

# Spatial Transformation of Cairo Viewed from Urban-rural Migration

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## Local Network in Egypt Viewed from Urban-rural Migration

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- Bibliography
  - H. Kato, E. Iwasaki, and Ali Elshazly, "Internal Migration Patterns to Greater Cairo-Linking Three Kinds of Data: Census, Household Survey, and GIS," *Mediterranean World XVII*, Mediterranean Studies Group, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, 2004
  - H. Kato, E. Iwasaki, Ali Elshazly, and Y. Goto, "Migration, Regional Diversity, and Residential Development on the Edge of Greater Cairo- Linking Three Kinds of Data—Census, Household-Survey and Geographical Data—with GIS", Atsuyuki Okabe(ed.), *GIS—Based Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Taylor & Francis, Oxford, 2005
  - H. Kato, E. Iwasaki and N. Yabe, "Residential Patterns of Rural Migrants in Greater Cairo Suburban Areas", *AJAMES (Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies)*, no. 22-2, 2006
  - H. Kato and E. Iwasaki, "Village Association in Cairo: A Study on Urban-Rural Relationship in Egypt", *AJAMES*, no. 26-1, 2010

## 1. Data and Issue

- The rural migration to Greater Cairo is a phenomenon that indicates the dynamics of rural-urban linkage. It is reflected in the residential patterns of migrants from rural areas and the expansion of residential areas of Cairo.
- This presentation deals with the relationship between the urban-rural migration and the spatial transformation of Cairo, focusing on *gamaiya* (village association), its location and functions, in Cairo, and by using GIS.
- *Gamaiya* refers to an association organized by the residents in Cairo coming from same village. In Arabic, it is called "charity association of village X" (*al-Jam'īya al-khayrīya li-balda X*). It is not an association limited only to the migrants born in village. It has members born in Cairo, and members maybe residing not necessarily in Cairo.

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## Data and Information

### Main Data and Information

- 1. List of *gamaiya* in Cairo governorate (Ministry of Social Affairs), 2004. In it, the following information is available: Name of *gamaiya*, location of the office in Cairo, number of members and beneficiaries, type of activities, year of the establishment (registration). The total number of *gamaiya* in Cairo is 586. The number of towns and villages in Egypt is now more than 4 thousands.
- 2. List of *Gamaiya* Abu Senita members
- 3. Geographical information, especially GIS maps, which indicate the social and economic transformation of Egypt and Cairo.

### Additional Data

- Household surveys executed in three low income areas of Greater Cairo: Bigam, Zinin and Menshiya Nasr.

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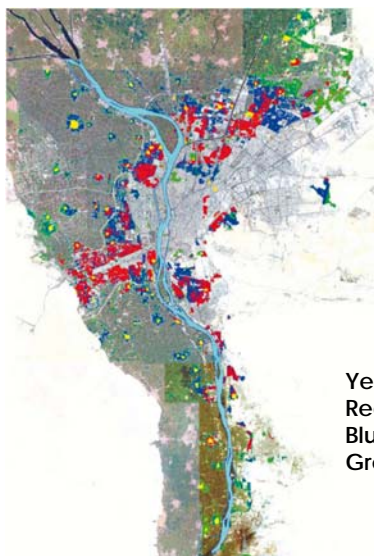
## Issue to be discussed

- The changes in economic direction since the beginning of the Open-door policy in 1974, and especially the structural economic reform in 1990s, which led Egypt to “25 January Revolution” in 2011, obliged Egyptian people less dependent on the government.
- This situation rises the question of how Egyptian people defend everyday life in crucial times such as the social and economic un-stability under the age of globalization since 1990s.

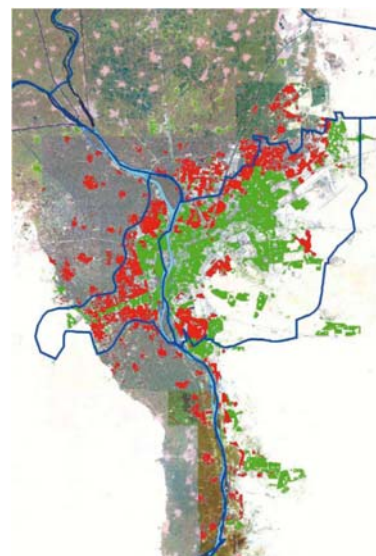
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## 2. Rural migration to Greater Cairo Based on Survey areas in greater Cairo

Historical development of informal areas in Greater Cairo since 1950    Governorates of Greater Cairo including formal and informal settlements



Yellow Core Villages 1950  
Red Situation 1977  
Blue Situation 1991  
Green Situation 2000



### 3. Gamaiya in Cairo Number by governorate

	Number of associations				Number of villages	% of villages with association
	Shiyakha (urban)	Qarya (rural)	Unclassified	Total		
Cairo	14		2	16	0	
Alexandria	0		0	0	9	0.0
Port Saïd	1		0	1	0	
Suez	0		1	1	0	
Damietta	1	0	0	1	85	0.0
Daqhaliya	7	27	4	38	485	5.6
Sharqiya	4	30	3	37	497	6.0
Qalyubiya	1	20	1	22	198	10.1
Kafir Sheikh	3	5	0	8	206	2.4
Gharbiya	1	17	2	20	318	5.3
Menufiya	9	128	5	142	315	40.6
Beheira	2	7	2	11	497	1.4
Ismailiya	0	0	0	0	31	0.0
Giza	2	8	2	12	170	4.7
Beni Suef	7	6	5	18	222	2.7
Fayum	1	4	2	7	162	2.5
Minya	4	10	2	16	359	2.8
Asyut	5	26	5	36	236	11.0
Sohag	9	41	7	57	270	15.2
Qena	6	30	10	46	187	16.0
Aswan	6	42	17	65	106	39.6
Luxor	3	2	2	7	15	13.3
Bahar Lahmar	1	0	1	2	13	0.0
Wadi Gedid	2	7	1	10	71	9.9
Marsa Matruh	2	0	0	2	98	0.0
North Sinai	0	0	0	0	82	0.0
South Sinai	0	0	1	1	9	0.0
Total	91	410	75	576	4641	8.8

It is careful to that the information available in the list is supposed on that at the year of registration.

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### Gamaiya (number by registration year)

	Urban Governorates	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt	Frontier Governorates	Total
1939 - 64	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.7
1965 - 69	50.0	56.7	48.1	20.0	51.6
1970 - 74	11.1	24.2	21.0	60.0	23.3
1975 - 79	27.8	13.7	17.9	6.7	15.9
1980 - 85	0.0	2.5	4.6	0.0	3.3
1985 -89					
1990-2004	11.1	2.9	6.9	13.3	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number)	18	277	262	15	572

More than half gamaiya were registrated in 1966 and 1966.  
Almost of them are supposed to be established in 1940s.

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## Members and beneficiaries (number by registration year)

		Lower Egypt			Upper Egypt		
		Before 1969	After 1970	Total	Before 1969	After 1970	Total
Members	Less than 50	7.9	12.8	10.0	5.6	11.8	8.6
	50-99	11.8	34.0	21.3	20.4	23.5	21.9
	100-199	26.0	28.7	27.2	30.6	37.3	33.8
	200-399	31.5	17.0	25.3	30.6	21.6	26.2
	400 or above	22.8	7.5	16.3	13.0	5.9	9.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	127	94	221	108	102	210
	Average number	284	146	225	228	195	215
Beneficiaries	Less than 50	39.4	51.2	44.0	20.5	40.3	29.7
	50-99	22.1	8.5	16.8	18.1	20.8	19.4
	100-199	25.2	14.6	21.1	26.5	22.2	24.5
	200-399	6.3	22.0	12.4	16.9	8.3	12.9
	400 or above	7.1	3.7	5.7	18.1	8.3	13.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Number)	127	82	209	83	72	155
	Average number	112	119	116	276	194	236

Older gamaiya has more members.

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Activities of *gamaiya*

Percentage of the *gamaiya* having the following activities (%)

	Lower South	Lower North	Upper South	Upper North	Other	Total
Cemetery related activities	60.3	59.7	44.2	45.1	57.6	52.9
Hajj	55.7	61.1	63.2	51.2	51.5	57.7
Elderly/Orphant Home	3.1	1.4	3.1	2.4	3.0	2.8
Dar munasabat	7.7	4.2	20.9	9.8	30.3	12.9
Assistance to the needy	48.5	33.3	76.1	63.4	45.5	56.8
Medical service	20.1	23.6	26.4	22.0	36.4	23.7
Haddana	11.9	11.1	13.5	14.6	27.3	13.6
Educational activities	20.6	16.7	27.6	26.8	21.2	23.2
Vocational activities	4.6	1.4	6.1	6.1	12.1	5.3
Religious activities	14.4	8.3	4.9	6.1	15.2	9.6
Cultural activities	3.6	4.2	8.6	4.9	6.1	5.5
Club	1.0	0.0	1.8	1.2	12.1	1.8
Administrative activities	11.9	16.7	22.1	19.5	15.2	16.9
Other	0.5	1.4	4.9	4.9	3.0	2.8
(Number)	(194)	(72)	(163)	(82)	(33)	(544)

The most important activities of the *gamaiya* are cemetery related activities (burial, funeral, cemetery), organization of hajj, assistance to the needy.

The activities differ by the region of origin of migrants: the *gamaiya* of migrants from Lower Egypt (South) do more activities related to the cemetery and funeral, where as those from Upper Egypt do activities more on the assistance to the needy.

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## Activities of *gamaiya* by registration year

	Lower Egypt			Upper Egypt		
	Before 1969	After 1970	Total	Before 1969	After 1970	Total
Cemetery related activities	60.3	59.7	60.0	38.7	49.2	44.0
Hajj	60.3	53.5	57.4	63.9	54.0	58.9
Elderly/Orphant Home	3.3	1.8	2.6	3.4	2.4	2.9
Meeting room (dar munasabat)	6.0	7.9	6.8	19.3	15.3	17.3
Assistance to the needy	45.7	43.0	44.5	72.3	71.8	72.0
Medical service	23.2	18.4	21.1	23.5	26.6	25.1
Kindergarten (haddana)	13.9	8.8	11.7	10.9	16.9	14.0
Educational activities	22.5	15.8	19.6	28.6	26.6	27.6
Vocational activities	4.6	2.6	3.8	6.7	5.7	6.2
Religious activities	15.2	9.7	12.8	6.7	4.0	5.4
Cultural activities	4.0	3.5	3.8	10.1	4.8	7.4
Club	1.3	0.0	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.7
Administrative activities	11.9	14.9	13.2	21.9	21.0	21.4
Other	0.7	0.9	0.8	5.0	4.8	4.9
(Number)	(194)	(72)	(163)	(82)	(33)	(544)

The old *gamaiya* registered before 1970 appear to be diversified and intensified in their activities .

Comparing with 1968, Cemetery related activities tends to decrease and religious and cultural activities such as hajj to increase.

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### Regions of origin of *gamaiya*

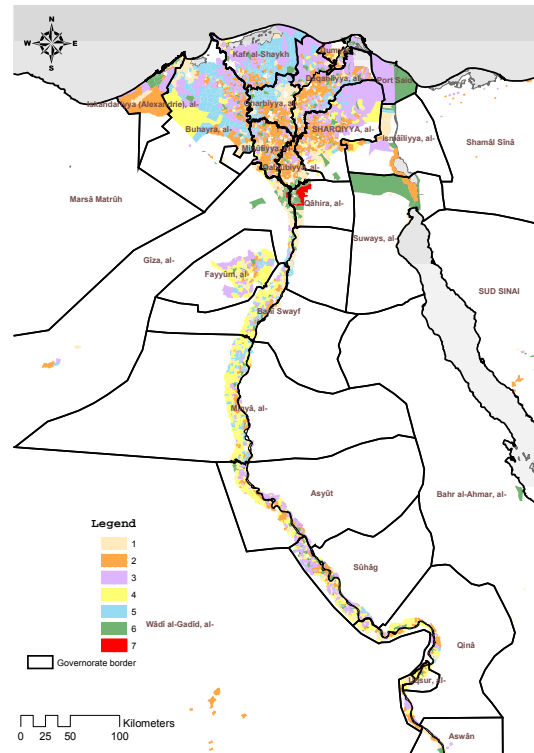
- *Gamaiya* are established by the migrants coming from the two following regions:
- (1) Lower Egypt: South, notably Menufiya
- (2) Upper Egypt: South, notably Aswan, Suhag and Qena

		Number	%
<b>Urban</b>	<b>Cairo</b>	16	2.8
	<b>Alexandria</b>		
	<b>Port Said</b>	1	0.2
	<b>Suez</b>	1	0.2
<b>Lower Egypt</b>	<b>Damietta</b>	1	0.2
	<b>Dakahlia</b>	38	6.6
	<b>Sharqia</b>	37	6.4
	<b>Kalyoubia</b>	22	3.8
	<b>Kafr El-Sheikh</b>	8	1.4
	<b>Gharbia</b>	20	3.5
	<b>Menoufia</b>	142	24.7
	<b>Behera</b>	11	1.9
<b>Upper Egypt</b>	<b>Ismailia</b>		
	<b>Giza</b>	12	2.1
	<b>Beni Suef</b>	18	3.1
	<b>Fayoum</b>	7	1.2
	<b>Menia</b>	16	2.8
	<b>Asyout</b>	36	6.3
	<b>Suhag</b>	57	9.9
	<b>Quena</b>	46	8.0
<b>Aswan</b>	65	11.3	
<b>Luxur</b>	7	1.2	
<b>Frontier</b>	<b>Red Sea</b>	2	0.4
	<b>Wadi Gidid</b>	10	1.7
	<b>Matruh</b>	2	0.4
	<b>North Sinai</b>		
	<b>South Sinai</b>	1	0.2
	<b>Total</b>	576	100.0

### Regional differences in income, employment and educational level

Map Result of cluster analysis (unit:shiyakh/qarya) (1996, 1999/2000)

- Cluster 1: "Industrial workers"
- Cluster 2: "Low status government workers"
- Cluster 3: "Agricultural self-employed"
- Cluster 4: "Agricultural waged workers with low income"
- Cluster 5: "Large agricultural farms"
- Cluster 6: "Mixture of industrial and commercial, and government workers"
- Cluster 7: "Service workers with high income"



### Location of Gamaiya office (number by qism)

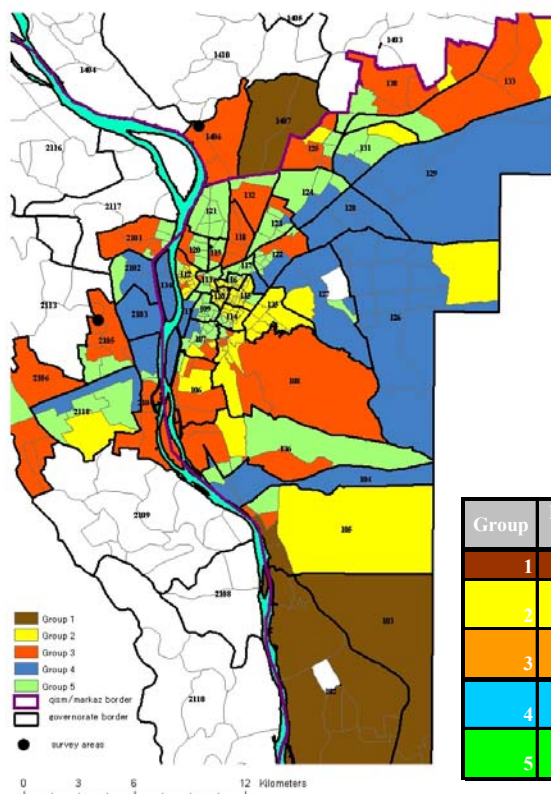
- Gamaiya are concentrated in certain qisms.
- Gamaiya of migrants from Lower Egypt (south) are located mainly in the northern areas.
- Those of migrants from Upper Egypt (south) are rather concentrated in the southern areas.

	Lower Egypt		Upper Egypt		Other	Total
	South	North	South	North		
Tebbin	1	0	0	0	0	1
Helwan	2	7	9	11	0	29
15-May	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tula	0	0	0	1	0	1
Masr Qadima	2	0	0	3	0	5
Sayyda Zainab	9	2	2	1	2	16
Khalifa	6	2	4	2	4	18
Abdin	7	14	23	8	4	56
Muski	0	2	3	1	2	8
Qasr Nil	1	0	0	1	0	2
Bulaq	4	2	11	1	2	20
Azbakiya	3	0	6	0	0	9
Darb Ahmar	2	1	0	0	1	4
Gamaliya	2	0	2	4	2	10
Bab Shaariya	1	0	0	0	0	1
Zaher	1	0	1	0	0	2
Sharabiya	21	8	7	6	1	43
Shubra	16	2	5	4	0	27
Rod Farag	2	1	1	3	0	7
Sahel	30	6	4	5	2	47
Wayli	10	4	7	1	0	22
Hadaiq Qubba	19	5	10	2	0	36
Zaitun	14	2	5	1	1	23
Matariya	17	6	7	8	0	38
Madina Nasr	2	0	0	1	0	3
Madina Nasr II	0	0	0	0	0	0
Masr Gidida	0	0	6	0	2	8
Nozha	0	0	0	2	0	2
Badr	3	2	10	4	0	19
Ain Shams	12	5	4	3	2	26
Zaqwiya Hamra	0	0	1	0	0	1
Salam	0	0	5	0	1	6
Zamalek	0	0	3	1	3	13
Menshiya Nasr	0	0	3	0	1	4
Basatin	0	0	3	0	1	4
Marg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	11	4	36	15	3	69
<b>Total</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>576</b>

### Gamaiya (number by qism and registration year)

	Lower Egypt					Upper Egypt				
	Before 1969	1970-1979	After 1980	Total	%	Before 1969	1970-1979	After 1980	Total	%
Tebbin	0	1	0	1	0.4					
Helwan	2	4	3	9	3.3	8	9	3	20	7.6
15-May										
Maadi						0	1	0	1	0.4
Tula										
Masr Qadima	2	0	0	2	0.7	1	1	1	3	1.2
Sayda Zainab	6	5	0	11	4.0	1	1	1	3	1.2
Khalifa	5	3	0	8	2.9	3	2	1	6	2.3
Abdin	12	7	2	21	7.6	16	12	3	31	11.8
Muski	2	0	0	2	0.7	2	2	0	4	1.5
Qasr Nil	0	1	0	1	0.4	1	0	0	1	0.4
Bulaq	2	3	1	6	2.2	7	3	2	12	4.6
Azbakiya	1	2	0	3	1.1	2	4	0	6	2.3
Darb Ahmar	2	1	0	3	1.1					
Gamaiya	2	0	0	2	0.7	2	4	0	6	2.3
Bab Shaariya	0	1	0	1	0.4					
Zaher	1	0	0	1	0.4	1	0	0	1	0.4
Sharabiya	18	11	0	29	10.5	6	5	2	13	5.0
Shubra	14	3	1	18	6.5	4	3	2	9	3.4
Rod Farag	3	0	0	3	1.1	1	3	0	4	1.5
Sahel	26	9	0	35	12.6	3	6	0	9	3.4
Wayii	8	6	0	14	5.1	4	4	0	8	3.1
Hadaiq Qubba	10	12	2	24	8.7	4	5	2	11	4.2
Zaitun	6	7	3	16	5.8	4	1	1	6	2.3
Matariya	12	10	1	23	8.3	5	9	1	15	5.7
Madina Nasr	1	1	0	2	0.7	1	0	0	1	0.4
Madina Nasr II										
Masr Gidida						4	2	0	6	2.3
Nozha						1	1	0	2	0.8
Badr	1	4	0	5	1.8	9	4	1	14	5.3
Ain Shams	9	8	0	17	6.1	2	3	2	7	2.7
Zaqwiya Hamra										
Salam						1	0	0	1	0.4
Zamalek						2	2	1	5	1.9
Menshiya Nasr	3	3	0	6	2.2	1	0	3	4	1.5
Basatin						1	0	2	3	1.2
Marg										
Unknown	9	3	2	14	5.1	33	15	2	50	19.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gamaiya established after 1970 tends to have its office outside the central parts of Cairo.



Location of the survey areas in the map and the results of the cluster analysis of income & employment in Greater Cairo

Data sources: Population census 1996, Income & expenditure household survey 1999/2000, CAPMAS

Note: Variables used in the analysis: Household income (LE/year), Employment (sector, economic activity, employment status), Educational level

Group	Number of shiyakha	Characteristics
1	22	Low income, public sector workers
2	89	Low income & educational level, private sector, commercial workers
3	73	Low income & educational level, but various occupations
4	62	High income & educational level, government sector, white collar workers
5	98	Middle level income & education, government sector, white collar workers



## Gamaiya (number by qism and registration year)

	Lower Egypt					Upper Egypt				
	Before 1969	1970-1979	After 1980	Total	%	Before 1969	1970-1979	After 1980	Total	%
Tebbin	0	1	0	1	0.4					
Helwan	2	4	3	9	3.3	8	9	3	20	7.6
15-May										
Maadi						0	1	0	1	0.4
Tula										
Masr Qadima	2	0	0	2	0.7	1	1	1	3	1.2
Sayda Zainab	6	5	0	11	4.0	1	1	1	3	1.2
Khalifa	5	3	0	8	2.9	3	2	1	6	2.3
Abdin	12	7	2	21	7.6	16	12	3	31	11.8
Muski	2	0	0	2	0.7	2	2	0	4	1.5
Qasr Nil	0	1	0	1	0.4	1	0	0	1	0.4
Bulaq	2	3	1	6	2.2	7	3	2	12	4.6
Azbakiya	1	2	0	3	1.1	2	4	0	6	2.3
Darb Ahmar	2	1	0	3	1.1					
Gamaiya	2	0	0	2	0.7	2	4	0	6	2.3
Bab Shaariya	0	1	0	1	0.4					
Zaher	1	0	0	1	0.4	1	0	0	1	0.4
Sharabiya	18	11	0	29	10.5	6	5	2	13	5.0
Shubra	14	3	1	18	6.5	4	3	2	9	3.4
Rod Farag	3	0	0	3	1.1	1	3	0	4	1.5
Sahel	26	9	0	35	12.6	3	6	0	9	3.4
Wayii	8	6	0	14	5.1	4	4	0	8	3.1
Hadaiq Qubba	10	12	2	24	8.7	4	5	2	11	4.2
Zaitun	6	7	3	16	5.8	4	1	1	6	2.3
Matariya	12	10	1	23	8.3	5	9	1	15	5.7
Madina Nasr	1	1	0	2	0.7	1	0	0	1	0.4
Madina Nasr II										
Masr Gidida						4	2	0	6	2.3
Nozha						1	1	0	2	0.8
Badr	1	4	0	5	1.8	9	4	1	14	5.3
Ain Shams	9	8	0	17	6.1	2	3	2	7	2.7
Zaqwiya Hamra										
Salam						1	0	0	1	0.4
Zamalek						2	2	1	5	1.9
Menshiya Nasr	3	3	0	6	2.2	1	0	3	4	1.5
Basatin						1	0	2	3	1.2
Marg										
Unknown	9	3	2	14	5.1	33	15	2	50	19.1
Total	148	102	13	263	100.0	97	87	28	212	100.0

*Gamaiya* established after 1970 tends to have its office outside the central parts of Cairo.

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- Interestingly, however, the backgrounds of *gamaiya* of migrants from Lower and Upper Egypt differ. The migrants regionally differ in that those from Lower Egypt tend to settle in the northern parts and those from Upper Egypt tend to settle in the southern parts of Greater Cairo.
- Based on their GDP data, Menufiya and Sohag, which are the most inclined to establish *gamaiya* in Cairo, are the poorest governorates in Lower and Upper Egypt respectively. This indicates a strong relationship between migration and poverty. On the other hand, no clear relationship between migration and poverty is not observed in case of Upper Egypt.
- Indeed, for Upper Egypt, there are no specific socioeconomic characteristics found in the results of the logit estimation on the characteristics of the villages with *gamaiya* in Cairo.

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- These findings lead us to suppose that the villages in Lower and Upper Egypt have different socioeconomic backgrounds for establishing *gamaiya* in Cairo. The essential factors influencing the foundation of *gamaiya* by the migrants from Lower Egypt appear to be physical distance, that is, the proximity to Greater Cairo, and the lack of job opportunity in the nonagricultural sector.
- For the villages in Upper Egypt, the migration to Cairo is essentially a socioeconomic phenomenon, but the establishment of *gamaiya* in Cairo appears rather to be a matter of social network or culture.

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- In conclusion, *gamaiya* came to play the role of as a mean of coping with the social and economic difficulties in the daily life. Much attention has been given to the religious organizations that emerged since 1980s as a provider of social supports to the citizens. However, the provision of social supports is not limited only to the religious organizations. The village-based organizations also play an important role. This finding means the necessity to study various networks or channels of charitable and social supports among Egyptian people in order to cope with the risks in their daily life.

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#### 4. Spatial development of Cairo Based on a case study of Gamaiya Abu Senita in Cairo

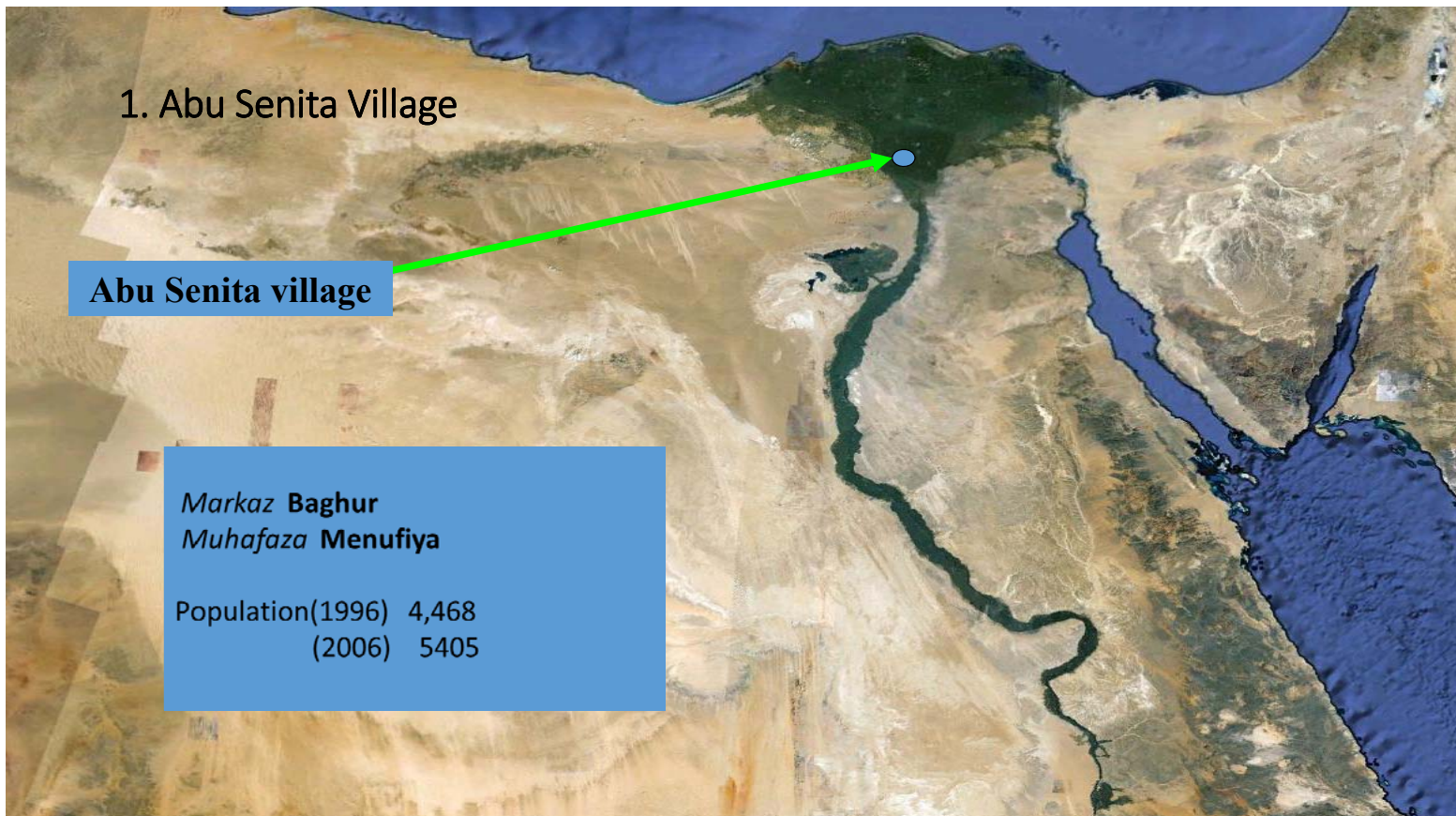
- As mentioned before, villages that have *gamaiya* in Cairo are concentrated in the two regions that have different socioeconomic structure: Lower Egypt (south) mainly Minufiya, and Upper Egypt (south).
- Regarding the location of *gamaiya* in Cairo, they are established in certain areas classified as urban lower and middle class areas, with regional difference: *gamaiya* of migrants from Lower Egypt (south) more in the northern areas of Cairo, and those from Upper Egypt (south) more in the southern areas of Cairo.
- Abu Senita is a typical village in Minufiya goverorate, Lower Egypt. It takes about one hour by car from Cairo.

##### 1. Abu Senita Village

Abu Senita village

Markaz Baghur  
Muhafaza Menufiya

Population(1996) 4,468  
(2006) 5405



## 2. Gamaiya Abu Senita in Cairo

Keys of tombs in the cemeteries owned by Gamaiya



Late Hag Abdudaim passed away on August 30<sup>th</sup> 2014



### Gamaiya Abu Senita

- **Historical background**
- **1943 Foundation of gamaiya (in Bulaq).** Starting the cemetery, financial assistance for funeral, aid for the needy members
- 1960's Helping to solve the conflicts between the members
- **1982 Transfer of office to Rud al-Farag**
- 1980's Collecting the zakat from the members, and distributing it to the needy members
- **1988 Transfer of office to Sahil**
- 1999 Charity activities including financial aid to the orphans of the members
- 2000? Organization of hajj and omra
- **Conditions of membership**
- Conditions of adherence 1) From the balad Abu Senita, 2) Payment of the membership fee
- **Membership fee**
- Membership fee (at the time of Adhesion): LE/per household, aged 12-25=15 LE, aged 25-30=25 LE, aged 30-35=35 LE, 35-40=50 LE, 40-50=100 LE, above aged 50=decided after investigation
- Membership fee (every year): 6 LE/year

## Activities of *Gamaiya Abu Senita* (2002)

	Amount (LE)	Number of beneficiaries
<b>Burial to the cemetery owned by <i>Gama`iya</i></b> (7 court yards in Faghir and Basatin)		
<b>Condolence payment</b>	13,000 LE/year (300 LE paid to the household, 150 LE in case of the decease of the wife)	About 70 cases (member, husband, wife, father, children)
<b>Aid to orphans of the members</b>	10 LE/month per child	68 orphans
<b>Helping the poor, e.g. widows from the same village</b>	Max. 50 LE/month	23 families (having less than 70LE/year)

Source: Interview conducted in March 2003.

*Gamaiya of Abu Senita* provides a social and charitable support between the members, and also to the villagers.

### 3. Spatial development of Cairo reflected in the location of residences of *Gamaiya Abu Senita* members

Location of the residences of the *Gam`iya Abu Senita* members by *qism* (2002, the end of 1970s, and 1966)

Governorate	<i>Qism</i>	2002		End of 1970s		1966	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Cairo	Sahil	527	23.9	521	41.9	264	35.5
	Shubra			128	10.3	19	2.6
	Rud al-Farag	292	13.2	226	18.2	193	26.0
	Bulaq	53	2.4	97	7.8	75	10.1
	Sharabiyya	193	8.7	11	0.9	35	4.7
	Zawiya al-Hamra	198	9.0	2	0.2	6	0.8
	Central Cairo *	19	0.9	22	1.8	16	2.2
	Other	123	5.5	20	1.7	16	2.2
Qalyubiya	Shubra al-Khayma I	163	7.4			11	1.5
	Other	10	0.5				
Menufiya	Bagur	129	5.8	17	1.4	3	0.4
Giza	Imbaba	338	15.3	189	15.2	85	11.4
	Warraq	134	6.1			11	1.5
	Other	28	1.2	10	0.8	9	1.2
Other		2	0.1				
<b>Total</b>		<b>2,209</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,243</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>743</b>	<b>100.0</b>

◆ In 1966 and 1970s, they were concentrated in some *qisms*, while in 2002, not only did the number of members rapidly increase, but their residences were also dispersed in scale and location.

◆ The increase in the number of members is mostly due to natality; there are now second and third generations of those born in Cairo.

◆ The members tended to live more in the outskirts of Greater Cairo.

◆ In 2002, the members also lived in the northern suburb areas of Greater Cairo. The three largest *qisms* were **Sahil**, **Imbaba**, and **Rud al-Farag**.

(Note) Residents in Shubra in 2002 are included in Sahil

(Source) Sulayman [1980:29], *Daḥīl a'qdā' al-jam'īya al-khayrīya li-balda abū sanīta* [2002][1966]

## Some conclusions

- As mentioned before, the villages in Lower and Upper Egypt have different socioeconomic backgrounds for establishing the village associations in Cairo. The background for the case of Abu Senita village in Lower Egypt seems clear.
- In case of Abu Senita Gamaiya, the underlying factor of its foundation appears to be the economic disparity between rural and urban (Cairo) which still remains.  
→Further investigation required on rural side.
- *Gamaiya of Abu Senita* provides a social and charitable support. It means that *Gamaiya of Abu Senita* plays the role as a mean of coping with the social and economic difficulties in the daily life within Cairo and between urban and rural sides.  
→Further investigation required of the transformation of the migrants; using panel household survey

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## Some conclusions

- As mentioned before, the villages in Lower and Upper Egypt have different socioeconomic backgrounds for establishing the village associations in Cairo. The background for the case of Abu Senita village in Lower Egypt seems clear.
- The essential factors influencing the foundation of *Gamaiya of Abu Senita* appears to be physical distance, that is, the proximity to Greater Cairo, and the lack of job opportunity in the nonagricultural sector.
- *Gamaiya of Abu Senita* provides a social and charitable support. It means that *Gamaiya of Abu Senita* plays the role as a mean of coping with the social and economic difficulties in the daily life.

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