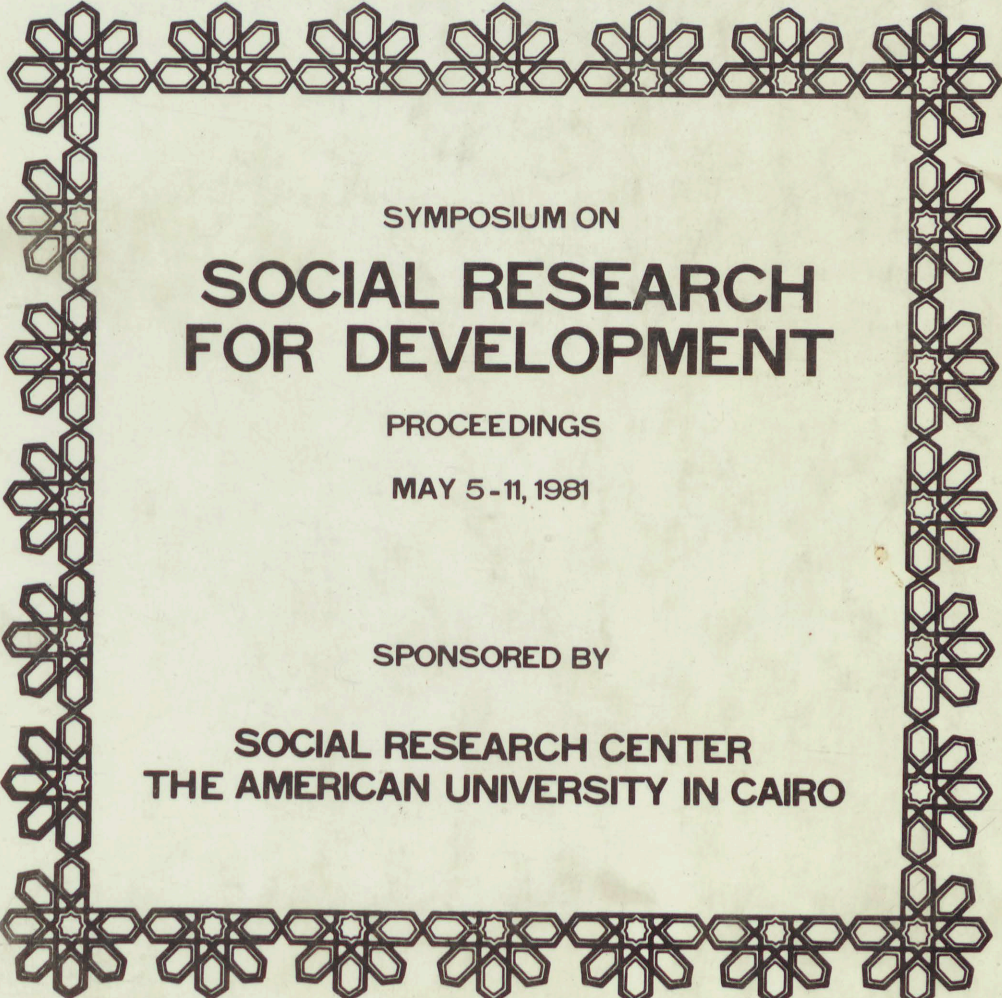
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RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR THE STUDY OF URBANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT*

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At some earlier time we seemed virtually certain that urbanization and development went together. Demographic urbanization -- that is, the aggregating of larger and larger numbers of persons in cities -- was presumed to correlate with if indeed it did not actually cause cultural urbanization -- that is, the spread of urbane characteristics such as education, technical competence, sophistication and the like. And demographic and cultural urbanization were considered the prime movers in development, both economic and social. Indeed, urbanization was frequently recommended as a means for achieving "modernization."

We are now extremely uncertain about the entailment between the two. Urbanization and socio-economic development may not necessarily go together, and urbanization, per se, may not bring about the desired socio-economic goals.¹ Several types of arguments have called into question the earlier and easier assumptions about the relationship between these two phenomena.

One of the first arguments to be raised concerned whether living in a city automatically conferred "urbanity" upon the residents. In one of my earliest articles, written in 1959 about Cairo,² I helped to contribute to this debate by pointing out that many "urbanites" were in reality recent migrants to Cairo who were shaping the culture of the city as well as being shaped by it. Because of the high proportion of urban residents in Third World cities who had

* This paper has been prepared for presentation to the Symposium on Social Research for Development, sponsored by the Social Research Center, The American University in Cairo, 5-11 May 1981.

¹ For a fuller development of this topic, see my "Development and Urbanization," *Habitat, Int.* (Pergamon, England), Vol. 2 Nos. 5/6, pp. 417-426.

² See my "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case," in *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1961, pp. 127-136.

actually come from rural areas, I contended that it was deceptive to estimate the degree to which "urban culture" had actually taken root by counting the number of persons living in cities.

Not only were many urban dwellers drawn from rural areas but in fact, in Egyptian cities, there were two modal types of urbanites (as well as intermediate types), only one of which had the characteristics associated with "modernization." In a later article I argued that Cairo contained "traditional" urban zones which, while economically vital and socially organized, ran on older pattern of exchange and integration whose interconnection with the "modern" city remained to be investigated.³ Traditional urbanites were urban, even though their patterns of life diverged drastically from our stereotypes of "urbanism as a way of life."

A second argument focused on the statistical relationship between urbanization and development, throwing into question the entire concept of "over-urbanization" in the developing world. A number of scholars had noted that in many parts of the Third World, especially those growing at extremely high rates of natural increase and those suffering from overtaxed rural bases, cities were growing explosively. This was leading to a level of demographic urbanization far in excess of the levels experienced by the more developed countries when they were at a comparable stage of economic development. Over-urbanization was defined as existing when a country had a higher percentage of its population living in cities than was "warranted" by its level of economic development. Egypt was the first country to be singled out as an example of an over-urbanized country. And yet, a number of scholars have subsequently argued that it is inaccurate to assume a "proper" norm relating level of urbanization to development. Salah al-Shakhs proved, in his doctoral dissertation, that there is a curvilinear relationship between development and primacy, and in my 1965 article on urbanization in Egypt I pointed out that Cairo, in particular, served regional functions that extended far beyond the boundaries of Egypt, making it unrealistic to evaluate its primacy in terms of the national population base alone.⁴

Even as early as then it was possible to recognize that Egypt was developing an urban axis (conurbation) that would eventually link up Alexandria with Cairo's southern suburb of Helwan, making it imperative to study regional sys-

tems of cities and their interdependency, rather than individual towns and cities. It was also evident that middle-sized communities that were not located on this conurbation axis were zones of net out-migration whose future health was imperiled unless growth pole magnets could be created.⁵ Thus, urbanization had to be evaluated in regional and international terms.

International contingencies, for parts of the Third World, constitute a crucial and hitherto overlooked element in the analysis of urbanization and development, according to the third and most recent argument now being raised by sociologists and economists working within the world system/dependency frameworks that have come into prominence since the late 1960s. Scholars within these schools have criticized earlier analysts for treating nation-states as if they were "closed" systems. In contrast, they have shown how incorporation of Third World countries into the world system of colonialism transformed their spatial patterns, led to differential growth and decline of various cities on the periphery in response to metropole rather than local requirements, and created capitals and ports whose size and importance were dependent upon their roles as interchanges for international trade and imposed military control rather than upon their roles as central places for their rural peripheries.⁶ This connection with the world system as a colonized country certainly affected Egypt's nineteenth and early twentieth century urbanization. The economy, particularly of Alexandria but also of Cairo and the cities along the Suez Canal, was directly linked both to British colonialism and to the need for Britain to maintain links with her Indian Empire. Many of the alterations in the urban system of Egypt during that lengthy period cannot be understood without reference to this larger world system.

A similar condition now prevails, despite the end of colonial rule. In the so-called post colonial period few ex-colonies have drastically changed

⁴Robert Parke was the first to single out Egypt as an example of overurbanization. It was his characterization that I attempted to refute in my "urbanization in Egypt: Present state and Future Prospects," in Economic Development and Cultural Change, April 1965, pp. 313-343.

⁵Ibid.

⁶See Abu-Lughod and Hay, Jr., eds., Third World Urbanization (Maaroufa/Methuen, 1977, 1979) throughout for illustrations.

their relation to the core. Dependency theorists now posit the evolution of a global division of labor in which the ex-colonial countries continue to play a subordinate economic role. The health of their economies is dependent less upon their own efforts than upon expansionary needs of core countries which subcontract production to cheaper labor, either in the form of guest workers or, increasingly, in the form of contracts to Third World firms who provide support services and production without the related decision-making autonomy. Given the passive reactive quality of the relationship, it becomes increasingly impossible for peripheral countries to plan at the internal, national level for either their own economic development or their own spatial organization.

This situation is exacerbated in the Arab region by two factors which other parts of the Third World have not experienced. The first is the continuing military/political conflict in the region which, four times in the quarter of a century between 1948 and 1973, drained resources, uprooted populations (not only Palestinians but Syrians and Egyptians as well),⁷ destroyed cities, interrupted communications and commerce, and to this day continues to disturb the peace and prosperity of the involved countries. In the process, all the states involved in the conflict have been pauperized. All are heavily indebted and dependent, for day-to-day living, upon deficit financing and subsidies that carry heavy, albeit hidden, costs. Certainly it is impossible to evaluate Egypt's urban problems without reference to this basic "external" factor.⁸

Related but somewhat independent is the second factor that shapes Egypt's prospects for economic development, namely, the rapid expansions that have been occurring in the oil-endowed Arab countries of the Gulf which, especially since 1974, have served as a gigantic suction pump for labor. Egypt has become one of the major labor exporters in the region, not only to the primary labor markets in the oil-wealthy Gulf states but also to the secondary labor

⁷War as a cause of migration is analyzed in my "Recent Migrations in the Arab World," in McNeil and Adams, eds., Human Migration (University of Indiana Press, Bloomington: 1978).

⁸I explore this in a recent paper entitled "The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Arab World," to be published in The City in Cultural Context (Syracuse University Press, forthcoming). Mimeo paper.

markets of non-wealthy states whose export of labor has become so extravagant that they must now make up their deficiencies by importing even cheaper labor from poorer places such as Egypt and, increasingly, Asia. I have seen estimates of the number of Egyptians working outside Egypt that range between one and two million.⁹ This is indeed an unprecedented situation which demands closer study. At an earlier time, the population of Egypt was notorious for its immobility. One could analyze and project Egyptian population growth using births and deaths alone; international emigration was a factor that could be ignored. This is no longer the case (although I suspect that some of the recent optimism over declines in the rate of natural increase in Egypt may be premature in that sufficient account has not been taken of the temporary depressive effect of labor emigration on birth rates). One must therefore ask what the effects of this emigration will be for economic development and for urban patterns in Egypt.

To sum up the foregoing discussion we can say that we now know some basic connections between urbanization and development that we did not know some twenty-five years ago when the theories of modernization were being honed -- theories which placed urbanization at the core of the development problem.

- (1) We know that cities in the Third World contain a diversity of way of life, not all of them urban and not all of them modern. Therefore, when one examines policies designed to utilize urban populations in the development process, one must pay attention to these diversities, seeking ways to mobilize the strengths of rural and traditional folk, most of them poor, as well as the strengths of the modern industrial and white collar/professional populations. The issue of distributive justice, of the equitable distribution of the fruits of development, cannot be disengaged from the policies that seek to develop a country.
- (2) We know that cities cannot be studied in isolation but must be considered within the context of the national and even international spatial system. Not only will internal migration unbalance attempts to improve an urban system piecemeal, but planning for city economic development outside the national economic situation will come to naught unless balanced regional plans lie behind them. In order to determine the desired goals of such regional₁₀ balance one must first understand the dynamics of the entire system.

⁹I have tried to summarize some of the patterns and trends in this new international migration in the region in my "Social Implications of Migration Trends and Patterns in the Arab World," presented to the Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, April 1981.

- (3) We know that Third World countries are embedded within an international system which exerts enormous force on their potentials for development and, indirectly, on their settlement patterns. It is therefore foolhardy to make policy as if the nation state were the proper unit of analysis and as if the nation fully controlled the forces shaping its destiny. Policies must take into account the exogenous factors -- such as the effects of war and peace, of external subsidies, of labor migrations and the form of remittances these provide, of international terms of trade -- that are likely to have an overwhelming effect on the economy, on development, and on the form of urban life.

These three basic principles help to set the priorities for research, especially if such research is to be policy-relevant. In the next section of this paper I shall outline what I consider to be items of highest priority at this point in Egyptian development. Not all of these research issues take "the city" as their starting point although all have direct or indirect implications for urbanization.

Before turning to this, however, it is necessary to clarify the types of research strategies available and to make some general comments concerning their suitability and their relative propriety for different research organizations. I would like to distinguish four such strategies: monitoring; secondary "causal" analysis of monitoring data; crucial in situ "experiments", sometimes called comparative; and "research in action," or experimental pilot projects designed to test policies and to gather evaluative data on their efficiency.

Most of what passes for social research in Egypt I would call monitoring. One collects data to describe, to "find out what exists." The "social survey" which was perhaps justifiable at an earlier time has unfortunately become the almost exclusive form of research in most countries of the Third World, including Egypt. There are built-in drawbacks to this type of research when conducted by private or small-scale researchers that reduce its effectiveness. First, detailed studies are made of subsets of the population without any attention to how these "sampled" groups fit into the overall society, without attention to

¹⁰This argument is developed at length in my "Problems and Policy Implications of Middle Eastern Urbanization," in Studies on Development Problems in Selected Countries of the Middle East (United Nations: 1972).

what proportion of the universe they "represent." Second, information collected in each separate survey is independently selected and accumulated according to nonuniform schedules. Therefore the results of studies are not at all cumulative. It is impossible to compare or aggregate findings to yield conclusions broader than the individual studies. Third, there is no system for exchange of information or for the pooling of data -- both of which are essential if the work is to have significance beyond the initial moment. Finally, the fact that continuity cannot be maintained means that each study is unnecessarily expensive (or must settle for a smaller sample size to compensate for expense) since sampling frames must be designed anew each time, samples selected, all basic background data collected anew, regardless of the limited purpose of the survey, etc., and, most important, changes over time cannot be studied.

It is clear from the foregoing that the only agency capable of conducting real monitoring of the social system is the government, primarily through the decennial census and intercensal sample surveys. It is foolish for private research organizations to attempt such studies, even on a small scale. That does not mean that organizations such as A.U.C.'s Social Research Center have no role to play in monitoring-type research. They can make their best contributions in this area by two strategies. First, they can develop a limited set of research "panels" that can continually be resurveyed. I shall discuss this in greater detail below, but what I have in mind is something like the Detroit Area Survey which has been conducted by the University of Michigan over a long period of time. Second, research organizations such as the Social Research Centre can develop their capabilities in the area of secondary analysis of monitoring data collected by the government. Of the data collected and processed in the census, almost none can be immediately utilized to guide policy decisions. It must be analyzed and reanalyzed if this rich source is to yield social science conclusions. I am struck over and over again by the fact that although the United Nations has given a great deal of technical assistance to Third World governments on how to collect fuller and better census data and how to classify and process such data to make them comparable to the data of other nations, these censuses remain unexploited internally for what they could reveal concerning social developments and social needs within the countries themselves.

I therefore see a major role for private research organizations to play in the secondary analysis of these rich sources of data. Again, I shall come back to this later in the paper, but at this point I would merely like to answer one of the most common objections raised to the strategy of using census data for research, namely, that there is a time lag between the collection of the data and the point at which it becomes more generally available to researchers. I think this criticism is much overstated. First, except under conditions of revolution or radical discontinuity social trends move relatively slowly, so that data even five years old are not totally invalidated by the passage of time. Second, by analyzing data over time to develop trend lines it is possible to project older data to estimate the current situation, especially if such projections are guided by strategically located panels or ongoing sample surveys. And finally, the purpose of secondary analyses is not just to parsimoniously summarize census data so that it can more meaningfully inform policy but also to test certain causal propositions whose applicability extends beyond the moment of data collection per se.

The third strategy for research is to seek out crucial in situ or "natural" experiments so that one can gain a greater understanding of the impact of given public policy on social and economic development. Fortunate for the social scientist is the fact that government policies are never implemented everywhere and simultaneously; changes are introduced in seriatum and are extended only gradually. Evaluation research attempts to measure the impact of these policies. The most common model for such research is the before-after study of a particular place or institution, but I would argue that a more promising model for Egypt would be the controlled comparison, in which a unit similar to the experimental case is carefully selected in advance and studied at the same time as the experimental case. If we are right in our contention that neither the city nor the nation is a "closed system," then it becomes even more important to be able to disengage changes induced by the policy from changes imposed through exogenous sources. It seems to me that organizations such as the Social Research Centre can make their greatest contributions in this crucial area of research which represents a real lacuna but which may be of maximum relevance to policy.

Not all policies, however, are government policies, and not all solutions to social problems can be expected to come from government. Therefore, social research which is relevant for development cannot merely evaluate the efforts of public policy but must experiment with development more directly: it must engage in research in action. Working with small groups of citizens it must help to "create" development and, in the process, study the most effective means for achieving such development and make recommendations for the replication and extension of successful development projects. This is an area in which the individual researcher, working from his or her own special competence, can make the maximum contribution to the development of society. In the section below I will suggest examples of research-in-action projects that might be undertaken in Egyptian cities, although it is in the nature of pilot projects to be innovative and to utilize the special strengths of the researcher, which mean that these kinds of projects cannot be spelled out in advance.

The topics for priority research that follow have been organized within the three domains specified in the theoretical introduction to this paper and are further organized, within each domain, by the type of research strategy most appropriate to them. Some topics are explored in greater depth, others are simply enumerated. Elaboration does not necessarily reflect greater importance but merely that I have thought more about certain research projects than about others.

A. DIVERSITY OF URBAN LIFE

Monitoring Studies:

Successive censuses offer one means for evaluating the extent to which development is occurring and the extent to which the gap between the highest and lowest groups in society is closing or expanding. Analysis of the changing occupational structure of Egyptian cities, analysis of changes in the spread of literacy and education, and indirect measures of the distribution of income can that can be analyzed through housing data are obvious items for constant monitoring. Assuming that government policies of development are intended not merely to raise the average quality of life but to reduce the gaps by paying special attention to raising the position of the least privileged, these general moni-

toring studies should be supplemented in two ways.

First, census data aggregate characteristics of individuals but do not show how these characteristics come together to define typical life styles; they never capture the ongoing mechanisms used, especially by the poor and excluded, in order to survive in the city. In order to evaluate the impact of "low indicators of development" upon the day-to-day lives of (a) unskilled rural migrants to the city, (2) residents in peripheral quarters such as the City of the Dead or the other rapidly growing clandestine settlements on the north-east and extreme southern fringes of the city (also on the western fringe?), (3) female heads of households lacking jobs and/or skill, (4) victims of housing destruction or collapse (some living in mosques), (5) "boys of the street" or minors not living in households, etc., selective detailed studies are needed. While there have been a few anthropological studies of variable quality (Saw-an al-Messiri's study of Gamaliya, Evelyn Early's study in Bulaq, and Unni Wikan's study in Giza), these have not been policy oriented. They have not attempted to identify the key marginal policies that could be introduced to improve the chances for survival and strengthen the positive survival strategies that are already being employed by these people.

Second, census data do not permit an investigation of the impact of situational changes on given individuals, families or groups since one can compare areal aggregates over time but not given residents. The need for data on the latter is pressing, especially as significant economic changes occur in Egypt and impact differentially on subgroups within cities. I am thinking here of the rampant inflation which has been occurring in many Third World countries, among them Egypt. The loss in buying power does not fall equally on all classes, but tends to harm the poor more because of their propensity to spend all (and more) of their limited resources on necessities. Neither census data nor single-time studies of special groups can reveal the impact either of the society-wide trends such as inflation or of target-specific policies designed to assist special kinds of persons (expansion of social welfare, training programs, employment creation, housing assistance, etc.). For this kind of knowledge one must really engage in repetitive panel interviewing of a widely diversified and carefully selected sample.

For many years the Detroit Area Study in the United States, conducted by the Survey Research group at the University of Michigan, has been gathering annual data (on partial subsamples) on a panel sample. They have experienced difficulties because of the high mobility of their respondents; these problems should be considerably less in a city like Cairo where the housing shortage, together with cultural patterns, has inhibited residential mobility. I believe a research project of highest priority is to establish recurrent panel interviewing of a well-selected representative sample of Cairenes, together with (if possible) samples in a few selected medium sized towns and smaller villages. Assuming that sampling could be imaginatively designed and that resampling and additional sampling could be built into the system to replace attrition and cover newly developing residential areas, such an approach could make a substantial contribution to development of policies. Reinterviewing could be conducted in any areas deemed particularly pressing for policy makers, but the re-interview schedules should be general enough to pick up, in sensitive fashion, the emergence of new trends and/or problems. I am thinking here of how useful such a panel might have been in monitoring the sources and scale of international migration for employment, which has begun to intensify in Egypt in the last five years. Such panels could also be used to record fertility/mortality events, internal migration, marriage and divorce, occupational changes, family consumption patterns in relation to prices and income, housing improvement or deterioration, female labor force participation, intergenerational mobility.

One might well ask how one would devise the sampling frame for so ambitious a project. I shall discuss this in the next section on secondary analysis of census material.

Secondary Analysis of Census Data:

In 1963 the Social Research Centre published the Cairo Fact Book, which processed for each and every small census area in the city a series of social and economic indicators describing each area according to data from the Egyptian Census of 1947.¹¹

¹¹See Abu-Lughod and Atiya, The Cairo Fact Book (Social Research Centre, American University in Cairo: 1963).

In 1966 I completed a doctoral dissertation using the method of factorial ecology, applied to small area data from Cairo as presented in the Census of 1960, in which the same types of information that had appeared in the Cairo Fact Book were updated and refined. The results of that analysis were incorporated in my 1971 book on Cairo.¹² I believe a research project of highest priority would be to replicate the 1947 and 1960 study utilizing the findings from the now available 1976 census. Although the utility of such a study defies complete enumeration here, I would point to three immediate policy-relevant uses of such an analysis.

First, the 1976 factorial ecology solution could be compared to the 1960 solution for an accurate and sensitive measure of the nature, direction, extent and distribution of developmental changes in the city. Socio-economic and demographic gaps (expanding and contracting) between various subsections of the city could be accurately appraised and problem areas in the city could be immediately identified. The gradual amelioration of some problems and the emergence of new ones could be identified and pin-pointed within the urban complex. Although the method depends upon the ecological correlation, and therefore must be used with care in drawing conclusions about change and causality, with due caution this analysis could be the single best diagnostic to aid in designing development plans for the city and its residents.

Second, the 1976 factorial solution could be utilized to guide planning the spatial distribution of social and economic services within the city by identifying, unequivocally, the location of special target groups for which these programs are designed. In my original introduction to the Cairo Fact Book I discussed how planners could use the data to define spatial-specific requirements for schools, health services, training programs, housing, utilities, jobs and industries, transportation, etc.. This information would be even more valuable today than it was then, and the method of factorial ecology yields results which are even more parsimonious and therefore more easily applied for this purpose.

The third use for this secondary analysis of shiakha data on Cairo from the 1976 census would be to serve as a sampling frame for the panel recurring-

interviewing survey suggested above. Area sampling could be employed to develop a stratified sample, using the factorial scores on separate factors as the basic means for stratifying the universe. While this is a complicated matter, it should be pointed out that at least one study already conducted at the Social Research Centre¹³ has employed an approximation of this method, although the lack of a current factorial ecology of the city prevented fine and reliable application. One should also point out that the sampling frame available through the factorial ecology would also be available to other researchers looking for research sites in the city in which certain characteristic populations are found.

There are many other projects that could be undertaken employing secondary analysis of census data. One of the studies of highest priority would attempt to trace the relationship between education (and other measures of social development) and occupational integration into the economy, for males and females and for participants in the labor force at various age-cohort levels. It is always assumed that education and development are tightly associated, and that education is the best means toward manpower development. I think this must be investigated in urban Egypt, since the "status attainment" model on which it is based has largely been tested in western societies with no "overpopulation problem," with an expanding hierarchy of skilled and professional positions, and without a "brain drain" or the selective out-migration of the better skilled and educated. Egypt may be subsidizing other economies by educating workers whose skills benefit external employers.

IN SITU EXPERIMENTS:

These are really too numerous to identify and should not be prespecified, since many natural experiments present themselves serendipitously and there

¹²See Abu-Lughod, "The Factorial Ecology of Cairo, Egypt," Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1966: "A Critical Test for the Theory of Social Area Analysis," in American Sociological Review, Spring 1969, pp. 100-119; and Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious (Princeton: 1971), final section.

¹³The study of Cairo widows conducted under the direction of Nawal Messiri Nadim, in conjunction with Helena Lopata.

must be an ongoing capability and funds to take advantage of them as they occur. However, I would call attention to two. First, within Cairo there are central areas of deteriorated housing, overcrowding and poverty in which employment is nevertheless possible, albeit in economic activities that economists demean by classifying as "marginal" or in the tertiary or informal sector. There are other areas, often on the periphery, far from employment sites and transportation, where the population may have roughly the same socio-economic characteristics and yet be plagued by un- and under-employment. A comparative study of labor force participation, of the specific jobs people are doing within the neighborhood, might reveal overlooked opportunities for introducing new kinds of jobs in the peripheral zones. I am thinking here of a detailed study in Al-Sharabiyah/Bab al-Shariyah exploring the incredible amount of informal economic activity that goes on in crafting small items, in repairing machines, by recycling discarded wooden, metal and glass items. Because these activities are hidden from view and because economists tend to dismiss them out of hand as unproductive, very little attention has been paid to their contribution both to the economy (by recycling materials which otherwise would have merely been discarded) and to the livelihoods and employment of the populations engaged in them. If comparable skills can be found in peripheral areas that lack any economic base, experimental projects might be introduced to areas of high unemployment.

A second form of experiment in situ is presented by the example of squatters, who seem to be able to construct and improve their housing, and center slum residents who seldom make such efforts. Under what conditions would it be possible to introduce self-help housing activities in older areas? What kinds of policies (equity, pay, rental security, might be introduced to induce residents in older areas to add their labor to improve their housing? What are the major reasons for their not making such efforts now? What types of assistance would be needed - in the form of technical assistance, materials, legal changes, etc. - to harness this potential? By a careful comparison between two populations it might be possible to tease out the motivational and situational factors that could make a difference in the success of such a program, factors which could not be identified through a mere questionnaire.

RESEARCH IN ACTION:

Again, there are too many possibilities in this area, but I can suggest a few -- some of which may already be taking place, if on an inadequately financed or too small a scale, others of which might be untried and therefore require prior technical research before introduced on even a pilot scale. Encouragement of crafts and the training of craftsmen must be done as research-in-action. There is no substitute. What existing crafts in Egypt could become the nucleus for productive employment? For which crafts would there be sufficient demand to justify expenditures in training, the creation of workshops, the development of marketing systems, etc? I think these decisions cannot be made a priori but must be made by trial and error, gradual expansion, and the almost fortuitous combination of researchers and master craftsmen who are willing to try. For each five experiments perhaps only one or two will have any pay-off, but it is difficult to determine in advance which two these will be. While the research in action might appear risky, it could have enormous benefits to the labor employed, to the national economy, and to the cultural heritage. The Tunisian experiments with craft revival and distribution through government outlets might be examined.

A second possible research-in-action might tackle agriculture in the city. It has always struck me as strange that although about a third of Cairo's population was born in rural areas, only five percent of the city's population makes its living in agriculture. Agricultural skills are therefore totally lost to production and development -- even though unemployment among rural migrants is high and women migrants with much experience in farming and small animal raising can no longer contribute to the family living in the city as they had in the countryside. An area of top priority for development planning would be to investigate ways to permit urban families to supplement wage labor with farming and animal raising, either for personal consumption or exchange. The second thing that has always struck me about Egyptian housing is that all roofs are flat and the sun available on the roofs is greater than on the ground level which, in any case, is usually covered by buildings. I am neither an architect-engineer nor an agronomist and therefore cannot judge the technical feasibility of roof gardens all over Cairo, but at least experiments should be undertaken to explore this possibility. Two problems are likely to prove difficult, but

we cannot find solutions to these problems unless we begin to experiment. The need for water to be raised to roof level, the possible taxing of Cairo's water supply by such increased demand, and the structural support that might have to be added to keep roofs and entire buildings from collapsing under soil and water conditions would all have to be given careful attention. Minimizing soil and water loss, possibly through plastic greenhouse covers to recycle moisture and to prevent wind-driven erosion, should be explored.

A final area for high priority research lies in transportation in the city. There is too little capacity and it is at too few levels of "development," Cairo's transportation system concentrates on buses or taxis and private cars. Intermediary lower-level technology is missing. Contrast any Arab city with cities of India or other parts of Asia, with their rich array of "people movers" ranging from pedicab to three-wheel scooters to scooter-motor driven minibuses. Each of these intermediary forms of transportation is available at a different low cost, and their unfixed routes make for highly efficient and flexible form of door-to-door service. They also use considerably less energy. I would like to see research-in-action to explore how these other transportation technologies might be introduced into the city to alleviate the shortage and congestion that now threatens to bring Cairo's transit to a halt. Other non-technological solutions that might be studied experimentally are such institutional arrangements as staggered work hours, flexi-time, etc.

B. SYSTEMS OF CITIES IN EGYPT

Monitoring

Data from the 1976 census can reveal much about the changes in Egypt's "system of cities" between 1960 and the census date. To what extent has the Helwan to Alexandria axis absorbed a disproportionate share of urban areas by size, by economic base, by distance from major transit lines (highway, railways), by general regional location, etc.? Are the socio-economic characteristics of populations in fast growing towns significantly different from those in slower growing cities? What are the rates in public and private investment in the different cities of Egypt and how do these relate to urban growth rate? Are faster growing cities those which have received branch universities or new

factories? In short, it is necessary to understand what factors explain differential growth rates for Egyptian cities. Census monitoring data must be collated with national investment, infrastructure change, economic base data, etc., if we are to understand what forces underlie healthy growth for middle-sized (non-primate) cities. In this analysis it would be especially important to OMIT the cities along the Suez Canal, since their development (devolution and recovery) must be attributed to external forces rather than forces intrinsic to Egypt's economic development. However, the impact of the destruction and abandonment of these cities during the 1973-and-beyond period must be studied in the remaining cities of the country, and the effects of their recent recovery on other towns must be evaluated.

The new towns and settlements that have been added, either to the periphery of existing cities or in areas intended to serve as more or less self-contained satellites, must also be studied in relation to the entire urban system. Is the investment in these new towns a real addition to the system, or are these towns subsidized competitors to already existing middle sized towns whose present economic health has been injured by their relative neglect from the public sector?

SECONDARY ANALYSIS

It is difficult to distinguish between monitoring and secondary analysis in this section. Some of the research topics suggested above may involve simple processing of census data and their compilation with other government-collected economic statistics; others may involve a complicated secondary analysis of these data in order to build up a model of how changes in one part of the urban system are affecting other parts.

A second priority for secondary analysis would be to examine the extent to which towns and their growth are linked to agricultural developments in their hinterlands. This is clearly a secondary analysis, involving the ability to measure the degree to which the local urban facilities and economic base (including occupational structure) are either linked to or disengaged from the rural populations who live in the surrounding region.

The study of internal migration offers a third research project of high priority. Cross-tabulations exist between place of birth and place of residence. I do not know in what detail these cross-tabulations will be released by the government. At the minimum, the cross-tabulation has been available at the provincial/governorate level; hopefully, in the 1976 census more detailed break-downs will be available. Trends in the redistribution of Egyptian population can be obtained at the provincial level covering the past generation. These need to be analyzed. In addition, more detailed studies could be made if data were available.

IN SITU COMPARISONS

Underlying the current move to decentralize governmental powers in Egypt is the policy assumption that healthier and more balanced growth can be maximized through greater regional autonomy in planning and execution. There is great urgency in setting up a few crucial before-after studies of selected provinces to evaluate the implementation of this decentralization and to trace the areas in which effective results are facilitated or hindered. As a background, prior attempts at grass-roots government should be examined and a project formulated that will be able to measure outcomes of the new changes as well as to diagnose, on an ongoing basis, the "bugs in the system" that will require adjustment and corrections.

One of the earliest attempts to decentralize facilities, even prior to recent government reforms, can be found in the setting up of branches of universities in a number of secondary cities in Egypt. Paired comparisons between cities benefiting from the location of university branches and other comparable towns that have not received such attention might allow researchers to determine the extent to which university branches strengthen secondary cities -- both in terms of population retention and in terms of "quality of life" measures. Undoubtedly there are other governmental policies, applied differentially, that might lend themselves to similar analysis.

In situ comparisons are also afforded by the various new town and new quarter projects which have been put into place in the last decade. Some of these have been more successful than others. Investigation of the factors which have

led to successful development in certain cases and lesser achievement in others is absolutely essential to guide future policy. In the Canal Zone a series of "residential projects" were constructed and have been in existence long enough for us to begin evaluating their livability, their community facilities, and the ways in which the projects contribute to development or constitute a drain on developmental resources. While lesser progress has been made on the elaborate and ambitious scheme to ring Cairo with satellite towns, this also offers at least a tentative set of cases for comparative analysis.

RESEARCH IN ACTION:

It is hard to anticipate the kinds of research-in-action that would be relevant to urban systems, rather than specific urban locations. The choice of such projects is contingent upon the introduction of truly innovative projects by the government in the form of new towns, new industrial or agricultural/industrial complexes and the like, and the availability of qualified personnel from the social sciences who might be assigned on a long-term basis to assist in the settlement and to evaluate needs and the facilities introduced to meet such needs.

C. IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UPON URBAN PROBLEMS:

Monitoring:

International events have impacted on Egypt recently in both monetary and demographic ways. It is essential that these be studied not only in terms of their implications for urbanization but for social development in general. Infusions of funds from governmental and private sources have recently enhanced Egypt's capacity to deal with her problems, but we do not know whether the funds are being channeled into the most efficient types of development or are actually being used in such a way as to hinder development. The exodus of Egyptian population subgroups in the form of labor emigrations also carries the potential for development by presumably relieving the overpopulation problem, but again we are uncertain whether this potential, in the ways that it is manifesting itself, is enhancing fully the opportunities for development or is actually counterproductive. Both issues strike me as being of highest significance, requiring research of great priority.

Some of the needed studies involve simple monitoring. In the area of finance we need to monitor the rate, amount, and allocation of external assistance -- World Bank, USAID, Arab Development Fund, and assistance from other governments -- to determine how much of that aid remains within Egypt and is available for development and how much is recycled or repatriated to the lending agencies in the form of debt service, employment of foreign experts, purchase of capital and consumer goods, etc. I am assuming that the more of these funds that remain in Egypt, the more productive the assistance, but research is needed on this point as well. Internally we need to monitor the distribution of these externally-generated funds both regionally, in terms of urban/rural and in terms of Upper and Lower Egypt, and economically, in terms of relative assistance to various classes of beneficiaries. Is the aid serving to magnify inequity in the system or is it serving to reduce gaps between the richest and poorest segments of the population?

In the area of external migration for employment we need to keep careful track of the rate and scale of emigration and of the differential or selective process whereby migrants are recruited. Special attention must be paid to the (a) origin of migrants; (b) age of migrants; (c) gender of migrants; (d) family status of migrants; (e) individual or group movement; (f) occupational and skill levels of migrants; (g) educational preparation and other social characteristics of migrants; (h) class level (income prior to emigration); and the like, so that shifts in these characteristics can be identified over time. Similar information is needed concerning the destinations of migration for migrants of various characteristics. We must learn more about the actual experience of such emigration: how long migrants remain abroad, under what conditions they are recruited (individually, through Egyptian labor bosses, through government secondment and the like), how much and to whom. Government monitoring of these data is essential if the needed secondary analyses are to be conducted by researchers.

A final area which demands study concerns private foreign investment and its effect on urbanization and development. This investment has taken two main objects: real property, particularly urban land and buildings, and units of production related to multinational corporations. At this point we do not have data on the flow of foreign capital into the real estate market of (chiefly)

Cairo, although unscientific speculation suggests that it has been substantial since the 1970s - particularly as an outlet for surplus capital from the Gulf and that such investment has resulted in higher prices for land and buildings in the capital. In order to evaluate whether this trend is having positive effects upon Egyptian development or is, in fact, making it more costly and difficult to develop the city is a research question of extremely high priority. Evaluation studies cannot be made, however, in the absence of the basic monitoring data. Also needed is information on the flow of private international capital into factories, farms, commerce and banking in Egypt. Before the impact of such investments can be studied, we must learn the basic economic facts: the specific enterprises so funded, their locations, the levels of investment, the profits and the rates at which such profits are being repatriated. Net incomes to the government from taxes and other fees and net job creation and wage totals for Egyptian personnel must also be learned.

SECONDARY ANALYSIS:

If the data derived from monitoring, as specified above, could be made available, important secondary studies could be made to evaluate the impact of such impingements of the "international system" on Egyptian development and to determine which, if any, are having net positive effects. What I am suggesting, indeed, is a careful costs-benefit analysis of the various strategies that Egypt is currently using to mobilize international resources for her own development, on the assumption that not all such strategies are equally productive and that some may actually be having unintended negative effects.

IN SITU COMPARISONS:

It may be extremely difficult, through macroeconomic data, to answer the questions being posed -- either because macro data may not be fully available or because too many variables may have to be disengaged in any one analysis. The strategy of studying a few matched samples in which the variables in question can be controlled must therefore also be pursued at the same time. While specification of the most useful comparative studies awaits more careful preliminary analysis of the monitoring and secondary analyses, one can suggest a few which will undoubtedly be justified.

The impact of foreign emigration for employment on rural areas could be studied by comparisons between villages that have had a large out-migration and those where outmigration has been minimal. In the urban arena, one could study (controlling for income and skill level) subquarters of cities from which emigrants have been heavily selected and others where few residents have emigrated for employment. What are the effects of such emigration on the family structures of those remaining behind? What are the effects on vital rates (marriages, divorces, births and deaths)? What are the effects on the standard of living of remittance recipients and how do spending patterns alter? To what uses are the marginal funds put? What effect is the differential emigration having on the internal class structure of the villages and quarters which are most affected by emigration? In order to control for the simultaneous operation of other systemic conditions (such as inflation, unemployment, etc.), control villages and quarters must also be investigated.

Impact studies of specific changes being introduced through external investment, either government aid or private multinational, would also benefit from in situ controlled comparisons. Once an inventory of the major projects has been compiled, it should be possible to design research studies to examine the major types and to select the control cases that would be relevant. Projects which create new urban centers or which impact most heavily on urban areas of particular types should be studied most carefully for the guidance of future policy decisions to encourage some types of developments and abandon less productive ones.

RESEARCH-IN-ACTION:

If the situation in Egypt with respect to emigration for employment has anything in common with other countries in the Third World which have had longer experience in providing "guest workers," then a key problem will be to devise ways to mobilize the remittance funds so that they can be used to further internal development, rather than be squandered on imported consumer goods. This use of the foreign exchange gained through individual emigration for publicly-advantageous investments, rather than for short-term consumption, may be the most important pay-off of Egypt's new involvement in the international system. How it can be done, however, poses a major challenge to policy makers.

There are only two ways to mobilize this potential new capital for development. One is to tax it away and invest it governmentally. Egypt has not chosen this path. The other is to create incentives and outlets for investment which emigrants will be motivated to favor over short-term consumption. It is in this second approach that research-in-action is most needed. I have in mind several experimental projects which obviously cannot be spelled out in any detail in this short paper. First, emigrants linked to a single community of origin often reinvest in their communities, if outlets can be found. Frequently, they invest in status-carrying objects such as improved housing or (if rural) purchase of land and livestock. This, however, has tended to benefit rural communities more than urban areas, since urbanites are presumed to be less involved in their neighborhoods. I am not at all certain whether this assumption is accurate for Egypt. At least, it would be interesting to try to mobilize urban emigrant profits in specific improvement projects for those urban neighborhoods. If high rates of return and visible displays of the fruits of labor emigration could be assured, one might be able to "capture" for development purposes some of the funds that otherwise might have been frittered away.

This, of course, presumes that some surplus is available for investment. But on the basis of the earlier-suggested monitoring, secondary, and in situ comparison studies it should be possible to identify some key cases where surplus is available but in need of a focus, an outlet. What types of outlets would be most attractive and contributory to national development also remain to be explored.

III

In this brief paper it has not been possible to discuss the topic assigned in the detailed and sophisticated manner really required for so important a set of concerns. I hope, however, that I have been able to trigger the imagination of the fine Egyptian researchers who will, in the last analysis, be better able to design the detailed studies needed and who will have the challenging task of actually carrying out such studies. The exercise has been an exiting one, for seldom do researchers have a chance to stand above their areas and relate their scientific interests directly to the needs of a country and the types of poli-

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cies that should be pursued to contribute to the overall growth of the society and a fairer distribution of the society's returns from development. I therefore appreciate the opportunity to address you here and to engage with you in this exciting task of determining research priorities for the contribution of social research to development.

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