# The Egyptian Center for Housing Rights



Analysis of the Presidential Candidates' Programs from a Housing Rights Perspective Multi-Candidates Elections 2005

#### Introduction and Acknowledgment

Based on the significance of the right to adequate affordable housing, the need to a rights- based approach to the housing problems in Egypt, and in conformity with the ECHR's mandate to work on the housing issues tirelessly and constantly, ECHR presents this assessment of the electoral programs and promises from a housing rights perspective, in order to elucidate the whole picture for the voters and to inform them about the visions of the different candidates regarding solving the housing crisis. This analysis may help later in following up the implementation of these programs in the coming phase. Also ECHR would like to present, through this assessment, its experience gained through working on the housing cases.

This analysis assesses the eight electoral programs of the National Democratic Party, Al-Wafd Party, Al-Ghad Party (Tomorrow), the Arab Socialist Party, Al-Wefaq Al-Qawmy Party (National Accord), Al Omma Party (Nation), the Social Solidarity Party and the Democratic Unionist Party.

The analysis focuses only on some of these programs, because the other programs have not dealt with the housing issues adequately.

Due to the limited time, we decided to address certain key points pertaining to the housing rights to be followed up in the future. It is of great importance to present this report before conducting the elections process, in order to provide the voters with a general vision of the electoral programs in regard to the housing rights, which is an issue that concerns every Egyptian family.

(The Arabic version of the report was published and distributed before the presidential elections)

ECHR affirms its ultimate neutrality in dealing with all the candidates' electoral programs and that the judgment comes only on the basis of what is already set in their programs and not on any other considerations.

The center has held several workshops to discuss the issues addressed in the report draft before finalizing it in order to identify the experts' opinions in such issues. So that, the center would like to acknowledge the efforts done by Abo Ziad Rageh, the well known housing expert, whose contributions, experience and consultancies helped a lot in conducting this analysis in such short time. And also acknowledges the efforts done by Adel Lotfy, the social researcher. I also thank all the ECHR's staff members who contributed in this analysis and provided it, in such short time, to the voters before the elections day, and would like to affirm that their efforts were extremely voluntarily.

Hopefully, this analysis would be a modest presentation for the voters to clarify for them the position of each candidate from the housing issue which is indeed a serious and significant issue in the Egyptian society.

Manal Tibe Director of the Egyptian Center for Housing Rights

#### **Overview on the Candidates' Electoral Programs In the Egyptian Presidential Election 2005**

The candidate political parties have shown clear lack of a comprehensive integrated vision of the housing issue, their different visions could identify neither the causes nor the aspects of the housing problem in Egypt; nor could they be able to assess its effects. This is, to some extent, due to the nature of the election process itself; and the candidate's interest in addressing the voters through addressing prioritized issues.

ECHR has attempted to find out to what degree the candidates perceive the housing problem and thus to what degree their proposed solutions are consistent and feasible.

The gap between the parties' degree of interest in the housing issue was apparent. Al-Wafd and Al-Ghad parties were the most two parties in paying attention to the issue in terms of their programs coverage of more than one aspect of the problem in Egypt, like economic popular housing, slums problem, population distension in Cairo and the new communities, followed by the National Democratic Party's program, which addressed aspects like youth housing and slums, then comes the Arab Socialist Party, which addressed aspects like economic housing and the new communities.

All parties, including the main oppositional ones, have avoided censuring Egypt's housing policies, tending to perceive the aspects of the problem separately and divided it into sub-problems. Moreover, the official vision has dominated their realization of the nature of these sub- problems. They did not realize that the problem in Egypt is not about the quantity of the constructed housing units; their focus, therefore, was on the quantity of the available housing units, not their quality.

The candidates also tended to blame the victims, in their views, the citizens are responsible for the problem. They focused on the issue of internal migration as the key reason for the growth of the slums and the population distention in Cairo.

The proposed solutions varied from general approaches without mentioning the implementation plans, and certain practical procedures that are considered just promises.

The proposed solutions by the NDP candidate were characterized by wisdom, in terms of addressing genuine concerns of certain social segments like youth and slum dwellers, yet, the solutions proposed regarding the youth housing were not consistent with the nature of the problem and the targeted groups' needs and abilities. While the proposed solution regarding the slums issue were expressing a more positive approach. Though they contained an implicit admittance of the state's responsibility and obligation to present a solution, the practical steps supposed to be taken were either contradicting or unfeasible.

Al-Wafd candidate's program attempted to address several aspects of the problem, but he failed to present practical solutions for any of the problem he addressed. His program addressed the Arab and foreigner investors to contribute in solving the problem of public housing. Though his program confirmed the new cities experiment failure, it suggested assigning international business to construct new cities. Al-Wafd's candidate has also presented unrealistic solutions for certain problems, like moving the political capital; and demolition the old houses and constructing alternatives for them (2.125.000 million buildings)

It should be said that Al-Wafd's candidate has acknowledged the state's responsibility to provide public housing; his program was the only program that recognizes the slums dwellers' right to be housed in their original places which should be developed and improved.

As for Al-Ghad's candidate, it should be pointed out that he tended to be excessively authoritarian in his solutions. His program even contained in advance intentions to human rights violations. The candidate asserted the significance of constructing public compounds, but suggested the eviction of the huts dwellers and closing the cemeteries, which would lead to the eviction of the current dwellers without providing them any alternatives. The candidate suggested putting an end to the internal immigration from the rural areas to the capital in a clear siding against the provincial people and the huts' dwellers. He ignored, and may not aware of, human rights, on the top of them the right to move and the freedom to choose the residence, the right to work and the right to adequate housing. The candidate mentioned his intention to use the center of Cairo mainly for the commercial purposes not for housing ones, which serves only the interests of the commerce. All the solutions presented by Ayman Nour (Al-Ghad candidate) adopted a totalitarian approach, without the citizens' participation or sharing opinions.

As for the Arab Socialist Party, he presented general attitudes without plans of implementations, yet expressing an insightful vision that passes over the nature of the problems for instance, he was the only candidate whose program presented a solution that links between the problem of the lack of space, and the construction of new communities in the desert to inhabit it and turn these places into places of attraction as they would be new centers of agricultural and industrial production. Thus he has linked between the lack of space, the socioeconomic development and turning the new communities into centers of production and attraction. He also suggested the canceling the government's conveyance of property and the application of the renting policy. Therefore, he was the only candidate who suggested a solution on the basis of the experts' opinion expressed since the 80s, when the state applied the alienation policy, a proposal that is appreciated in the program. The direction to construct for rent is a well working solution for the limited income housing crisis, and also is the same solution that was proposed by the Egyptian government in its report submitted to the UN Committee of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2000 and have not been carried out yet.

Yet, these suggestions are only general attitudes that have not been passed to the stage of implementation.

# **First: Housing Construction**

#### **I-** National Democratic Party Candidate

#### **Youth Housing**

President/Candidate M. Hosny Mubarak promised to construct half a million housing units with a range of constructing 83,000 housing units annually, the private sector will be assigned to carry out that project. The state will provide subsidy of 15,000 EGP for each unit from its general budget, and will sponsor these units through construction fund loans with ascending installs starting in the first year with 160 EGP to a period ranging from 20 to 30 years.

- These housing units are allotted for youth, though the term "youth" was not defined accurately, supposing that it means the newly established families (the newly married people) whose ages between 25- 40, the data of the Central Body for Mobilization and Statistics shows that annual rate of the marriage contracts reaches 523,000 contracts annually. Assuming that not all these marriage contracts are for newly established families, and putting aside about 150,000 contracts for families who can afford their housing needs (about 30%), the rest will be 290,000 marriage contracts annually whose housing needs have not been met.

#### **Sponsorship and Funding Policy:**

It was mentioned in the program of NDP's candidate that a single housing unit will cost 50,000 EGP, of which the state will sponsor 15,000 (30%), a person will pay an amount of 5000 in advance, the rest of the total amount is to paid in installs, meaning that the loan will be 30,000 EGP. Considering that the loan interest rate is 16%, the amount of 160 EGP set in the program is unbelievable and illusory. It was mentioned that the installs are ascending, but was not mentioned in what rate they would be ascending. According to this system, the applicant would have to pay from 500 to 600 EGP monthly, which is not afforded by all youth, housing cost is supposed to constitute no more than 25% of the income, which means that the monthly salary of the young applicant have to exceed 2500 EGP.

More importantly is the question: how will the NDP's candidate fulfill the promise to sponsor each housing unit with an amount of 15,000 EGP, while there is an increasing budget disability that reached about 52356 million EGP during the fiscal year 2004-2005, which means, as the experts agreed, that the state will bear new burdens.

#### The body responsible for construction

- The NDP candidate suggested giving the task of construction to the private sector, such sector seeks only profit and investment, which makes it not suitable for taking the task of constructing sponsored youth housing. As Milad Hanna commented in Akhbar Al-Youm daily: "*Private sector would not accept to construct small buildings and simple housing units to meet the needs of the limited income, except if it has clear commercial guarantees from the state, unless it does so only to have the title of a charitable sector"* 

By handing over the housing youth construction to the private sector, the state gives up part of its obligations towards youth.

Worthy mentioning that since 1996 up till 2004 (since the start of the youth housing project), the Ministry of Housing has built only 74,433 housing units, i.e. 9304 housing units annually.

#### **Economical Housing**

Each of Al-Wafd candidate; the Arab socialist candidate and al-Ommah candidate have tackled the issue of the public housing. Below we will examine each candidate's suggested solutions to the problem.

#### II- Al-Wafd Candidate

The candidate suggested the following solutions for the housing crisis: The state is obligated to provide economic housing

- construction of at least 250,000 housing units annually to achieve the supply and demand balance throughout a certain period of time
- Seeking the aid of the Arab and foreign businesses to construct such units provided that, these loans would be paid back in a manner that does not exhaust the state's budget.
- The value of a housing unit shall be estimated on the basis of the actual cost.

The candidate focused on the issue of the economic housing as it is the state's responsibility; this was ignored by the other candidates. However, he did not specify the targeted groups of the public economic housings, are they the newly married youth, the limited income or the evicted families? Though the number suggested by Al-Wafd candidate is bigger than that suggested by the NDP candidate, financing the construction- seeking the help of the Arab and foreign businesses- raises several questions such as, what are the elements that would attract the Arab and foreign investors to invest in the field of economic housing?, would not the Arab and foreign investors like to make profits, which will raise the values of the constructed housing units and weaken the targeted groups' abilities to afford them?

#### **III- Al-Ghad and al-Ommah candidates:**

As for constructing economic housing, each of the two candidates have just suggested constructing public and average housings without mentioning any details.

#### **IV-** Arab Socialist Party and al-Omma party

The Arab Socialist candidate suggested the abolishment of the state's policy of conveyance of property the housing units it constructs and estimating a lease value for them. The ASP candidate is the only candidate who suggested one of the solutions called for by the experts since the 80s, when the state began to apply the policy of conveyance of property. This is a score gained by the ASP's program, abolishing the such policy is the best possible solution for the housing crisis faced by the limited income, it is also the solution presented in Egypt's report submitted to the UN Committee on the ESC rights in 2000. However, the state continues to apply the transfer of property policy and ignores the lease policy. Al-Ommah candidate has also suggested the same solution in his program, plus ending the construction of the luxurious housing and providing lease- housing units for youth and the newly married without deposit. The ASP suggestion was more specific as it constitutes a general housing policy, while al-Ommah candidate's suggestion was just the manner in which the housing units would be provided not constructed.

# Second: The Slums Problem

The presidential candidates paid different degrees of attention to the slums problem. Only three of them mentioned it in their electoral programs; which raises the question about the electoral campaigns' seriousness if they neglect such an important issue affecting more than the half of the total urban population and around the quarter of the total Egyptian population.

#### **Problem Realization:**

Though the candidates of Al-Wafd party, Al-Ghad party and the National Democratic Party have shown their realization of the issue, unfortunately, the common official perception of its causes dominated their realization, even the opposition parties had the same official perception of the problem. The common perception of the slums problem is constituted in blaming the victims who were affected by the malfunctioning housing policies and had to live in improper and inhumane conditions, blaming the victims may reach the extent of condemning them with breaking the laws of construction, or just complaining about the growth of the population and its sequences of increasing rural migration.

Al-Wafd candidate focused on "ending the internal migration", while Al-Ghad candidate mentioned the external immigration and "legalizing the slums dwellers condition"

According to the center's vision and the academic studies conducted in this regard, it is not enough to refer the slums problem to the increasing rural migration, as much as it refers to the failure and the disability of the housing policies in dealing with such migration. Moreover, official surveys display that Cairo city for example has became a driving a way city and the rates of the migration to it have immensely retreated throughout the last decade.

On the contrary, while the oppositional parties have shown a more of royal perception; the ruling party's program was more comprehensive and integral. Though it recognizes the legal aspect of the problem, it moves a way from the limited legal notion and admitted the lack of construction planning; and the lack of and the need for more developmental opportunities. All the candidates have ignored the responsibility of the housing policies and their harmful effects on the population.

#### **Proposed Solutions:**

The prospects of the problem solutions came in harmony with each candidate's limited perception of the problem and its effects.

The solutions suggested by both Al-Wafd and Al-Ghad candidates were limited in just dealing with what they think the causes of the problem. Al-Wafd candidate suggested ending what he has called the rural migration, his proposed solution is to widen the cordon of the rural areas, i.e. to seize more agricultural lands, not to mention the new rural slums that would be established if such suggestion was implemented. The proposed solution by Al-Wafd candidate displays his lack of understanding of the slums phenomena, as well as his lack of understanding of the phenomena of rural migration.

Al-Ghad candidate asserted what he has described as "adjustment of the dwellers' conditions", as far as the center understood that the candidate means legalizing the

conditions of the slums dwellers, which is a different phrasing for what was suggested by the NDP candidate when he mentioned "the legalization of the slums dwellers' properties".

Evaluating the legalizing properties proposed solution, the center would like to draw the candidates' attention, to that fact that there is only one rare kind of slums' properties that lacks the legal property recognition, while the wide spread kind of the slums are already having the legal right to property, like the slums established on an agricultural piece of land. Most of that slums that lack the legal property recognition, namely the "seizure" kind already have demolition decisions, in other words, the proposed solution serves only few categories of the slums dwellers. Suggesting such solution, Al-Ghad candidate indicates that he would use old plans that do not fit with the current conditions. Also, legalizing the slums dwellers conditions means the official acceptance of such inhumane housing conditions, contradictory with the elegant preamble he made to this solution that says: "the responsibility to improve and upgrade the socioeconomic conditions in order to adjust the dwellers conditions"

The NDP candidate has skillfully avoided this trap by enlisting the solution of "legalizing the property" among the several solutions he proposed for the slums problem. He was the only candidate whose program included solution for the effects and the consequences along with the solution that address the causes as well. He suggested providing the slums dwellers with the needed services and creating job opportunities for them, in addition to granting them lands to construct houses on them. All of these are specifics, but the center has two kinds of reservations on them. The first kind relates to the effectiveness and the competence of these solutions:

- To provide services (schools, hospitals, streets planning and police stations, etc) to the slums dwellers, would make it necessary to expropriate them to establish such facilities, which goes in contradiction with the aforementioned property legalization, he should have clarified this issue to his slums dwellers voters.
- Suggesting providing lands for the slums dwellers contradicts with the currently apparent NDP's intentions to vend the available pieces of lands for the luxurious housing projects that definitely do not serve the slums dwellers nor the limited income in general.

The other kind of reservations relates to the candidate's objective to treat and decrease the effects of the problem without dealing with the genuine causes of it, of which the most important cause is the application of malfunctioning housing policies that are hardly responding to the needs of the limited income, in addition to the state's blunt withdrawal from the housing markets and giving up its responsibility in this regard.

# **Third: Great Cairo**

All the candidates' programs have not mentioned the cities planning, except Al-Ghad and Al-Wafd programs, which mentioned only the planning in Great Cairo. Though we agree with these two programs that the city of Cairo has several intricate problems that have to be faced, this does not justify ignoring the problems in the other cities of Egypt.

## I- Al-Wafd Candidate Program

Al-Wafd candidate suggested moving the political capital to another place, as the only solution for the gross population in Cairo, this would be implemented, as he suggested within 10 years, like the Brazilian experiment. The center believes that this solution is not appropriate due to the following reasons:

- 1- The solution treats a phenomenon rather than a problem, which is constituted in centralizing all the investments only in Cairo. There are about 50% of the state's investments only in Cairo, which leads to the existence of 60% of the job opportunities in it. Moving the political capital to another place is just negligence to the main causes of the problem, including investment misdistribution, therefore, the needed solution would be a fair geographical distribution of the state's investments.
- 2- The states that had moved their political capitals, have not done so due to their great population, but for inhabiting the other provinces. Brasilia, the new Brazilian capital, have been constructed to inhabit the deserted province, these projects have exhausted the states' budgets enough that they were on the edge of bankruptcy.
- 3- Egypt is already facing difficulties in establishing new human settlements due to the high costs, consequently, the idea of establishing new capital that will cost the state dozens of billions is an imaginary unfeasible solution with the current disability of the state's budget. The candidate has not told how would he finance the political capital moving.

These simple facts affirm that the project to move Egypt's political capital comes on the background of total ignorance with the construction policies and an awareness of the substantive key causes of the problems in Great Cairo. From another perspective, it seems that the project is nothing but imaginary promises that have nothing to do with the actual reality.

#### **II- Al-Ghad Candidate's Program**

Al-Ghad program raises several questions, particularly in regard to the human rights. Many ideas raised in the program constitute violations to fundamental human rights. On the other hand, they affirm the candidate's lack of knowledge about, or even inattention to the causes of the problem, therefore the solution he has proposed fell far from reality. Below an examination of each submitted suggestion, in terms of feasibility and human rights realization.

# Evicting huts and cemeteries in Cairo, and Closing the cemeteries located in the midst of the population blocs.

This point displays clearly the intention to initiate a great eviction action. Evicting Cairo's huts and cemeteries means to evict an immense number of the residences of these places. According to the unofficial surveys, the cemeteries dwellers are estimated to be more than half a million; the huts dwellers are estimated to be not less too. The candidate simply suggests evicting about million of people without

mentioning any details about the alternatives provided to them, the cost of this action, the options that would be offered to the dwellers themselves. The dwellers would be at the risk of homelessness and additional violations to their already unrealized right to adequate housing. The program only presents suggestion, like the unrealistic governmental statements, a way from reality.

## **Turning Cairo to an Isolated City and ending the internal migration:**

One of the strange solutions proposed only by Al-Ghad candidate is to turn Cairo to a closed city and to end the internal migration. Strangely enough, this solution is practically impossible, plus its being inconsistent with the international human rights standards. It only affirms the candidate's unawareness of the causes of the problem, which is proved in the following points:

- 1- Total unawareness of fundamental social and economic rights, on the top of them the right to movement, the right to work and the right to adequate housing. Making Cairo a closed city is simply a violation to the citizens' right to movement and to work. This shows how masterly and authoritative his way of thinking is, to the extent that he did not give a hoot to the internationally recognized human rights. It is a disaster of the full meanings of the word to have this solution proposed by a presidential candidate.
- 2- The proposed solution states that the internal migration is a key reason behind the problems in Cairo, which is an old assumption over passed by all the social and demographic studies. This solution relates to the phenomena not to the problem itself. As previously mentioned, there is injustice in the investments distribution among the provinces. The internal migration is due the provinces lack of aspects of attraction to the provinces population not to Cairo's attraction to them. Previously mentioned too, Cairo's share of the total state's investments is 50%, and its share of the potential work opportunities is 60%. What is really required in this regard is to fairly redistribute the state's investments on the governorates, in order to attract each governorate population and keep them a way from thinking of migration to Cairo. The centralization of the work opportunities in Cairo leads necessarily to the internal migration.

#### The interim emptying of the Capital

- Interim emptying of overpopulated cities is one of the internationally experimented solutions, and has already proved success in decreasing the population in cases like of Paris and London. This idea depends on the creation of other attractive locations and human settlements out of these cities, so that, numbers of population move voluntarily to these new human settlements. This solution will be discussed in the following points:

1- Moving the polluting activities and the handicrafts that are not needed in the daily life out of the population blocs in Cairo:

Though it is a correct idea, it needs accurate planning of implementation. Not only the polluting activities should be moved, but also many other different activities should be moved, like the army camps, the central security units, the store trades, the cement factories, etc. this should be implemented in the frame of a plan that takes in consideration creating new markets, so that the new places would constitute attraction spots for the residences, more importantly, this should be achieved through developing projects in which management citizens should completely take part in, so that, they would move to these places by their free well without taking the risk of loosing their current jobs.

2- Emptying Cairo's trade center:

The candidate suggested gradually allocating Cairo's center only to the commercial activities without having any settlements.

This solution tends to be more of a capitalist solution at the expense of the population, which might show a hidden intention to force Cairo residences out of their distinguished places for the sake of businesses. This also does not express natural development of Cairo's center; it is rather a development upon a superior authoritative decision.

3- Interim Emptying of Cairo's areas and moving the dwellers to the new cities: This suggestion is consistent with the state's existing intention to empty the old Cairo in order to create touristic activities, what proves that is the number of eviction decisions issued to demolish the old areas and the zero restoration decisions. This solution displays several risks on several levels:

- a. Disrespect of the residences' rights to housing, and the cultural and social environment they got accustomed to
- b. Not clarifying how would the moving process be implemented, whether it will be upon the residences' choice or they would be forced to do so, and whether they will be restituted or not.

# Fourth: New Communities

All the candidates' programs ignored the issue of the new communities, except the three programs of Al-Wafd, Al-Ghad and the Arab Socialist.

### Al-Wafd Program:

Al-Wafd candidate's vision of the issue of the new cities is full of contradictions. He stated: "we have to re- examine the new cities experiment and to study the causes led to the success of few of them and the failure of the most of them", but he returned to suggest constructing more new cities.

He also suggested giving international corporations the task to establish new cities through international biddings, which shows that his opinion that the failure of the new cities experiment refers to the implementing body, not to the planning aspect and the inattention to the development of such cities and their social and cultural environments.

ECHR believes that Al-Wafd candidate's suggestion to give the international corporation the assignment to construct new cities is a wrong and unaccepted solution, for any international corporation would construct housing units only for those who can afford these housing units not for those limited income who constitute the majority of the Egyptian people. Presenting such suggestion, Al-Wafd candidate is thinking only in the upper class, not in the majority. As well, obtaining a housing unit in a new city will be through a bank loan which should be paid back. Those who can afford this are the upper class. Additionally, this suggestion constitutes a waste of the state's resources and it exhausts the Egyptians' savings, since these savings would be frozen in the luxurious housing that would not be marketed.

Putting into consideration the fact that people are hardly attracted to reside in the new communities. The current population of those new cities does not exceed half a million, which is not encouraging for any corporation to invest in that field.

Constructing new cities is significant, yet the candidates' programs have not recognize that significance, they do not understand that the newly constructed cities are considered a means not a goal, the goal is rather the socioeconomic development, in other words, the socioeconomic needs should be defined first, then the new cities may be constructed to meet the these such needs.

The constructing of the existed new cities was not correct from the beginning, as the state has constructed them then stopped to wonder what shall be done for them.

#### Al-Ghad Party Program

Al-Ghad candidate has not presented his vision of the new cities issue, he only made the promises to the residences of these new cities to gain their votes, he promised to work on completing certain projects such as, the water systems, building factories in the cities and providing more transportation lines, but he did not clarify how would he fund these projects.

#### Arab Socialist Party Program

The Arab Socialist candidate was the only candidate who addressed the problem of the lack of space through the construction of new integrated cities to inhabit the desert. He suggested making these cities attracting to their residences by turning them into new centers of agricultural and industrial production. His project linked between the lack of space (4% of Egypt's acreage), the socioeconomic development and the construction of new cities to be production centers and hence attraction centers. Though we agree with these ideas, we do not know how he would insure that his project would not fail as the former project had.

Generally, key issues in the context of the housing crisis were not addressed at all in all the candidates' programs, which reflect the absence of an integrated vision of one of the most important challenges that Egypt faces which is the housing problem:

- None of the candidates' programs addressed the shared- housing problem (the one- room- housing), the random housing (people who live in garages, tents, under the staircases, etc) 18% of the Egyptian families live in this kind of housing, and 20% of the total population in Cairo lives in the random housing.

This issue should have been addressed in the candidates' program as they represent about one fifth of the population.

- None of the programs have addressed another important issue which is the phenomena of buildings falling down. According to the surveys of the Central Body of General Mobilization Statistics, 2.125.000 estates of Egypt's total estate property, estimated to be about 10 million estates, are about to fall down. This issue had been barely mentioned in Al-Wafd candidate's program, who suggested demolishing the falling down buildings and providing the affected residences with alternative housings a way from the over populated areas and turning the lands into parks and facilities. Though he was the only candidate to address the problem, the solution he submitted was hardly realistic, as he did not mention how he would provide funds to demolish and reconstruct 2.125.000 estates, which is bigger than the housing production in Egypt for the last ten years.
- All the programs have dealt with the housing issue in terms of statistics and figures; they only dealt with the problem of the lack of offer in comparison to the actual demand, while the real problem is constituted in the offered kinds of housings. There is a raise in the offered luxurious and high-level housing, with a rareness of the offered economic housing. This is mainly due to the unfair housing policies which encourage the construction of luxurious housing at the expense of the construction of the economic one. No practical solutions in this regard were proposed except by the Arab Socialist candidate, who suggested providing housings on lease not for purchase.
- On general, none of the candidates has an integrated vision to solve Egypt's housing crisis, their unawareness of the causes and effects of the problem apparently affected the solution they have proposed.