

The Role of Local Traditions in Participatory Planning for Successful Development Projects in Rural Egypt

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DEDICATION

To my Father

To my Guide

To my Teachers

To my Family

To my Community

To all who believe that we are guests on this land
and wish not to leave disruptive footprints.

To all who Serve,

Persist,

and

Persevere to Survive.

The Role of Local Traditions in Participatory Planning for Successful Development Projects in Rural Egypt

Khaled Mohamed Hassouna

Abstract

This research examines participatory planning processes in rural Egypt, which was deemed successful by the local people. The purpose is to identify elements that caused these projects to be perceived successful. Using the normative participatory planning theory that is usually used in the West as a theoretical context, the research examined three successful development efforts in rural Egypt. Projects' publications and planning documents were reviewed to build a context for interviews. The projects' planners were interviewed for descriptions of their initial designs for the participatory planning processes employed. An opportunistic sampling technique was used to identify local participants who were interviewed for descriptions of their experiences in the planning processes.

The analysis suggests that the participatory planning processes implemented had the same stages as the normative planning process in the West. The thick description of the processes by the interviewees revealed subtle elements within the processes that governed the participants' evaluation.

Bedouin interviewees viewed consensus as the only valid mode of final agreement in indigenous peoples' decision-making processes. Bedouin participants were found to consider perceptions of time, and choice of space and language used in planning sessions to be extremely important, significantly impacting their evaluation of the process in which they took part. Long sessions that took place locally and were formatted in a traditional Bedouin manner were perceived more successful. Bedouin dialect and Bedouin hospitality employed during sessions also increased the perceived success of planning sessions. Such subtle Bedouin interpretation of elements of social environment guided their perceptions of the success or failure of the planning processes.

Government planning agencies and planners should integrate the indigenous peoples' traditional decision-making processes in their designs for participatory planning processes, when planning development projects. Also indigenous people should take responsibility to present their cultural methods to individuals and agencies involved in planning such development projects in their locale. This can lead to a change in the planning culture to engage in more organic, grassroots' processes. Community-based, organic-design processes will significantly increase the likelihood of achieving the full potential of a plan in the short and long term.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For many decades Western governments have provided economic aid to developing countries. Many such countries are dependent on this aid to initiate certain developmental projects. Aid projects which are desperately needed by these developing countries are managed by aid agencies and financed by the Western governments and donor organizations. Aid agencies assess the needs of the host countries, allocate funds, and implement development projects. In many cases, the same agencies also monitor and evaluate the projects.

In many non-Western countries such as Egypt, several United States aid projects, which were considered successful by United States standards, were deemed failures by the local people who worked on and were expected to maintain the projects. The Westernized ideal for a successful project may be the fact that it follows the plan to the letter, is always on schedule, is accomplished by a certain date and meets certain technical standards. The criteria of success could be different in rural Egypt.

In rural Egypt, many development projects designed by the government or foreign aid agencies are viewed by the public as failing to satisfy their needs. The problem is that development projects are often not seen as successful by local peoples, even when considered successful by the sponsor. Local acknowledgement and support may be important to the implementation of the plan. The lack of that support can cause deterioration in the maintenance of such projects after they are handed to the public. A loss of resources and time that translates into money could be avoided by taking steps to insure local people's satisfaction with the plan. Participatory planning literature suggests that people who participate in planning efforts are more likely to be satisfied with the plan's outcomes.

The dissatisfaction of the public with a plan, even it has fulfilled its objectives, can be for many reasons. The researcher expects that some of these reasons can be:

- Planners don't know that the local people perceive the plan not to be successful. In this case, the planners have not communicated with the public.

- Planners are aware that the local people are not happy, but they don't believe that a local perception of success is important. This was the case in many projects designed in Egypt in the 1980s. Particularly, urban planners from big cities underestimated the importance of rural public opinion. Similarly foreign aid agencies that planned or hired Egyptian consultants to plan projects in rural Egypt did not view rural or Bedouin public opinion as important.
- Planners recognize that people are not happy and think it is important, but the local perception of success is not required in the planning requirements or the stated objective of the project. Again, this was the case in Egypt as consideration of local opinion was not an element of the official requirements for a plan.
- Planners agree with all of the above, but don't know how to undertake the project in a way that people will be more likely to perceive it to be a success. This is an important reason that the study will attempt to address.
- Planners and locals evaluate success differently (cultural differences). This is also a high probability in Egyptian development as most of the planners in Egypt had studied and worked in big cities that had a different culture than most of rural Egypt.
- Planners and the public do not connect socially in a way that makes the process meaningful. As mentioned above, most of the planners in Egypt have urban lifestyles that differ from social styles in rural Egypt.
- The Planners' attempt to include input from local people was not accepted. This can be true in many cases if the planner is not considered by local people to be worthy of their trust. Definitions of worthiness and status are based on cultural considerations that are different in different parts of Egypt.
- The planners did not know how to include public participation in their planning process.
- A public-participation planning process was utilized, but it was not successful because:
 - i. it was too complex and people did not understand what was being proposed, or
 - ii. local people were not interested in participating, related to the planners' failure to present a process that was compatible with the local culture, or
 - iii. local people did not have time or could not participate, or

- iv. there was no suitable mechanism in the planning process for recording local people's concerns, or
- v. local people's concerns were recorded but not taken seriously, or
- vi. local people were not comfortable participating fully, or
- vii. the local people's perceptions that it was not successful were based on some other factor.

This study addresses the possibility that the reason for dissatisfaction and lack of agreement as to the degree of success in the context of rural Egypt have to do with either the planning process or the local participants' traditions and cultural traits.

Studying successful projects that utilized a participatory planning process will eliminate some of these potential reasons. The planners' knowledge of the importance of public input and their effort to include public input in the planning process limit the above-mentioned potential reasons even more. The remaining reasons for local people's dissatisfaction will then be reduced to social/cultural factors or communication styles between the planners and the participants.

The remaining reasons can be summarized in 2 hypotheses:

1. The planning processes in rural Egypt are different from the normative planning process discussed in the planning literature.
2. The culture of the participants in a planning process impacts their evaluation of the success of the process.

In this study, the researcher will examine

- Three reported successful projects in rural Egypt to see whether or not they follow the normative approaches of participatory planning
- The extent to which they are perceived as successful by the planners and the local people and
- If the culture of the participants played a role in shaping their perception

To analyze the issue, a need arose to answer questions leading to a better understanding of the participatory planning process. In the following section the researcher will raise questions to be

answered in the study. The general purpose of the questions is to compare the planning processes used in the West and in rural Egypt. The research will also examine the evaluation elements of these planning processes.

The questions are:

- 1- What is the normal planning process in the West?
- 2- What is the usual participatory planning process in the West?
- 3- What is the normal planning process in rural Egypt?
- 4- What is a successful participatory planning process in rural Egypt?
- 5- How is a participatory planning process evaluated in rural Egypt?
- 6- What are possible factors affecting the evaluation process in rural Egypt?

The answer to these questions should:

- Identify the components of planning discussed in Westernized literature as a basis for comparison.
- Identify the normal participatory planning processes used in the West.
- Identify the participatory planning process used by the planners in the cases studied in rural Egypt.
- Identify the reason the planner invited a participatory planning process.
- Identify the time frame and modes of participation in each planning process.
- Identify if the participatory planning process in rural Egypt differed from those in the West.
- Identify if the participants were satisfied with the process in which they took part.
- Identify how the planner evaluated the participatory planning process.
- Identify the rationale used by the participants to evaluate their participatory planning process and the outcome of the plan.
- Identify if culture affected the evaluation process used in rural Egypt.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher uses literature to construct contextual framework for the study. Literature giving background information about Egypt (especially rural Egypt) was used to build a context for this study. The historical background of development, planning, and participation in decision making in Egypt was also used. Literature describing planning processes, theories, and approach to participation in planning were also reviewed toward building a contextual westernized model of planning. The westernized model was used for comparison with the model of planning processes in rural Egypt found in the research.

The Time, the Land, and the People of Egypt:

In Egypt, the regularity and richness of the annual Nile River flood coupled with the semi-isolation provided by deserts to the east and west, allowed for the development of one of the world's great civilizations. A unified kingdom arose circa 3200 B.C., and a series of dynasties ruled in Egypt for the next three millennia. The last native dynasty fell to the Persians in 341 B.C., who, in turn, were replaced by the Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines.

Arabs introduced Islam and the Arabic language to Egypt in the 7th century A.D. and ruled it for the next six centuries. A local military cast, the Mamluks, took control about 1250 and continued to govern after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks in 1517. All along this time line Bedouin communities were allowed to move freely between Egypt and surrounding countries. Bedouin tribes and their territories extended throughout the land with little influence on the political map of the area.

Following the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Bedouin tribes were confined to a continent or the other. Tribes which inhabited Northern Africa dwelled in the North-African Great Sahara, while Sinai Bedouins stayed for the most part in the Asian part of Egypt. The passages through North Africa used by pilgrim on Hajj provided the greatest trade routes for

Northern-African Bedouins. This affected decision-making processes in many Bedouin communities to accommodate different social needs and political climates caused by the influx of travelers.

Throughout this long history, the government system in Egypt stayed very central and most of the decisions were made in the capital. Taxation, irrigation, and urban growth have been planned and controlled from the capital of Egypt since it became one sovereign nation over 5,000 years ago, when an Egyptian king united the north and the south kingdoms into one. This affected the culture of planning and decision making in Egypt. Local people became dependant on central planning processes and have had no effective say in the projects planned and implemented in their vicinity.



Figure 2.1: Population concentration areas in Egypt represented in red. Map source (SIS, 2003)

Rural Egypt and its Inhabitants:

In Egypt over 95% of the population inhabits about 6% of the land of the country. The country is divided into 26 governorates that vary in size and population density. The Egyptian

population of 80,335,036 (July 2007 est.) contains only a few ethnic minorities besides the vast majority of ethnic Egyptians. Egyptians constitute about 98% of the total population. Ethnic Berbers, Nubians, and Bedouins constitute nearly 1% while Greeks, Armenians, and other Europeans (primarily Italians and French) constitute the remainder of the Egyptian population. Less than 5% of the land is arable (2007) and the rest is considered desert (CIA World Fact Book, 2007).

Bedouins were among the minorities that were neglected by the Egyptian government as an ethnic group in their own right, as most of the previous Egyptian governments were functioning with strong nationalistic fervor, as a consequence of which equality among all Egyptians was confused with homogeneity, meaning differences in cultural heritage were ignored in decision-making. The indigenous peoples' systems of the Bedouins who were the inhabitants of the majority of the Egyptian land were not considered in most of the Egyptian government planning as they represented a very small minority (Ali, 1998).

Local Government:

The Egyptian administrative system has been characterized as centralized (Moharram, 1992). Local authorities have been established in a top-down system and not from a bottom-up (grassroots) pattern (Ali, 1998). Present laws call for the increased decentralization and local involvement in the decision making in the country, yet all local officials regard central organizations as having a legitimate and necessary role in planning and implementing local development activities (Moharram, 1992). In efforts to decentralize, Law no.52 (1975) concerning local government was established to create some degree of decentralization that resulted in a "two-branch" system (Ali, 1998).

The local government consists of two branches; one branch is an elected local council whose task is to identify local needs, propose programs, and design budgets compatible with the local interests, while the other branch is an executive council representing the service ministries. The latter remains dominant, because it still controls most of the resources. Also the executive-council expertise in budget formulation and project management is essential for implementing plans (Ali, 1998). It, therefore, mostly has the upper hand in the decision-making process.

History of Development Policies in Egypt:

After the Egyptian revolution in 1952 and under a strong nationalistic point of view, the Egyptian government embarked on grand development projects following the industrial patterns of growth of industrial countries but mostly influenced by the Soviet Union (Keyder and Oncu, 94). Egypt adopted policies of 'import-substitute industrialization' supported by public sector investments (Heinnebusch, 93) and sought to expand public services through socialist planning (Keyder and Oncu, 94). The government also sought to expand Egypt's agricultural land through massive reclamation and irrigation projects (Ali, 1998).

The government's goal was to grow its Gross National Product (GNP) and to double its national income every ten years (Ibrahim, 1985). During that phase, which started in the early 1950s to late 1960s, the High Dam project was completed with Russian assistance and regional planning for the Western Desert with Russian advising began.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were years of transition. Egypt witnessed rapid urbanization and there was a concern over arable land being converted into urban areas to absorb the growing Egyptian population. Egypt entered into the 1967 war against Israel and was defeated. The closing of the Suez Canal and the evacuation of the population living in that area as a result of the war put more pressure on Egypt's economy and its overcrowded major urban cities such as Cairo.

Egypt pursued a policy of expansion into the desert to absorb excess population (Ali, 1998). After the 1973 war and the peace treaty with Israel, Egypt tried to rebuild its economy. In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, the Egyptian government adopted an open-market policy and directed the national economy towards more open international relations. Western governments committed its aid agencies to help Egypt's planned economic and environmental development. Many of these projects were developed to remedy problems in big cities or to start developing rural Egypt. Many of these projects were developed in response to the high population density in big cities in the Nile delta. The Egyptian government tried to redistribute the exploding population in Egypt. To do so, the Egyptian government encouraged the internal movement of businesses and industries to rural areas where it is not as dense in population. This

impacted the culture of rural communities, especially Bedouin communities. Many rural cities faced problems based on cultural differences between its indigenous people and the new immigrants from big cities.

Starting the 1990s and up until the present day, the Egyptian government has been adopting policies of privatization of the public sector. During all these stages of new policies, rural Egypt and its communities have been struggling against an accumulating economic and social pressure, a result of being remote and isolated from the central government. Indeed, throughout all these stages, the decision-making process and planning has been quite central.

Planning for Development in rural Egypt:

Since 1952, the government in Egypt has declared that development projects especially in rural Egypt are a national priority. However, planners in Egypt are usually centered in or near large urban settlements such as Cairo, Alexandria, or Assiut. Plans are usually handed down from a central governmental office to local government-planning entities with specific directions for implementation. The role of planners in rural Egypt, therefore, is mostly reduced to implementing the central government plan. A local government planner has minimal input and is left without a channel for decision-making or resource allocation.

Because of the established centralization, project planning away from the capital still faces many obstacles, one of which is the inhospitable and unclear institutional setup for planning and managing rural areas. The poor cooperation and communication between the local government and the communities in such rural areas add to the problems facing the planner (El Dabi, 2006). With such poor coordination and centralization of the development planning system, local participation in planning or decision-making is, therefore, still difficult.

Planners and institutions that try to introduce participatory planning in Egypt are faced with many hurdles. In their effort to introduce participatory planning, the Canadian International Development Organization in Egypt faced many difficulties, mostly communication problems caused by the pre-set views within the government planning entities of what participation is and how it is implemented (El Dabi, 2006).

Officials within the government's planning office perceive participation as a process that allows all stakeholders to voice their problems, but does nothing to help them to overcome the problems (El Dabi, 2006).

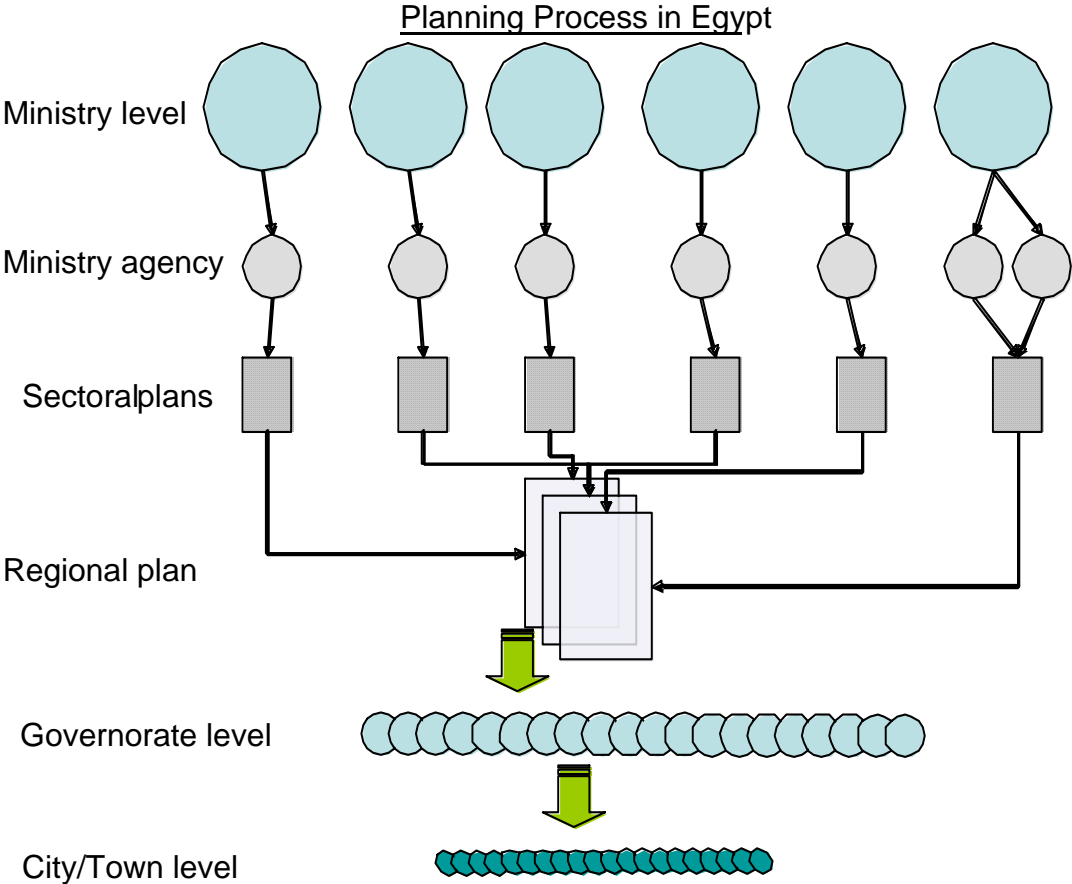


Figure 2.2: Levels of governmental planning process in Egypt (Developed by the author).

Planning levels and flow in Egyptian government

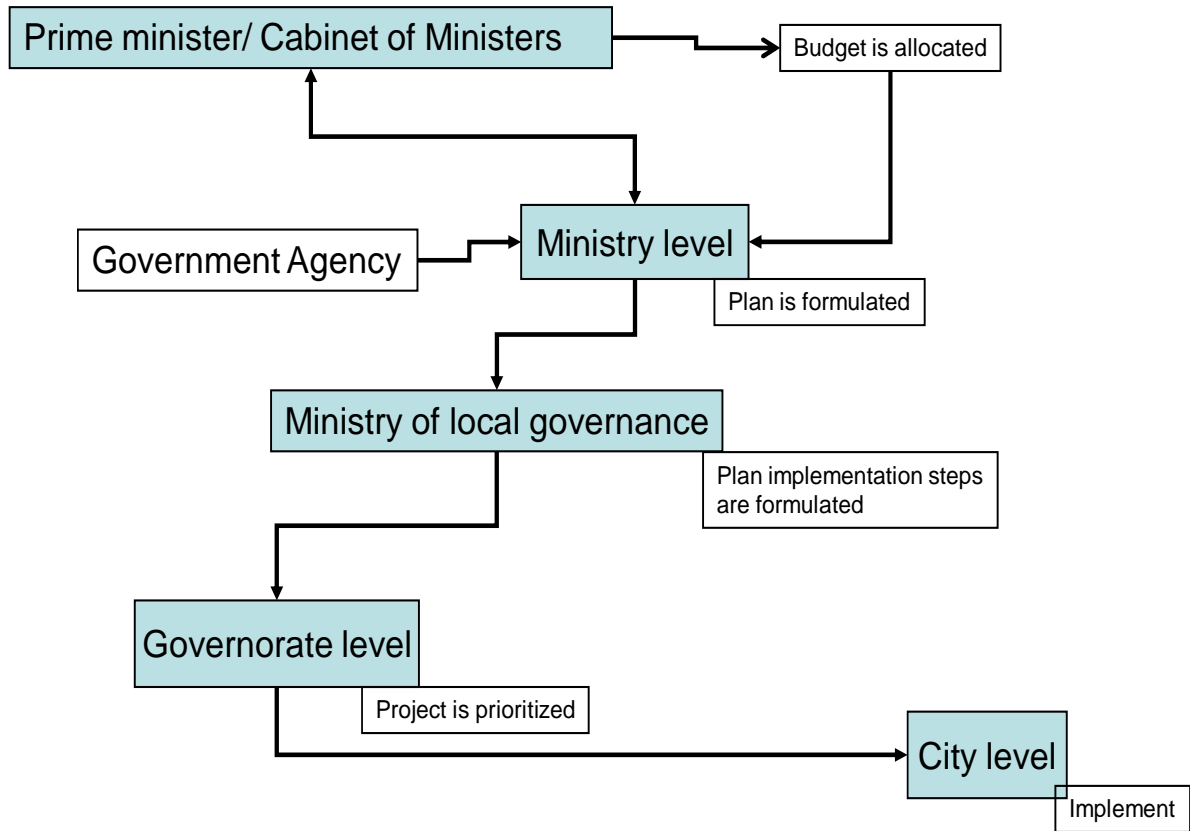


Figure 2.3: Flow chart of planning cycle in Egypt illustrating the low level input of local (city) government planners. (Developed by the author).

The Houses Nobody Used

As an example of development projects that was planned by the government in Sinai and failed to fulfill local people's needs, a case of housing in Sinai were reviewed by the researcher. The researcher interviewed individuals who lived in the area in the design phase of his research. In the mid 80s the Egyptian government attempted to help in the development of the Sinai by providing housing to Bedouin communities. The housing authority of Egypt (HA) planned to revive Bedouin settlements on important transportation routes. HA planned to build in areas not traditionally inhabited by Bedouins. HA designed one-story housing with reinforced concrete ceilings (unaware that this kind of structure would never be considered acceptable housing for Bedouin people.) HA posted designs in capital cities in the Sinai announcing that any complaints about the plan from members of the public should be submitted as written comments and delivered to HA in the capital city. Forcing people to leave their region to respond to a plan about which they had not been consulted was considered by many to be an insult and they did not participate

Despite some indications that the designs were inappropriate for Bedouin inhabitation, HA built the housing units according to the original plan. The design for the first housing models was commented on by local Bedouins. They explained the dis-functionality of the design for the Bedouin lifestyle. After locals refused to move in and the houses stood empty for two years, HA engaged in dialog with representatives of local governments to find the reason for the lack of acceptance. These representatives worked in major cities and had not represented or been involved with nomads

In response to the discussions with the representatives and public input, HA added a walled-in backyard to all the units and, to the surprise and dismay of the Bedouins, claimed they had successfully adapted the plan to incorporate *Bedouin* design. To encourage people to move into the units, the government issued deeds to land with the units. People could own the land only if it was sold or, in this case, given by the government, although it was traditionally their own tribal land. Bedouins moved in some units, using the backyard as their campground and the building for storage and use of the facilities. HA deemed the project successful while the public saw it as a complete failure. HA claimed the project involved a participatory planning process while the

Bedouins claimed that their voices were not heard as there was no appropriate venue in which to participate.

Non-Government Planning in Egypt:

It is important to note that planning for private projects is not restricted in Egypt in the same way planning for public sector projects is. In private projects, no comprehensive planning documents are needed and neither is accounting for the budgets except for those who solicit public funds. As for non-government organizations (NGOs), they have to register their activities with one of the ministries but are reviewed only if they receive outside funding from another NGO or foreign entity.

Experienced as a consultant for some NGOs in Egypt, this writer has had no obligation to submit any plans for projects or activities except for very limited items. Private and NGO sectors are requested to supply government agencies with plans that need government permits such as building permits and utility permits. Only offices that review finances for taxation purposes request an ongoing review process. This allows designers who plan private projects to work with no review of the government. The government will not supervise or restrict the planning process or the implementation of such projects.

2.2 The Importance of Indigenous Models

Acceptance by locals and their involvement in the planning process is necessary in achieving what the locals perceive as success. By understanding the acceptable (perceived successful) process in Egypt, some changes (or additions) can be recommend to the westernized model of planning presently used by Aid agencies working in Egypt. It is expected that local people engaged in a participatory planning process that is sensitive to their culture will be more likely to actively participate in the planning and they would be satisfied with the plan and its outcomes than if a purely westernized model was used.

2.3 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research includes approaches that allow for using various ways of describing and interpreting events and experiences (Creswell, 1998). It is an inductive method of investigation

that studies the meaning of the experience of the participants (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The interpretation of the meaning is confined to the lived-experiences of the participants of the study (Creswell, 1998).

Paraphrasing Creswell, Anfara et al (2002) said, “Because qualitative inquiry is really a compilation of data collection techniques all used within a variety of traditions, it is entirely possible to think about validity in qualitative research from a variety of different perspectives.”

Among the important assumptions of phenomenological research is that the understanding of the phenomenon is closely related to the researchers’ awareness of the phenomenon and its context. The context includes time, space, and form. This understanding is utilized in testing the hypothesis in contrast to generally used methods of hypothesis testing (Seamon, 2000).

The key to providing validity in qualitative analysis comparable to quantitative analysis is transparency of the process. The researcher must disclose the details of the research process in such a way that others can evaluate the substance and method of the research. In place of replicability, qualitative research can be evaluated on “refutability and freedom from bias.” (Anfara et al, 2002)

In showing the importance of open disclosure of the research process Constas (1992) wrote,

If qualitative research is to gain the acceptance of a broad audience, and not only those inclined to accept qualitative inquiry as valid, individuals engaged in qualitative empirical research must begin to make all phases of their investigations open to public inspection. Extensive methodological and analytical information must be provided if a community of researchers is to perform the desired critique and assessment of a given research project. The absence of the opportunity for public inspection will likely result in suspicion, naïve acceptance, or outright dismissal among a community of readers, none of which is desirable or necessarily warranted.

(p. 266)

(Anfara et al, 2002) developed strategies for assessing the methodological rigor (defined as “the attempt to make data and explanatory schemes as public and replicable as possible”). The analytical defensibility of qualitative research based on the comparison of qualitative and quantitative criteria as shown in the table below.

Table 2.1: Quantitative and Qualitative Criteria for Assessing Research Quality and Rigor.

Source (Anfara et Al, 2002)

| Quantitative term | Qualitative equivalent term | Strategy employed |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Internal Validity | Credibility | Prolonged engagement in the field |
| | | Use of peer debriefing |
| | | Triangulation |
| | | Member Checks |
| | | Time sampling |
| External Validity | Transferability | Provide thick description |
| | | Purposeful sampling |
| Reliability | Dependability | Create an audit trail |
| | | Code – recode strategy |
| | | Triangulation |
| | | Peer examination |
| Objectivity | Conformability | Triangulation |
| | | Practice reflexivity |

Anfara et al suggest the use of documentation tables to provide the reader “detailed explanations of how research questions are related to data sources, how themes or categories are developed,

and how triangulation is accomplished.” The use of tables in this study will be discussed in the method section below.

2.4 Planning Processes

“The purpose of a plan is to address a current problem or pursue a development goal”
(Carter McNamara, 1999)

The literature about the planning process as described by Western researchers was reviewed. Studying the stages of planning and the rationale of different researchers concerning the relation between those stages gave an overview of the planning process. This westernized planning process is used as a basis for comparison of other processes that may be used by Egyptian planners.

For a plan to be successful, it must include a group of planning stages. D.M. Crowe (1983) argued that for a project to be successful the planners have to include an input, a process, an output and benefits. The planning process in the United States, for instance, usually involves the following stages: identifying a problem, defining goals, studying available resources, identifying required resources, defining alternatives, designing a plan, implementing the design, and evaluating the outcomes (Gale, 1977). In a planning system, outputs and benefits become the main focus in contrast to the indigenous peoples’ focus on the available resources. Monitoring and evaluation will then be fine-tuning mechanisms for the system (Crowe, 1983).

Understanding the stages of a normative planning process in the West and identifying their definitions and organization in a plan enabled a comparison with the stages which planners use in Egypt. Reviewing the different arguments in western literature provided a foundation for clarity in modeling the planning process used in the projects studied.

Planning Theory:

McNamara (1999) identified the following as typical stages in planning. They include but not limited to:

1. Envisioning a mission that references the overall singular purpose or desired result from a system.

2. Considering various driving forces, or major influences, that might affect the project.
3. Analyzing the situation.
4. Establishing goals aligned to the overall mission of the system.
5. Establishing strategies to reach goals depending on matters of affordability, practicality and efficiency.
6. Establishing objectives along the way to achieving goals. Objectives are selected to be timely and indicative of progress toward goals.
7. Associating responsibilities and time lines with each objective. Responsibilities are assigned, including for the implementation of the plan, and for the achievement of various goals and objectives.
8. Writing and communicating a plan document with the above information, organized and distributed around the system.
9. Assessing completion and whether the problem was solved or the goal met.

McNamara (1999) asserts that the main stages of a plan are goals, strategies, objectives, tasks, and resources. In fig. 2.4 these stages are referenced to a system approach for ease of modeling.

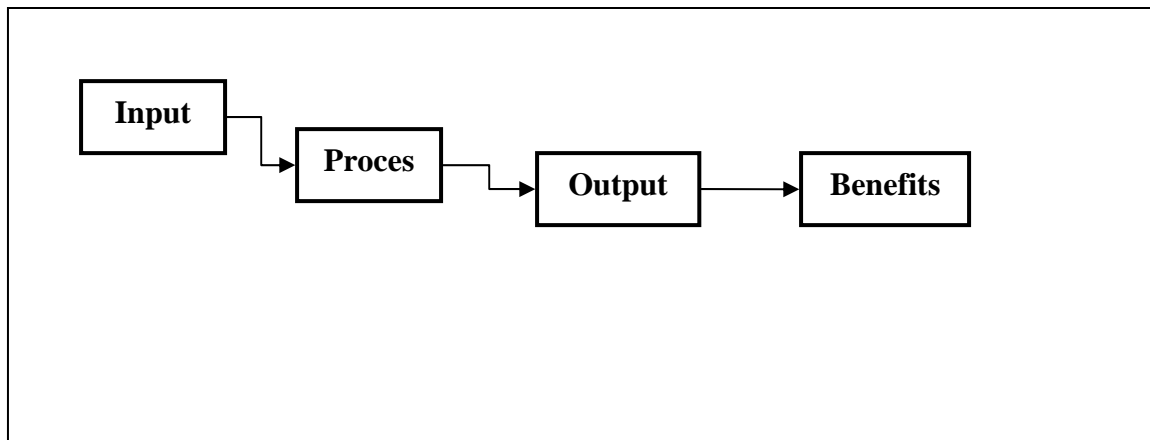


Figure 2.4: Model of planning process as a system approach. Based on (Crowe 1983)
(Developed by the author)

The Elements of a Plan:

Goals (Outputs from the System)

Goals are specific accomplishments necessary to achieve the preferred overall result from the system.

Strategies or Activities

Strategies are the methods or processes required to achieve the goals.

Objectives

Objectives are specific milestones that must be attained to achieve the goals in the plan.

Tasks

Tasks are specific activities required to meet the objectives of the plan. If the scope of the plan is very small, tasks and activities are small.

Resources and Budgets (Inputs to the System.)

Resources include the people, materials, technologies, money, etc., required to implement the strategies or processes.

The above stages and their definitions were used in this research as a reference when identifying the Egyptian model of planning process. The researcher described the planning processes of the cases studied using the previous terminology and sequences. This allowed representing the process in rural Egypt in terms commonly used in planning literature.

Modes of planning:

Faludi (1973) defines planning theory as rational procedures of thought and action promoting development. Based on that definition he classifies the planning process to different modes. There is the 'Blueprint mode' which is deterministic and is bound by long term policies. This contrasts with the 'Process mode' of planning which is based on research and participatory input. Faludi also discusses the 'Rational-comprehensive mode' of planning that contradicts what he describes as the 'Disjointed-incrementalist mode'. He agrees with Friedmann (1967) who divides planning modes to 'Functional' and 'Normative'. He explains that the differences among the modes are based on how the objectives and the goals are reached. In the 'Functional planning mode', the goals and objectives which define the actions are set and are unquestioned. On the other hand, in the 'Normative planning mode' the goals and objectives arise from rational choices based on needs. The previous terms were used by the researcher to identify the content of the plans used in the cases studied in rural Egypt.

2.5 Participation in Planning

Locke and Schweiger (1997) described participation as a process in which unequal or hierarchical individuals share the influence on a decision. In planning, problem solving, and decision making processes, participatory practices balance the involvement of such hierarchical individuals (Wagner, 1997).

The participatory process in a work place is believed to have a substantial positive effect on performance and satisfaction of workers (Bernstein, 1993; Bluestone and Bluestone, 1992; Hoerr, 1989). However, other researchers raised issues concerning the ability of participation to affect performance and satisfaction in a workplace (Ferris and Wagner, 1985). Others have argued that research has not yet detected a strong relationship between participation and satisfaction in the workplace (Wagner and Gooding, 1987a; 1987b).

Still, others blamed the flawed methodology of participation research for making it harder to interpret research results and their effect on participants. Extra caution in interpreting results and relations should be exercised to capture the effect of participation on participants (Cotton et al., 1988, Leaua, Locke, and Schweiger, 1990).

The debate on the degree of effect of participation on participants is very pertinent to this particular work which is looking into the relationship between participation (form) and the perception of participants. It was interesting to find that both sides of the debate pointed to the form of participation as a reference to its effectiveness (Cotton et al, 1988; Leaua, Locke, and Schweiger 1990). Researchers who found that participation caused satisfaction in the work place and others who found it did not described their findings in reference to the actual form of how the research on the participation took place.

Participation Modes in Planning:

By reviewing the different modes of participation in the planning process in Westernized literature, a better understanding of how to describe the mode of public participation used by Egyptian planners was achieved.

Participation in planning in the US has many modes. These modes vary from public hearings to full interactive participatory planning. For each mode of participation there is a different form.

Planners integrate participation in the planning process for different reasons. These reasons were laid out by authors like Arnstein (1969) as:

To Inform – to provide the public with information regarding the plan.

To Consult – to seek feedback from the parties concerned.

To Involve – to work directly and decide together with the public.

To Collaborate –to make a partner of the public and to act together with them in implementing the project.

To Empower –to put the final decision making in the hands of the public.

The reason for inviting the public affected by a plan to participate will affect the form of the participation. In her classification of citizens' participation types and models,

Arnstein (1969) describes two participation types: proactive and reactive. Each of these types has three models. Table 22 below demonstrates the six models of participation.

Table 2.2: The six models of participation based on Arnstein (1969). (Developed by the author).

| Citizen Participation Type | Citizen Participation Model | Example |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Proactive Participation (Involvement) | Citizen Control | Community controlled organization |
| | Delegated Control | By Law, dominant decision making |
| | Partnership | Negotiated decision making |
| Reactive Participation (Input) | Placation (weighted advice) | Citizen advisory boards (no power) |
| | Consultation | Public meetings inviting ideas (no assurance of action) |
| | Manipulation | Rubber-stamp boards, public relations |

The 1992 Rio Conference and its resolutions gave a significant boost to participatory planning (Ndung'u, 2005). The Conference declared the need for broad participation in decision-making, this being fundamental to the achievement of sustainable development (Brown & Quibbler, 1994). Like the Rio summit, the 1996 United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), elaborated on the importance of participatory planning and implementation (UNHCS, 1997). It became obvious that plans are perceived as a failure without involving community-based organizations and citizen groups (Rogers, 1995).

However, there are different interpretations of what people's participation and participatory development mean. The planners' interpretations range from wanting others to participate in "our plan" to "we are planning together to achieve mutually agreed upon goals" (Oltheten, 1995). Such studies support the argument for studying processes that would enhance more effective public participation in aid projects in Egypt thus making them more successful.

Researchers such as Pretty (1994) have classified participation into two models. The first is found in blueprint approaches and is called passive participation. The second is found in process-oriented approaches and is called interactive participation. This latter leads to locally formulated action plans (Oltheten, 1995).

Planners use two approaches to include the public in the planning process (Oltheten, 1995). The first approach is the blueprint or target-oriented approach. Participation in this context involves the willingness of the people to undertake the required activities within a plan. These activities, such as participating in public hearings, are mostly predetermined and the public plays a small role as participant. The second approach can be called the process-oriented approach. Participation in this context means that the people themselves assume ownership and accountability for activities, which they have identified and developed within the plan of the project (Oltheten, 1995). Here, public participation can include identifying the goals, studying alternatives, and ultimately being part of the process and the final decisions about the plan.

2.6 Culture

Because planners working in rural Egypt interact with local public with strong cultural affiliation, understanding their culture and how it affects their perceptions becomes important. How culture is defined and modeled in literature helps in understanding how the traditions of rural Egyptians affect their evaluation of participatory processes in which they are involved.

What is Culture?

In response to a question about how she defines culture on a BBC educational program, Kim Evans, the Executive Director of the Arts Council in England said,

“Culture is the thing that makes the difference between existing and living”

Culture develops through dialog, or the absence of it and spreads and is distributed spatially (Wager, 1996). Ingolf Vogeler in his cultural-landscapes course notes (2004) defines culture as a "learned behavior" which consists of several critical elements. He argues that language, religion, race, food, clothing and politics are the most important elements defining a culture. Cultures are specific entities which are located in space, purposeful, communicative and interactive with people.

Anthropologists face some dilemmas when researching culture and cultural perceptions. The first dilemma that divides scientists is whether to define culture in terms of public or private representation. Since the mid-20th century researchers have described culture in terms of public collective representation (Durkheim, 1951). In recent years, the notion that culture is outside individuals has been stressed (Morris & Fu, 2000). Those who view culture in public terms describe it as a network of social communication patterns (Geertz, 1976), while others describe it in terms of ecological and economical conditioning (Harris, 1979).

On the other hand, scientists who define culture in terms of private aspects describe it as an organization of cognitive structures controlling the sense of ethnic belief. Levi-Strauss (1966) analyzes cultural perception in terms of processed and unprocessed knowledge constructs. These constructs guide individuals in organizing their beliefs and conduct according to their private or subjective belief or value system (D'Andrade, 1995). The understanding of how scientists view culture and analyze human behavior should guide the researcher's identification of cultural influence on the normative planning process in rural Egypt.

Cultural dimensional analysis of behaviors and values differentiating between nations was the subject of interest of psychologists such as Hofstede (1980). Among the cultural dimensions, many researchers use Individualism and Collectivism to show the differences in character between the East and the West (Triandis et al, 1986). American and Chinese cultures were found to be total opposites. In the decision-making process and analysis of ideas, a Western/American approach is described as offering benefits while an Eastern/Chinese approach is described as making concessions (Leung & Bond, 1984; Chan, 1992). Using an Individualism-Collectivism construct to understand cultural differences is still the most influential model although it is invalidated empirically (Takano & Osaka, 1999) and as a concept (Ho & Chiu, 1994) by Eastern researchers.

The second dilemma that faces researchers is that researchers in the field of ethnography are either insiders or outsiders to the culture. Researchers try to describe a culture from an insider's (native) point of view or an outsider's (objective) point of view. In the first case, the description of the culture reflects the specific experience of the insider but may not be valid in describing

other cultures. In the second case, the description of culture is objective and removed from the researcher's experiences but may be applicable to many cultures (Headland, Pike, & Harris 1990).

Issues in Understanding How a Culture Is Described:

How researchers analyzed culture and its influences on the decision-making process were reviewed. An understanding of the scope of definitions and rationale, by which researchers in different fields analyze culture, creates a context in which to discern possible cultural influences on Egyptian planners as well as the Egyptian public. The Egyptian public in the context of this study are communities living in rural remote Egyptian towns and villages in contrast to other localities in the Nile-Delta or near big cities. This, in turn, paves the way for the construction of models of participation in planning in rural Egypt.

Cultural Traits and Modeling Culture:

Anthropologists have a long tradition of classifying people based on their differences, either in their features or in their behavior. Psychologists explore modeling culture using concepts of personality psychology, based on behavioral differences traceable by a few cultural traits. These traits are stable characteristics developed by interactions within a social context (Morris and Fu, 2000).

Some researchers classify behavior as national character. This concept was presented in government training programs as a guide to diplomats and army planners during the Second World War (Druckman et al, 1976). Other researchers describe behavior as a function of context and perception based on a cultural background that instills harmony or antagonism (Nader, 1969).

In cross-cultural psychology, researchers use many approaches to analyze cultural differences. Some use cultural traits to explain cultural differences, such as different perceptions, as arising from stable general characteristics. To what degree a culture is oriented toward individualism or collectivism is a good example of a cultural trait approach to analysis (Triandis, et al, 1986). On the other hand, cognitive psychologists explain cultural differences using a cognitive

constructivist approach. Constructivists describe cultural differences as arising from knowledge structures that guide actions in a social construct (Gelfand & Dyer, 2000; Morris et al, 1995).

A newer approach has emerged, taking into consideration circumstances and their role in the activation of knowledge structures. This approach draws from social cognition research to overcome the seemingly static description of a cultural characteristic (Higgins, 1996). Morris & Fu (2000) describe this as a dynamic constructivist approach, incorporating integrated models of relevant cultural social constructs.

The trait approach describes cultural differences as a result of strategic comprehensive character of people, while the constructivist approach explains them as resulting from a knowledge construct that guides the character toward a more tactical orientation. The dynamic constructivist approach describes cultural differences as a dynamic process that is activated by different cultural cues and symbols and varies based on the individual's knowledge constructs and their ability and willingness to draw on these constructs.

No matter which approach is used, it is clear that culture affects perception, which, in turn, guides the decision-making process in development projects.

2.7 Case Study Research

Working in both the government sector and the private sector in Egypt, planners are asked to evaluate plans for development projects. In the private sector, where the government influence is minimal, the planning process varies in each case. Many of the variations are subtle and need an insider's eye to be able to capture the latent variations that are situation specific. Therefore, when it was decided to study projects within the non-government sector in Egypt, a case study methodology was chosen.

Why Use Case Studies?

It is argued by researchers that a case study is a great venue to in-depth and holistic investigation (Feagin et al, 1991). The data collected in a case study, its sources, and the analysis shape the outcome. Case studies will bring out the participants' viewpoint by using different data sources. Yin (1993) classifies case studies into exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. On the other

hand, Stake (1995) describes case studies as intrinsic when researchers have a vested interest in the outcome; instrumental when the case is utilized to understand beyond the obvious to the observer; and collective when a group of cases is studied to generalize outcomes.

As case study research is not considered a sampling research, the cases should be selected in a way to maximize what is learned in the duration of the study (Yin 1993; Stake 1995; and Feagin et al, 1991). The unit of analysis in this case is critical as it is typically a system rather than an individual or group of individuals. Case studies are usually selective and focus on one or two issues which are important to understanding the system to be analyzed (unit of analysis) (Tellis, 1997b).

In this research, the unit of analysis is the project. The project here refers to a group of projects leading to successful development as evaluated by Egyptian professionals.

Issues in Case Study Research

Using different sources of data in a case study captures different perspectives in the analysis. Protocols that use multi perspectives from different data sources ensure accuracy and are ethically needed to assure the validity of the analysis process (Stake, 1995). Case study research is described as triangulation research if different sources of data were used. Snow and Anderson (1991) argue that triangulation can be triangulation of data, investigators, theories, or methodologies. In case-study research, information triangulation could be established by using multiple sources of data rather than a single source (Yin, 1984). Data source triangulation is identified by Denzin (1984) as being when the researcher looks for the data to remain the same in different contexts. On the other hand, case-study research is criticized for not being a good tool to generalize the outcomes of the analysis (Yin, 1994). Mainly this is caused by the small sample size.

In his book Case Study Research (1994), Yin presents some situations where a case study model is needed. He argues that a case study is best when the researcher wants to explain complex causal links in real-life interventions; to describe the real-life context in which the intervention has occurred; or to describe the intervention itself.

Creswell and Miller (2000) identified negative case analysis (negative member check) as a useful verification procedure often referred to in the literature. For the purposes of this study, the researcher used a case study with a negative member check as part of the primary study prior to choosing the case studies analyzed in the research. It provided inspiration for the research as well as a basis for definitions of success and failure so that the research could focus on the role of the form of participation in the perception of success.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Introduction:

The researcher in this study is concerned with the participatory planning processes in rural Egypt in general. He was especially interested in the rationale indigenous local participants used to evaluate the planning process and the plan outcomes. To study the evaluation rationale, the researcher represented a successful process by the participants' satisfaction of the participatory planning process. The researcher was also interested if the format of the planning process impacted the participants' consideration.

To collect this information, a group of research questions were formulated. To answer these questions, the researcher had to review planning documents of study cases and interview the people who participated in the planning process. Three cases were studied and analyzed in rural Egypt. The researcher was interested in the rationale used by planners in designing the participatory planning process and the rationale used by the participants in evaluating the process they took part in. Planners and participants were interviewed and were allowed to review the research findings. The participatory planning processes were described in terms commonly used in Westernized planning literature. Each case study was initially analyzed separately. Comparison and common trends are discussed in a later chapter.

In this chapter:

- The researcher lays out the basis for choosing and analyzing the case studies.
- The criteria and rationale for choosing these cases are stated.
- The method used to select participants for the interviews is described.
- The interviews with the planners and participants are described.
- The theoretical framework for analysis is discussed.

3.2 Cases Selection Criteria

To choose among many projects planned and implemented in rural Egypt, a criterion sampling technique was used to identify potential cases for the study. As the researcher is interested in the relation between participants in a planning process in Egypt and their evaluation of success of the plan's outcome, the cases chosen had to be commonly viewed by the public as successful. This led to identifying the criteria for the cases as follows:

1. The project is designed and implemented by Egyptians. As the researcher is exploring subtle differences that might occur in the participatory planning process in Egypt, studying processes designed by Egyptian planners was important.
2. The project planned is directed toward local development (social, economic, or environmental). The researcher expects more public interest in development projects especially in rural Egypt, where development needs cannot be met by the government. The planners had stated claims that the projects were environmentally and socially sound. This inclusion assures involvement of diverse groups of interested people. From documents (e.g. environmental impact statements) or through interviews with planners and stake holders the environmental and social consciousness was determined.
3. The planning process was not restricted by government or foreign aid. The researcher in previous experience determined that government agencies or foreign aid often restrict planners to specific planning guidelines. The researcher was more interested in exploring the unrestricted form of designing participatory planning processes in Egypt. This was to allow studying the hypothesis that the planning process in rural Egypt is different from Westernized planning process.
4. The planners involved stakeholders in the planning process and shaped their design to satisfy their needs. In initial discussions with planners, the researcher noted whether or not the planning process was pre-determined or had the flexibility to involve full interaction with participants.

5. The continuing indigenous local public support for the project was considered as a sign of continuous satisfaction of the members of the local community. Satisfaction of local people was used as an initial indicator of perceived success.
6. Projects were perceived successful by Egyptians.

Three projects that fit these criteria and represent the “perceived successful” group of cases were identified from information received through interviewing Egyptian experts¹ and reviewing the Egyptian media² in the last few years

3.3 Planners’ Selection Criteria

In the United States and many other countries, a planner is thought to be holding a degree in urban or regional planning. In this study, the researcher classified the planner as a role played by a person or a group and act as a driving force to the planning process and not necessarily as a professional qualification. In the cases studied, none of the initiators of the studied projects had a formal/professional planning degree. They all acted as planners and facilitators based on their professional experience and their knowledge of the needs and potentials of the people in their locality. Planners of the three selected projects/cases were interviewed. In the projects studied, the planners facilitated the peoples’ participatory planning process and motivated the process. In cases where there is a group of planners involved in designing a plan, the main planner/facilitator is interviewed and referred to as the planner.

¹ Among the experts: Dr. Adel El-Beltagy, former Undersecretary of Agriculture for research in Egypt, who was responsible for agricultural development in rural communities; Dr. Magdy Madkour, former director of Agricultural and environmental development research center, department of Agriculture, Egypt; Dr. Fathi Mohamed Ali, Former Secretary of Education, professor of economy, Economic Analyst, member of the Shora Council (house of Lords) in Egypt; Dr. Salah Hassouna, Associate Dean for environment and community development, Institute for Graduate Research, Egypt.

² Al-Ahram (National Egyptian Newspaper), El-Wafd (main opposition newspaper), Egyptian TV [Channel 1 (national), Channel 6 (Nile delta), Channel 8 (Suez canal and Sinai), and El Mehwar (private owned satellite channel)]

3.4 Participant Selection Criteria

Through interviewing the planners and reviewing the planning documents (whenever applicable), names of participants who joined the participatory planning process were acquired. Five participants in each project were chosen to be interviewed through an opportunistic sampling technique where participants are identified by the planners and other participants, as well, a “Snowball” sampling, in which additional participants were identified by others during their interviews. Patton (1990) argued that the benefit of such an approach is to identify information-rich opportunities or critical cases that emerge in the field. Consequently, the research interviewees constituted a purposeful non-random sample.

A criterion sampling method is where participants are selected based on the experience they lived (Seamon, 2000). The random sampling method is usually used to generalize data, while this sampling method seeks participants believed to have experienced the phenomena being studied (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This dictated that the sample was only from among:

- 1) Local people from the dominant culture (Bedouin or similar),
- 2) People who took part in the participatory planning process, and
- 3) People who articulated an opinion about the project in which they participated in planning.

3.5 The theoretical framework for analysis

In order to study indigenous peoples’ participatory planning as a phenomenon, it is necessary to describe the events and identify underlying patterns. These steps constitute the main procedure within an existential-phenomenological approach (Seamon, 2000).

In this section, the researcher outlines three main steps:

- Construct a theoretical framework
- Study the plans of the cases chosen
- Describe the participants and their answers

The researcher reviewed planning and participatory planning Westernized literature. By doing so the researcher became familiar with the most common components and classifications of a Westernized planning process. The literature review (chapter 2) became a framework used to describe the planning processes used in the cases studied in rural Egypt.

The researcher then studied the planning cases chosen. The description of the plans was derived from two main sources. The first source was reviewing planning documents and published materials related to the chosen cases. The second source was interviewing the planners and questioning their rationale behind the process they choose. The researchers studied the plans and the process and described it in the context of the Westernized planning process.

The researcher then interviewed five participants in each case and analyzed their answers in the contexts of Westernized planning process and their cultural heritage.

Westernized framework of Participatory Planning Processes:

From reviewing literature discussing the planning theory and the participatory planning theory, two illustrations were compiled using Westernized terminology to describe main participatory planning approaches.

Using Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1994), and Oltheten (1995), Westernized approaches of planning were described to be a reference when describing the models used in cases studied in rural Egypt. Each approach included the participatory planning process that related to it. The researcher chose these authors as they present most of the participatory patterns expected to be found in rural Egypt. Along the years many researchers have used these authors' work as a springboard upon which to describe new findings. Other authors' work discussed in the literature review, chapter 2, is utilized to build theoretical contexts for research methods, analysis, and validation.

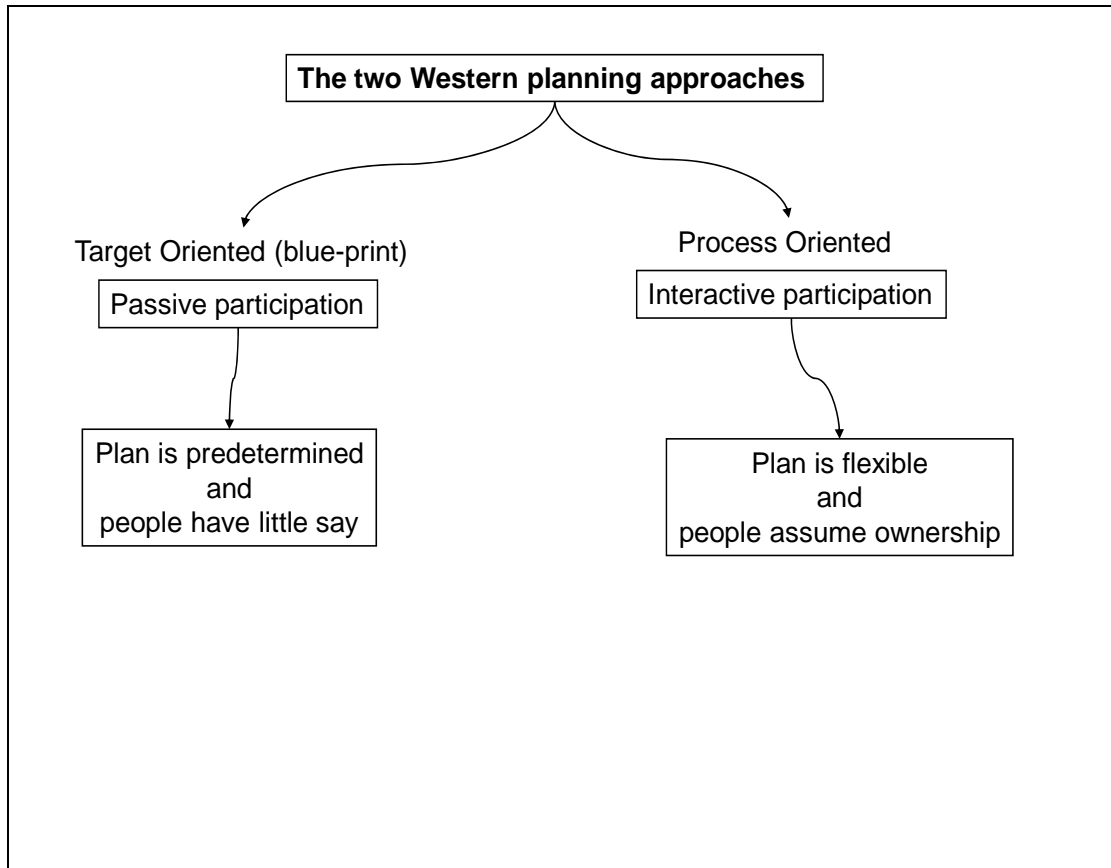


Figure 3.1: Constructed Westernized approaches used to describe planning, based on Pretty (1994) and Oltheten (1995). (Developed by the author).

From Westernized participatory planning literature reviewed, the researcher constructed an illustration showing the two types of peoples' participation and the models that were classified in each type. The theoretical framework set by Arnstein 1969 was used as a reference for analyzing the modes of participatory planning processes used by the Egyptian planners.

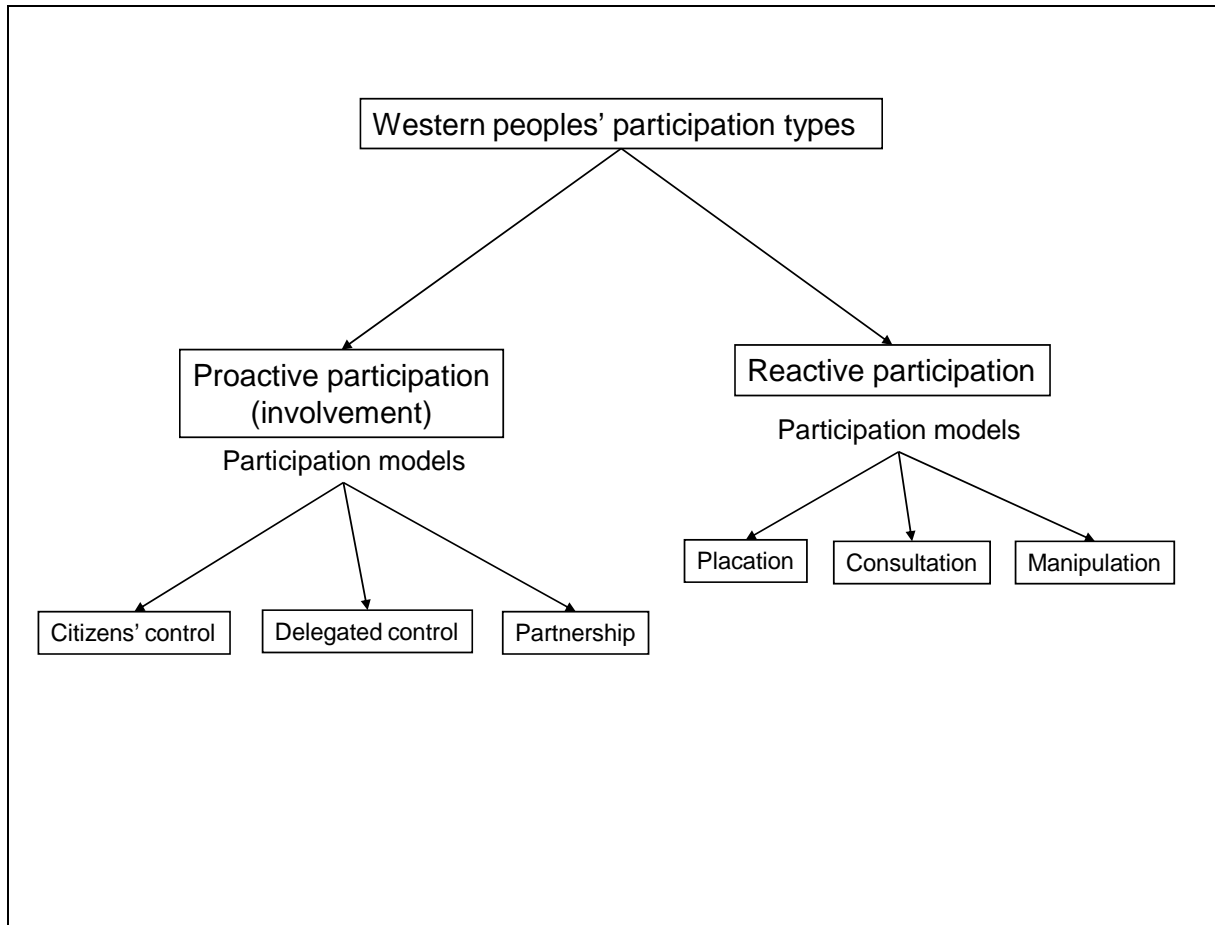


Figure 3.2: Different types and models of citizens' participation (Arnstien 1969) to be used as a reference to describe participatory planning process in rural Egypt. (Developed by the author).

3.6 Studying the plans

In this section the researcher will describe the methods used to describe the planning process used in the three cases studied. This description includes the planning process envisioned by the project planners, the participatory process as described by the participants, and the researcher's content identification of the planning process. The content identification is the researcher's reflection on patterns emerged out of the process. The field work was divided into two main

stages. The first stage involved the planners' description of his plan and the rationale for why he chose the components of his plan. The second stage described the participatory process as experienced by the participants. It also described the rationale the participants used to evaluate the success or failure of the planning process and the outcomes of the plan.

In both stages, findings were explained using the westernized theoretical framework deduced from the literature reviewed in chapter 2.

The First Stage: The Plan and the Planners

The first stage of the study is designed to record the rationale used by the planner to construct the planning process. This stage depended on the planners' description of their process and how it evolved. An interview protocol was designed to facilitate answering of the research questions stated in chapter 1. A copy of this protocol is attached in Appendix A.

Five main questions were used to summarize the planners' answers and analyze the evolution of the process. These questions were:

1. What type of development did the planner designed his project to achieve?
2. Why did the planner choose to involve the public in the planning process?
3. In what stage of the planning process did the planner invited public participation?
4. What type of public participation did the planner chose for the planning process?
5. How did the planner evaluated the success or failure of the planning process?

The answers to these questions were stated in relation to the theoretical framework deduced from participatory planning theory literature commonly used in the West. Components of the theoretical framework were represented as potential answers to these five questions. The researcher developed a form to be able to summarize the answers for the five questions stated above. In this form the initial components of the planning process were stated. From the planning literature, reviewed in chapter 2, the researcher deduced components and concepts used to describe a planning process. During initial discussions with the planners of the projects, in the three cases, some additional concepts in the planning process emerged. The developed form was used as a theoretical framework to describe the planning processes used in the cases studied. When necessary, a concept was added to the theoretical framework (form) to capture an

important component of the planning process in the cases studied. In interviewing the planners, the researcher noted which components of the planning process were originally included in the plan and those which evolved during the participatory process. These two groups of concepts were presented to illustrate additions to the planners' original process. Some of the planners indicated their surprise and happiness with the evolved components. In many cases, components of the original plan have evolved to a different shape than was planned. This difference could be in the development or in the articulation of the planning component/potential answer.

The first question related to the types of development planned and represented by the intent of the planner when interviewed. As deduced from literature reviewed in Chapter 2, development projects were classified into 3 main categories:

- Economic development projects
- Environmental development projects
- Social development projects

Economic development projects were described in the literature review as projects directed to economic growth of people involved. Environmental development projects were described as directed toward ecological conservation and natural resources quality protection. Social development projects were mainly dedicated to cultural heritage conservation and social structure network preservation. When two or three of the above classifications were combined some literature described it as sustainable development projects. The intent to develop a local peoples' economic state while preserving their social structure and environment was considered by the researcher as a sustainable development project.

The types of development the planner chose to include in the original plan were noted in contrast to other types that evolved from the participatory planning process and were then added to the plan.

The second question was related to the rationale used by the planner to choose a participatory planning process. The answer to this question was represented by the reason a planner would invite a participatory process. From planning theory literature reviewed in chapter 2, the reasons behind inviting public participation in development projects in an area were either

- To achieve sustainable development,
- To support self rule in a locale, or
- To educate the public on utilizing potential procedures for their benefit.

Achieving sustainable development was defined by the sustainability of the project outcomes and the maintenance of its benefits. In many cases, the participatory processes were a way for participants to feel ownership of the project and its outcomes. This feeling of ownership was a guarantee for the planner that the participants maintain the outcome of the project.

Supporting self-rule was another reason, deduced from literature, to invite public participation. In cases studied, it was relevant where participants earned more freedom (from the local authorities) to self-organize/self regulate development in their area. In the Egyptian context, a self-regulating civic group faces strong resistance from local authorities especially when controlling a potential economic resource.

The third question focuses on the timing and sequence of planning steps. The planners interviewed chose to invite different groups to participate in the process. The timing here relates to the sequence of events where different planning components took place. From the planning theory literature reviewed in chapter 2 such as (McNamara, 1999), the plan components are:

- Vision formulation,
- Objectives formulation,
- Analysis of available and needed resources,
- Designing the activities leading to achieving the selected objectives, and
- Implementing these activities

In most of the literature reviewed the plan components and sequence were the ones stated above. Formulating the vision of the planner and establishing the main goals of the plan were the first step in a planning process, followed by identifying the goals and formulating specific and the measurable project objectives followed. Identifying and analyzing available resources, needed resources, and potential sources of funding constitute another important component of a plan. Based on the available resources, activities are then designed to achieve the planned objectives. Implementing such activities becomes a final step before evaluation of the project outcomes.

The timing of inviting different groups to participate in the planning process was noted. Within the theoretical framework and sequence of events, the initially planned components and what evolved were also noted.

The fourth question relates to the types of participation the public were involved in. The answer was represented by types of participation the planner designed for the participatory process. Deduced from participatory planning theory reviewed in chapter 2, the researcher selected four types of citizens' participation to examine based on (Arnstein, 1969). These four types of public participation were

- Delegated participation,
- All beneficiaries attend planning sessions,
- Public hearings, and
- Focus groups of interested parties

Interviews with the planners guided the selection of only these four types. These types were emphasized by the planners when discussing their thinking processes in formulating the participatory planning processes used. Delegated participation was noted as an initial or evolved type of participation as it is an indigenous tribal participatory process used in the area of the cases studied. Much of the reviewed literature suggested that all beneficiaries of a project should attend all steps of the participatory process to insure their satisfaction. That contradicted the initial plan in all the cases studied according to the planners. In their interviews, planners stated that all beneficiaries attending sessions contradict the Bedouin process of decision making.

Public hearings and focus groups are commonly used in the West as venues for public participation. Although some of the planners thought it contradicted the indigenous peoples' mode of decision making, public hearings and focus groups were used in the cases studied. As they evolved in a different format than commonly used in the West, the planners did not state them as part of the plan. The researcher considered these events to be public hearing sessions or focus groups.

The fifth question relates to how the planning processes were evaluated. The answer was represented by the way planners evaluated the participatory process they designed. Meeting plan

objectives or the satisfaction of participants were the major evaluation elements discussed in the Westernized planning theoretical framework deduced from the literature reviewed in chapter 2. As the researcher studied the planners' discussions of their process, two more concepts emerged. The first was the clear distinction the planners made in describing participants satisfaction. The planners discussed achieving a maximum number of satisfied participants as a great majority satisfaction. The percentage of satisfied participants was most important to all planners. Some planners described 70-80% satisfaction as successful and others considered it less than successful and leading to unsustainable project outcomes. The researcher then explored the concept of consensus as another classification of participants' satisfaction. Satisfying 100% of participants (consensus) was stated by the planners as their ultimate goal as it is the tradition in Bedouin decision-making process. They all disclaimed that it is hard to achieve and they did not test if it was achieved. The researcher divided the participants' satisfaction into three divisions based on percentage of participants satisfied. This made the potential answers for the fifth question as an indication of successful participatory process to be:

- Meeting plan objectives,
- Majority satisfaction,
- Maximum satisfied participants, and
- Consensus

Although the difference between the exact percentages of satisfied participants were not clear in the planners' descriptions, the researcher used this classification to identify if the planner intended an evaluation process conforming to the local Bedouin tradition. The researcher noted the evolution of consensus through the participatory planning process when deduced from interviewing the participants in the process. Detailed analysis of the participant's interviews will follow.

As the researcher interviewed planners of the cases studied, he summarized the answers in a form/summary diagram. The form was designed to represent the planning components and the potential rationale used by the projects' planners. It was also designed to capture the answers to the five questioned mentioned above.

Summary Diagram of the planners' interviews:

The diagram in figure 3.3 includes two additional columns to represent what was initially planned and what evolved/unfolded during the participatory process. The second additional column was added as interviews with projects' planners and participants showed some planning processes evolved in different directions than had been initially planned.

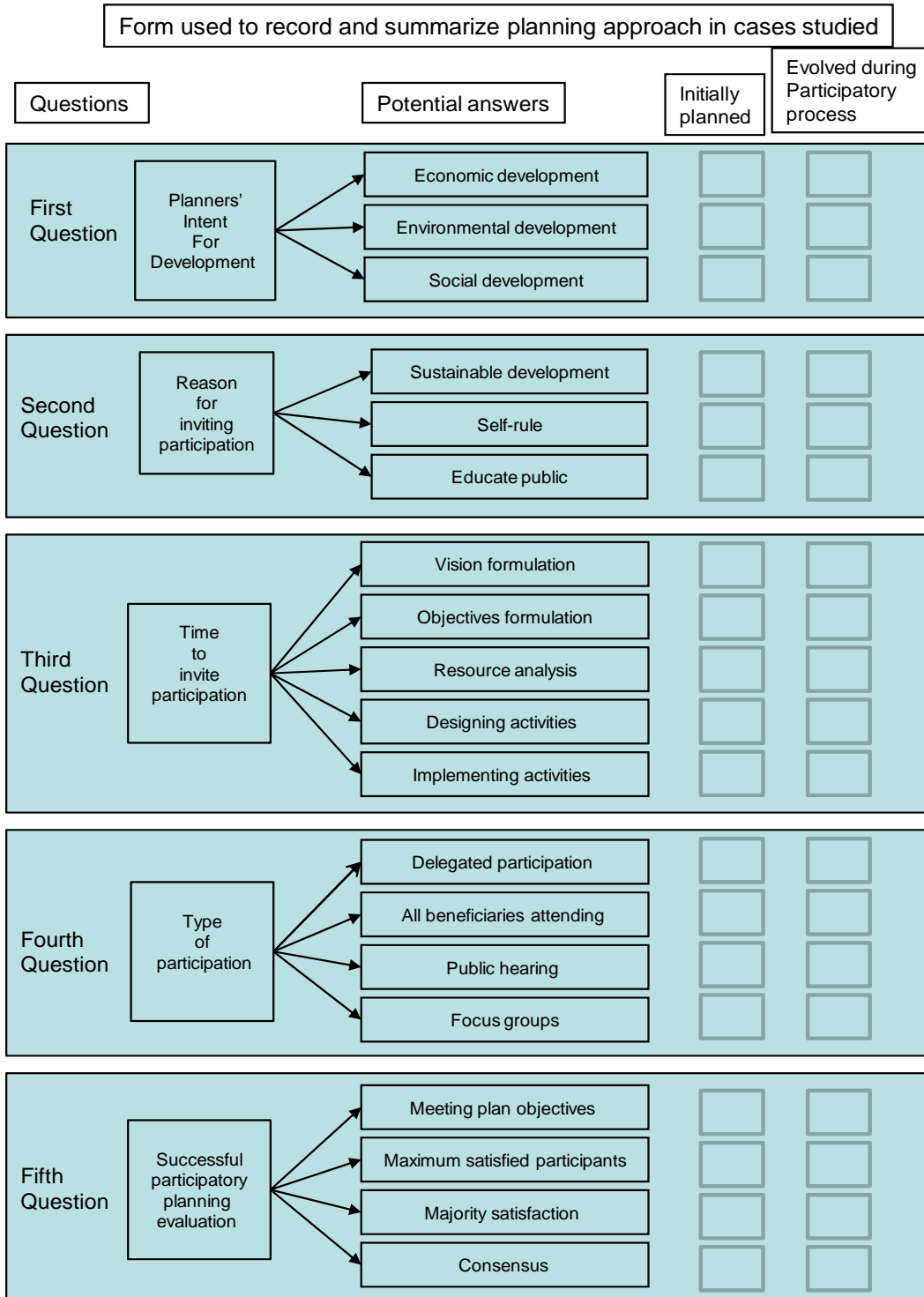


Figure 3.3: Form used to summarize outcome of interviewing planners and reviewing planning documents. (Developed by the author).

The Second Stage: The Participants

Participants were interviewed to help describe the participatory planning process from their viewpoint. A careful analysis of their choice of words and of what they described in more detail, gave the researcher guidance in how to view the process through their eyes. This added a cultural framework of analysis for the plans and its outcomes. The aim of the interviews was to:

1. Determine if the participant was satisfied with the participatory process.
2. Determine if the participant perceived the planning process as successful.
3. Determine if the participant perceived the outcomes of the planning process as successful.
4. Determine if the form of participation conformed to the social/ cultural traditions of the participant.
5. Determine if the form of participation impacted the perception of the participant on the success or failure of the plans' outcome.

Each of these five aims was summarized in a diagram of the interviewees' answers to questions about these main five aspects of the participatory process.

The interviews took place in informal settings determined by the locale and the participants' traditional settings for a friendly discussion. The interview protocol used and the questions to the participants are recorded in appendix B.

Summary diagram of the participants' views:

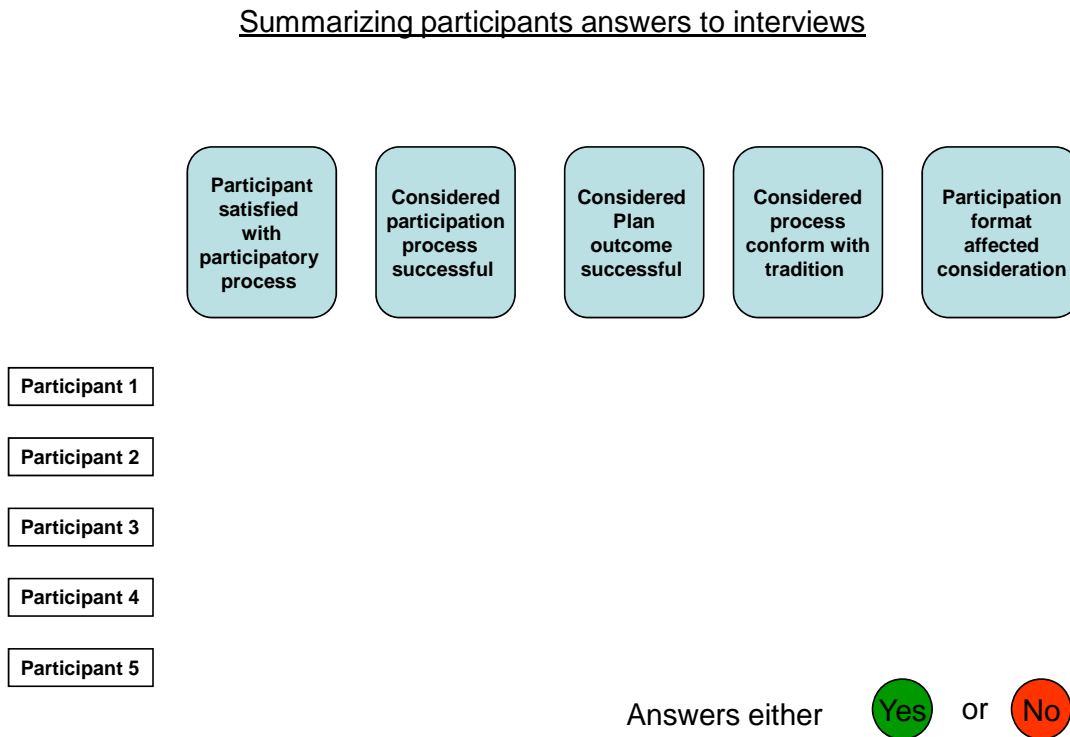


Figure 3.4: The Diagram used to summarize the answers of participants to interview questions (Appendix B). (Developed by the author).

3.7 Analyzing the process used in cases studied

In this section, the researcher defines the analysis process used in this study. As qualitative research produces a large amount of contextual data, the researcher employed a content identification and analysis approach. In such approach, the content of a communication between the researcher and the interviewees is used to identify elements of relevance to the interviewees' experience (Babbie, 2003). The researcher analyzes the plans of the cases studied, interpreting the important findings. Another level of analysis in the shape of comparison of findings reveals common trends and differences. The analysis of this qualitative research is a content identification process in which the researcher describes underlying factors that emerge during interviews. Common trends and differences between the studied participatory planning

processes will be discussed to validate or refute the hypothesis of this research. The aim of such analysis is to identify factors affected the degree of success as perceived by the participants of the planning process. A sample of interviewee's answers is recorded in Appendix C.

3.8 Validity Issues: Credibility, Dependability, and Transferability

In this research, a group of sources was used to establish validity. These sources included documents supplied by the planners, published materials about each project, interviews with planners or people who knew the planning process, and direct observations by the researcher and other Egyptian professionals³ about the projects and their processes.

A combination of exploratory and explanatory investigation for the plans was needed to generate a model that is believed to represent an Eastern attitude or approach to planning a development project. This model is especially valid in rural areas of Egypt with a nearly homogenous cultures or subcultures.

To establish *credibility* (internal validity), the researcher employed three strategies based on Anfara et al (2002). Prolonged engagement in the field, triangulation of data, and member check were used to establish credibility. The researcher's long track record of working with Bedouins in rural Egypt added to the credibility of the study. Triangulation of data was utilized to assure dependability of the data gathered and the planning-process description. The researcher used a member check to establish the trustworthiness of his interpretation of interviewees' answers.

To establish *transferability* (external validity), the researcher provided thick descriptions (detailed description) of the format of the participatory process. The researcher interviewed participants who actively engaged in the planning process and thus utilized purposeful sampling.

The researcher constructed a matrix to guide validity analysis based on Anfara et al (2002), to relate qualitative research terms to quantitative terms. He also illustrated the strategies he employed to establish such validity. The matrix also included the time the researcher utilized these strategies.

³ Refer to selection criteria

Table 3.1: Matrix verifying Quantitative terms, Qualitative equivalent, strategies employed by researcher, and time of employment as deduced from reviewing planning literature (chapter 2). (Developed by the author).

| Quantitative term | Qualitative equivalent term | Strategy employed | Time strategy employed |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Internal Validity | Credibility | Prolonged engagement in the field | On going |
| | | Member Check | After interviews |
| | | Triangulation | During data gathering |
| External Validity | Transferability | Provide thick description | During data gathering |
| | | Purposeful sampling | Prior to interviews |
| Reliability | Dependability | Code – recode strategy | During data gathering and result presentation |
| | | Triangulation | During data gathering |

The researcher utilized a member check to validate that the information gathered from the interviews reflects the participants’ opinions. The researcher also utilized the source triangulation method to assure the accuracy and dependability of the information.

Member check: Credibility

The researcher recapped the answers to participants in the very end of each interview. The researcher specially offered interviewees the chance to correct the researcher’s interpretation of their answers to the research questions. In this way the researcher assured that his interpretation was correct and credible. When there were changes or corrections the researcher reported it in

his analysis of the interviews. If the interviewee verified that he partially agreed with the researcher's interpretation, the correction is recorded.

Planners had a chance to review with the researcher his initial analysis of their interviews and planning documents. They were offered an opportunity to add or argue any points they did not agree with. Planners were introduced to the form used to summarize their interviews and the researcher explained the different components in them. Planners then were able to verify the initial plan components and comment on how the participatory process evolved. The answers to the five questions used in the form were discussed and verified in a separate session that took place with each planner after all data had been gathered and interviews with participants had been completed.

Participants were presented with initial answers to the five components summarizing their participatory experience in the very end of each interview. These reviews were conducted in the same setting as the interviews and as informally. Disagreements with the researcher's interpretation were recorded.

Information Triangulation:

The researcher used many sources of information to be able to describe the plans and the participatory planning processes. As the researcher noted information from planning documents and published materials, he reviewed information gathered through interviews. Interviews had been conducted with the planner and the participants separately. The researcher used descriptions that were confirmed by the three sources. The participants or the planning documents did not confirm some of the information about the plan and the planner's initial design.

The researcher used a matrix to relate the question used in the interview protocols (Appendix A and Appendix B) to the research questions. The researcher chose this method to assure that the interviews answered the research questions. A compilation of such a matrix allowed the researcher to view a number of questions answered by both the planners and the participants of the participatory planning process.

Using the same method, matrixes were compiled to relate the answers of each interview protocol to the components used to summarize these interviews. The researcher used these matrixes to assure the validity of the summary forms/diagrams.

Dependability of interview protocol:

Table 3.2 demonstrates how the protocol questions answer the research questions. Questions from interviews with both the planners and the participants were chosen to provide triangulation in answering most of the research question components. Other research questions were answered from other data sources such as planning documents or publications introduced by the planner.

Table 3.2: The Relationship of Interview protocol questions to Research Questions. (Developed by the author).

| Research Questions | Code for Protocol questions answering research questions |
|---|---|
| <p>What are the important components of planning?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the stages that are involved in the planning process as deduced from cases studied in Egypt? | <p>PL1, PL2, PL3, PL4, PL5, PL6, PL21, PR31, PR32, PR33, PR34, PR36</p> |
| <p>What are the characteristics of a participatory planning process?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What constitutes participation in the projects studied in Egypt? | <p>PL8, PL9, PL10, PL16, PL21, PL26, PL27, PL28, PL29, PR1, PR2, PR3, PR4, PR5, PR6, PR7, PR8</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who gets involved in a participatory process in the projects studied in Egypt? | <p>PL16, PL17, PL18, PL19, PL30, PL31, PR9, PR10, PR11</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the motivation to be involved in a participatory process in projects studied in Egypt? | <p>PL32, PL33 PR26, PR27, PR28</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At what stages in the planning process does participation occur in the projects studied in Egypt? | <p>PL11, PL12, PL13, PL14, PL15, PR39, PR40</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is success evaluated? • What defines success? • How do Egyptians view success in a planning process? | <p>PL13, PL14, PL16, PL32, PL33, PR29, PR30, PR31, PR32, PR35, PR41, PR42, PR43, PR44, PR45, PR46, PR47, PR48</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was the form of participation of local people a cause of perceived success of the planning process? | <p>PL36, PL37, PL38, PL40, PL41, PL42, PL43, PL44, PL45, PR12, PR13, PR14, PR15, PR16, PR17, PR18, PR19, PR20, PR22, PR23, PR38, PR46, PR47, PR48, PR57, PR58</p> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was the format of participation of local people a cause of perceived success of the planning process outcome? | <p>PR21, PR24, PR25, PR49, PR50, PR51, PR52, PR53</p> |

The researcher related the first-stage interview-question protocol (Appendix A) to the five questions used to summarize the planners' responses. In this case, each question corresponds with group of questions within the protocol.

Table 3.3: Matrix relating interview protocol questions to component summarizing interviews with planners. (Developed by the author).

| | Questions used to summarize planners' interviews | Code for interview protocol questions answering the questions |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | What type of development the planner designed his project to achieve? | PL1, PL2, PL7, PL21, PL33, PL36 |
| 2 | Why the planner chose to involve the public in the planning process? | PL3, PL4, PL5, PL7, PL21, PL22, PL27, PL30, PL32, PL33, PL36, PL37, PL38 |
| 3 | In what stage of the planning process the planner invited public participation? | PL 5, PL 9, PL 21, PL 22, PL 30, PL 31, PL 37, PL 38 |
| 4 | What type of public participation the planner chose for the planning process? | PL16, PL21, PL30, PL31, PL32, PL34, PL37, PL38, PL43 |
| 5 | How the planner evaluated the success or failure of the planning process? | PL12, PL13, PL14, PL15, PL37, PL38, PL43 |

The researcher related the second stage interview question protocol (Appendix B) to the five main items used to summarize the planning process participants' responses. In this case, each item corresponds with group of questions within the protocol.

Table 3.4: Matrix relating interview protocol questions to component summarizing interviews with participants of planning processes. (Developed by the author).

| | Items used to summarize the planning process participants interviews | Code for related interview protocol questions |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | if the participant was satisfied with the participatory process | PR3, PR5, PR6, PR7, PR8, PR12, PR18, PR20, PR22 |
| 2 | if the participant perceived the planning process as successful | PR4, PR9, PR10, PR11, PR13, PR14, PR15, PR16, PR30, PR38, PR43, PR54, PR57 |
| 3 | if the participant perceived the outcomes of the planning process as successful | PR17, PR21, PR24, PR26, PR29, PR35, PR41, PR42, PR49, PR52, PR54, PR55, PR58 |
| 4 | if the form of participation conformed to the social/cultural traditions of the participant | PR3, PR4, PR6, PR7, PR8, PR10, PR12, PR13, PR15, PR16, PR17, PR18, PR20, PR22, PR23, |
| 5 | if the form of participation impacted the perception of the participant on the success or failure of the plans' outcome | PR18, PR20, PR28, PR46, PR50, PR54, PR55, PR58 |

The researcher employed such checks to assure the validity of the methodology he chose to use. The researcher then started studying the cases and describing its planning components. The forms designed by the researcher were used to capture the projects' planners' and the planning processes participants' answers to the interviews, thus describing the planning process and answering the research problems stated in the introduction chapter.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDIES

Introduction:

In this chapter the researcher will present three cases that fit the criteria discussed in Chapter 3.

First is the Sama group case study (Sama) of developing an industrial and commercial economic base for local people in North Sinai. The second case studied is Hemaya NGO (Hemaya) in South Sinai Egypt. The third case chosen is the White Desert Association (WDA), a civil society effort to involve active NGOs around the White Desert National Park in the park's management. The researcher will describe the organization and analyze the participatory planning process implemented in each case.

A map of the areas where the study took place follows, (see Figure 4.1).

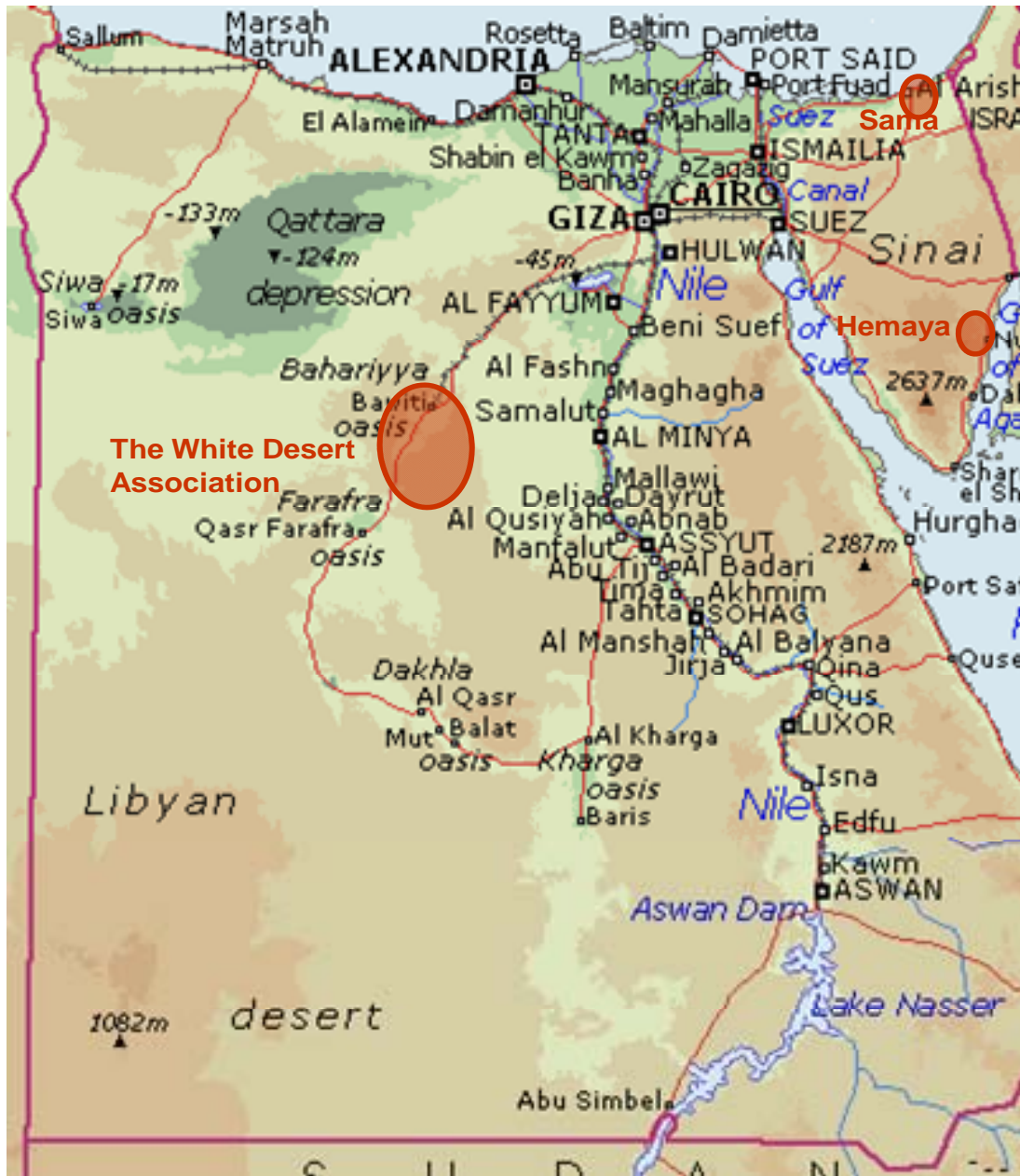


Figure 4.1: Map of Egypt showing the 3 study locations circled in red. Map source (SIS 2003)

4.1 Sama

4.1.1 Introduction

The Mediterranean coast of North Sinai, Egypt has been economically devastated for many decades. The area of North Sinai has a rich natural resource base but suffered the consequences of many wars. The indigenous communities in this area were in a dire need for economic support. As the Egyptian governments tried to encourage investment in the area, they were faced with investors shy of attempting development in such a high-risk area. The area borders Israel and the Gaza Strip, which makes it volatile and vulnerable to be economically affected by changing political situations.

Based on his belief that businessmen in the private sector should have social responsibility to the local people, Hassan Rateb started a group of projects in North Sinai, Egypt. The Sama Group (Sama) was established as a national investment group dedicated to the economic development of rural Egypt in general and the Sinai in particular.

In this section, the researcher documents the Sama plan and the participants' view of the plan. This section will be organized as follows: a statement of the **Documentation and sources** used by the researcher as a reference to the planning process. In this section different types of documents and published materials were used. A brief description of the **History** of Sama will then follow.

Using the planning theory literature reviewed in chapter 2 the **Project Plan structure** is described in terms normally used in western literature. The plan structure is divided into a **Mission, Goals, Objectives, Projects and Activities, Funding sources**.

4.1.2 Documents used

The author used a group of documents and articles in Arabic describing the different stages the Sama planners designed and their achievements. The author used a book⁴ published by Sama publications written by Dr/Rateb as a reference to understand many aspects of the planners' intent and vision. Another book the researcher used was a cost/benefit analysis by Sama Group⁵.

The planner offered the researcher many unpublished documents regarding present achievements and future plans. The planner invited the researcher to attend a few Sama board meetings where he presented strategic plans and cost benefit analyses. Attending the planner's presentations and hearing his defense of ideas generated through his participatory planning process was important to identify non articulated objectives.

As Sama Group owns a private satellite TV channel in Egypt (Al-Mehwar), many programs discussing the economic development in Egypt reflected the ideology and implementation methodology suggested by the planner. Revisiting Al-Mehwar channel allowed the researcher to follow the evolution of the plans as the planner talked to the public and answered their questions on the air. The author viewed many programs which were not well cited but were enough to illustrate the progression of projects undertaken by Sama in Sinai. Al-Mehwar channel also has a web page⁶ that offers, in many instances, excerpts from speeches by the planner or some of the board members through recorded programs.

The researcher also deduced information from interviewing the planner and the participants of some Sama projects. Informal discussions with Sama consultants and managers added to the deduced information and helped the researcher accurately describe the Sama plan. All interviews, discussions, and documents were in Arabic language and were translated by the researcher.

⁴ A heart pulsates in Egypt's love. *In Arabic* "Qalb yanbud fi hob Maer". Hassan Rateb 2003, Dar El Helal, Cairo, Egypt.

⁵ Sama Group: Cost/Benefit and the Social value. *In Arabic. Sama Group 2006*. I.P.H., Cairo

⁶ <http://www.elmehwar.tv/default.asp> a family oriented Arabic TV channel

4.1.3 The plan

History:

In 1982, Dr Hassan Rateb established Sama Group as a private company dedicated to the development of Sinai, Egypt. It started with a company for tourism development in North Sinai and added companies and projects in increments. Projects were designed to be stand-alone business developing the economic base of local people and their ability to maintain their Bedouin lifestyle. The companies engaged in an array of development projects in areas of hospitality and tourism, heavy industries, small businesses, technologies, and education. The group evolved to cover other financial and trade activities supporting the industries. Sama established the first fully-accredited university in Sinai with incentives for Bedouin applicants.

Mission:

Sama planner believed that businessmen should assume social/national responsibilities to support underprivileged indigenous people. The mission has evolved since 1982, adding concepts that were not initially articulated. The planner's initial rationale was helping the inhabitation of the Sinai, thus reducing pressure on the Nile Delta. The moving of big numbers of people to inhabit Sinai cities needed infrastructure and sustainable economic sources. This move also would impact the local economy and culture of the Bedouins originally inhabiting these areas. Out of his knowledge of Bedouin traditions, the planner designed projects that empowered the local people to establish an economic base and job market attracting others from the Nile Delta to reside in North Sinai. The projects designed to benefit all locals economically while reducing social impacts of migration of the new comers. Within this thought process and environmental challenges affecting public health of Egypt, the planner chose to aim for environmental best-practice operations.

The mission evolved to be achieving an economic sustainability in Sinai through environmental best-practice operations while preserving the Bedouin culture.

The information about the evolution in the mission was deduced from interviewing the planner.

To insure accuracy, the researcher used the exact translation of terms as stated by the planner.

The planner used English terminology within Arabic conversation in the private interviews with the researcher.

Goals:

The main goal of Sama is to construct economic opportunities in the Sinai. As Sama translates to “sky or elevating” in Arabic, the group aimed for sustainable economic development while protecting natural and cultural heritage. The goals as stated by the planner were:

- Alleviate poverty of the Bedouin communities in the Sinai
- Grow economic activities and job opportunities
- Produce projects with minimal environmental impact
- Preserve the local Bedouin traditions and develop cultural awareness programs

The researcher had to deduce goals and objectives and classify them. Long term strategic goals were differentiated from objectives that had specific measurable activities to be achieved.

Objectives:

The previous goals were divided into objectives linked to specific activities. The activities were mostly projects or small businesses ensuring economic stimulation of the local market. The planner stated that he planned to achieve goals through establishing industries and supporting service activities to ensure the sustainability of the economic activities. The deduced objectives were:

- To establish tourism development operation in the area
- To educate local people through building schools (k-12)
- To support vocational education in public schools in the area
- To establish cement manufacturing industry, utilizing available minerals in the area.
- To scientifically support development projects in the area through establishing a university
- To raise local peoples’ awareness of local issues and potential local solutions for problems

Projects and activities:

The following are the projects planned by Sama and completed through 2008. All these projects are operational and owned by Sama. The projects can be classified into tourism, industry, and education related activities.

A resort was built and staffed in Al-Areesh city in North Sinai. The resort was built on the coast of the Mediterranean and marketed internationally. The resort included a training center to train indigenous people in hospitality and tourism operations. The resort grew to be a well-managed tourism village, including a restaurant, Bedouin social gathering area, hotel, and a group of villas. The villas are either owned through timeshare operation or, in some cases, direct ownership. The village is managed and cared for by local people employed by the resort. Many local youth train in the facility before moving to other tourism-related jobs in the area. The resort has supported a few employees who showed excellence in their work, to continue their education and get a degree in tourism management before returning to work in Sama establishments.

A few years after starting the resort, Sama started a business center in Al-Areesh city. The center included newly-established local businesses that support tourism activities in the area. The center helped support small-business owners to get the training needed to better develop their operations.

Sama established one of the biggest cement industrial complexes in Egypt, as scientific studies showed an abundance of the essential minerals for this industry, the complex was built in a remote locale in the Sinai. This action is in contrast to the previous mining activities in Egypt, where the minerals were transported to a large industrial city to be processed. Having such industry in the local area allowed Sama to help establish mining-contractor businesses with local people, in North Sinai. This also opened a market for locally operated transportation services to move the minerals and the cement to different parts of Egypt. Within the industrial complex, a training center for local people to ensure the quality of supporting activities was established. A healthcare service system was established for Sama employees. This system attracted physicians who established clinics that serve the community at large. The system evolved to become a group of hospitals and clinics that employ and train locals and has raised the level of healthcare service in the region, and essential support to a governmental health system that is overwhelmed by the humanitarian crisis in the area.

Sama established an educational support system to educate young people in the area through building schools and vocational training institutions. The schools which were added to the

public school system rescued the ailing governmental educational establishment. Sama also supported the employment of teachers in many ways. As many of the public school teachers in Egypt had to work another job to be able to support their families, other Sama job opportunities in the area became key to attracting and retaining teaching staff in the area.

To help Bedouins in Sinai obtain higher education while staying in their locale, Sama established the first university in North Sinai. This university started as agricultural and industrial technical institute, and developed to be a university fully accredited by the Egyptian Ministry of High Education and Scientific Research. The University now includes Colleges of Engineering Sciences, Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical industry, Information Technology and Computer Science, Dentistry, Media Technology, and Business Administration. Many of these colleges include technical training institutes and vocational education centers. This university supplied the industries in the area with trained labor as well as scientific research needed to further develop the products and services. The university also became a focal point of attraction for students in Egypt and other neighboring countries.

Sama was one of the first companies in Egypt to own a private satellite TV channel (Al-Mehwar). With a 24/7 free family-oriented TV channel, Sama organizers were able to air numerous programs for education and public awareness. A school support program where professors go on the air to teach schools' curricula boosted the government efforts to raise the quality of public education. Other scientific forums, documentaries, and socio/political programs, helped raise the Egyptian (at large) public's awareness of many environmental and social issues in Egypt. Al-Mehwar became a venue to communicate Sama's message to Egyptians in general and the local people in the Sinai in particular.

Achievements:

The researcher followed the planners' rationale in considering achievements and recognition by the community as a measure of success along with public satisfaction with the plans' outcomes. Recognition of the media, government, and academic community was noted by the researcher and considered as an indication of overall success of the Sama projects.

For over twenty-five years, Sama has been considered⁷ to be the top economic stimulus for the North Sinai. Sama supported the government economic development efforts and helped initiate most of the privately-owned small businesses in the North Sinai.

The Sama Board Chair was elected to be the head of the commerce chamber of Cement Trade in Egypt. The Sama Board Chair and other board members were either elected or assigned to head most of the economic sub-committees in the area.

Al-Mehwar TV channel was recognized by the Egyptian Ministry of Information as a leading national organization in the fields of education, news, sports, and public health.

Sinai University was recognized by the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education as a center of excellence in education and research.

Funding Sources:

Sama has been a self-funding, for-profit organization since it started. A group of non-profit foundations have been established by Sama organizers to reach out for people in need around Egypt. The non-profit sector of Sama accepts donations from citizens and organizations in Egypt. On the other hand, the for-profit sector of Sama accepts contributions in the form of investment interaction from people and organizations, mostly from Egypt. This description is deduced by the researcher from reviewing documents relating to the Egyptian laws of investment and laws of charitable foundations.

In summary Sama projects have been self-funded as investments in combination with civic-society charitable contributions.

4.1.4 The planner

Hassan Rateb is an Egyptian philanthropist born in a small city near Cairo, Egypt. As a young man he supported his family while pursuing higher education. Mr. Rateb was active in volunteering for many community-service activities throughout his school and college years. As he lived among the simple, underprivileged Egyptians, he was interested in studying their coping mechanisms with poverty and health issues. Determined to help such communities develop, he

⁷ -Mr ElMasry, Security Chief, Sinai, June 12 2004, personal communication, Sinai, Egypt.

was faced with the lack of resources that undermined most of development efforts due to the economic state of Egypt in the 1960's and 70's.

After completing a degree in commerce and finance in Ain Shams University in Cairo, Rateb travelled to work abroad, as many educated Egyptians did. He was successful in his quest to gain experience and accumulate resources in the Gulf countries. He then turned down promising executive offers in the Gulf to return to his community in Cairo and start local businesses.

Faced by a high level of population problems in Cairo, he studied potential business development in rural Egypt in general and the Sinai in particular. After the transition of the Sinai back to the Egyptian authorities, he accompanied the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, to a ceremony where Egypt received the Al-Areesh area in Sinai. As the president declared Al-Areesh the capital of the governorate of North Sinai, he challenged the businessmen accompanying him to start investments in the area. Mr Rateb accepted the challenge on the spot, declaring the start of a tourism project in the area. Even with all the economic reports that the area is a wasteland and a bad investment, Rateb invested his personal savings in the planning and construction of a Mediterranean tourist resort (Sama Al-Areesh). He then started a long process of studying and planning for the resort to include local businesses and services. Out of his belief in the importance of including the local people in the process, he established strong ties with the tribal chiefs and the local public. In few years, Rateb became the most popular public figure in the area and used his popularity to bring businesses and markets to the area.

Mr. Rateb continued his studies while chairing the fast growing Sama Group. As he believed that successful business management should be coupled with good scientific research, he pursued his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Kensington, California, USA. He supported scientific research in many fields especially in issues related to the Sinai. Through his work and studies, Mr. Rateb built a network of professors and researchers interested in the scientific base for Sinai development.

He planned and started the biggest industrial complex in the history of the Sinai changing the dependency economic structure of the area to be an important contributor to the Egyptian

economy. Throughout his work in the Sinai development, he gathered tribal Chiefs, scientists, and businessmen around his decision-making processes.

For Mr. Rateb, it became clear that serious development efforts have to have the continuous support of the scientific community. He started giving out incentives to invite scientist and experts to spend longer intervals of time in the Sinai. He stated that this increased the involvement of experts in the planning processes taking place in the area. These incentives took many forms. Some were paid vacations during the holidays for the experts and their families. The experts then voiced their opinions, casually, during their interactions with local people who share the usage of the same space. Most of these interactions took place initially in the Sama resort in Al-Areesh. Other experts were invited for extended consultancy jobs. Mr. Rateb believed that such visits and interactions are most valuable to raise the awareness of the local people. He thought it was important to initiate actions based on the experts' sense of social responsibility. It also built trust between those experts and the local people involved in the planning and management processes.

Mr. Rateb (the planner) inspired other businessmen in Egypt to invest in socially responsible projects in rural Egypt. He rallied the cause for rural Egypt and the Sinai through the TV channel owned by Sama. He reported success stories and challenged youth to travel into rural Egypt and establish themselves professionally, without waiting for the government's help.

The planner has developed the industry, the market, the university, and the media outlet. His work is considered by many economists⁸ in Egypt as the near perfect operation. The diverse development projects that he invested in planning and implementing, became the base for the economic sustenance of the local people in the area for a long time.

The planner personally led the effort to minimize the social and environmental impacts of the development. He encouraged tribal chiefs to promote their cultural heritage and he revived many of the cultural traditions, many of which had been declining as many non-Bedouins inhabited the area. Keeping the dress code, using local dialects, and working through the tribal

⁸ Al-Ahram Al-Araby, Hassan Rateb: National Capitals should race to invest in the Sinai. 4/26/2008. The journal is dedicated to economic articles and research in the Arab World.

structure for decision-making were notably important cultural-preservation efforts. The planner also enforced environmental standards higher than those of the Egyptian government. The researcher had the opportunity to review planning documents of the cement plant and noted that the environmental standards applied surpass those enforced in the European Union countries. The planner also financed many research projects to use renewable energy sources in the Sama industrial complex. Many of these projects became small industries and services available as well for the local people in North Sinai. These projects varied from solar water heaters to complex information-technology services.

4.1.5 Participatory mode for Sama Planner

In reviewing the important issues that made his planning process successful, the planner attributed his success to three factors. The planner stated that using cutting-edge scientific and technological advancements as a base for planning, implementing, and managing all the projects was the most important factor. Using the customary local structure for decision making as a framework to involve the public in the process was another factor. The third factor the planner mentioned was the need to sustain the people, their identity, their livelihood, and their environment. He iterated that the need made all parties come together more easily. Self-funding was another important factor the planner noted.

Participants and the Process:

The planner classified the entities that participated in the Sama plan into three groups:

1. Academic Consultants, 2. Tribal Chiefs, and 3. Local Public.

1. Academic Consultants:

Academic consultants are a group of academicians from a number of Egyptian universities covering a wide array of disciplines. The planner invited the participation of these academicians to involve them in the formulation of goals and objectives and solicit their collaboration in identifying the needed resources. The planner also involved them in formulating strategies and identifying tasks to produce a safeguard protocol for industrial and environmental standards.

Their involvement was mostly in an urban setting. They met the planner in offices or conference rooms. They met together on campuses in university settings and they used e-mail and conferences via phones or web applications. They used multimedia to present their work to the planner in a lecture-room setting. Their meetings were short and to the point and were scheduled in advance by administrative assistants.

Participation was a mixture of proactive and reactive models (Arnstein 1969). The consultants participated proactively as partners, negotiating throughout the decision-making process, and they participated reactively when their role was to produce new ideas or to advise the planner.

2. Tribal Chiefs:

The planner invited the participation of North Sinai clans' representatives. Most of these representatives are tribal chiefs from around (el-Areesh) area, North Sinai, Egypt. These representatives were invited to all planning meetings concerning the projects within Sama activity area.

The planner invited their participation to involve them in formulating objectives relating to community development in the area. They were also responsible for producing a list of community social and economic needs. They also produced a list of resources local communities could add to the project implementation. The tribal representatives were also invited to collaborate in implementing the project tasks. In addition, the chiefs acted as a board of advisors for the planner to assure that all tasks and indigenous peoples' participation in planning or implementation were sensitive to the culture of the local community.

The tribal chiefs' involvement occurred mostly in the Sama Village resort in el-Areesh, North Sinai. The planner prepared a section of the resort on the Mediterranean as tribal gathering ground. Tribes in the area used this facility for tribal cultural events. The tribal chiefs used the facility to meet, resolve problems, and receive guests. This section of the resort was furnished in Bedouin style and decorated by indigenous tribes' artifacts. For the last few years it was used by Bedouin poets, musicians, and performing artists, especially for social or national events. This

section of the resort and its setting revived the tribal marketplace where all manner of community interaction took place during social events.

The chiefs commonly sat in a big Bedouin tent where a small fire was lit and coffee beans were roasted and ground to make Bedouin coffee in the traditional (almost ritualistic) manner. Everyone drank two or three rounds of coffee in small cups while talking about various life matters before any planning session was started. Usually the meeting would be begun by the person who called for the meeting, starting by welcoming every one and presenting the reason for the meeting. He would then invite the oldest chief to comment. Then every chief or representative would be invited by other chiefs and given a few minutes to talk as a show of respect to his clan and a demonstration of his clan's interest in participation. This would be followed by many more rounds of comments.

Usually, at a certain point in the meeting, chiefs who were interested in discussing the matter in more detail gathered in a more interactive and focused manner. The number of speakers would become less and the length of time they spoke would become dependent on their knowledge of the issue. Many other chiefs (especially elders) would attend these focused meetings as observers and witnesses. On many occasions, meetings lasted for up to eight hours.

Traditionally, the host is expected to cover most of the cost of such events and accept food gifts (contributions) from other clans attending the event. The host clan supplies the manpower needed to host and serve their guests throughout the event. Lack of food or inattentive service could be interpreted as the host being inhospitable or disrespectful.

In this case, the planner (Dr. Hassan Rateb) acted as the host to all planning sessions. He selected a group of Sama resort employees to serve the guests. He trained the resort staff to act and serve in accordance with the indigenous tribal traditions. Some of these events went on for few days (when they coincided with a wedding or other festivity). The time between formal discussion sessions would be spent in lobbying and private talks to assure consensus. The chiefs participated as: 1.) representatives of their tribes, 2.) consultants to the planner, 3.) observers of the process, and 4.) enforcers of the plan outcomes.

Their participation was proactive when they participated as partners representing their tribes and as caretakers committed to implementing the outcomes. Their participation was reactive when they acted as consultants and observers.

3- Local Public:

The planner defined the local public as Bedouins who live in and around Sama projects activity area. He also included people who moved to the area and inhabited cities. Many of these people were government employees or people who worked for some private businesses. The planner noted that involving local people delegating tribal chiefs in the process is different from his effort to assure direct participation of any individual among the public.

The planner invited the local North Sinai public to participate to inform them of the planning process and its development. The planner presented ideas as they developed and shared the goals and objectives with the public. In many cases, people were allowed to comment about the plans or voice concerns directly to the planner. Many of these comments were voiced through their tribal representatives.

The local public's involvement was set up in big social events following the North Sinai Bedouin traditions. Lots of food and drinks were served and in many cases, a local Bedouin artist was invited to perform. Many sessions of coffee preparation and drinking accompanied every stage of the event. Posters, 3D display models, and illustrations were posted in small exhibits open to the public to display the development of different projects. The setting was identical to any Bedouin social or cultural event. Some of the events went on for a long time. In these events, tribal chiefs met separately as part of their role in the participatory planning process.

The local public's participation was reactive and would be considered a manipulation model of citizens' participation (Arnstein 1969).

Summarizing the plan

The researcher used a form to summarize the outcome of interviewing Hemaya planner and reviewing other documents describing the plan and the participatory planning process.

As discussed in the theoretical framework, five main questions were used to summarize the planners' answers and analyze the evolution of the process. These questions were:

1. What type of development the planner designed his project to achieve?
2. Why the planner chose to involve the public in the planning process?
3. In what stage of the planning process the planner invited public participation?
4. What type of public participation the planner chose for the planning process?
5. How the planner evaluated the success or failure of the planning process?

Form used to record and summarize planning approach in Sama case study

| Questions | | Potential answers | Initially planned | Evolved during Participatory process |
|-----------------|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| First Question | Planners' Intent For Development | Economic development | yes | yes |
| | | Environmental development | No | yes |
| | | Social development | No | yes |
| Second Question | Reason for inviting participation | Sustainable development | yes | yes |
| | | Self-rule | No | yes |
| | | Educate public | yes | yes |
| Third Question | Time to invite participation | Vision formulation | No | No |
| | | Objectives formulation | yes | yes |
| | | Resource analysis | No | yes |
| | | Designing activities | No | yes |
| | | Implementing activities | yes | yes |
| Fourth Question | Type of participation | Delegated participation | yes | yes |
| | | All beneficiaries attending | No | No |
| | | Public hearing | yes | yes |
| | | Focus groups | No | yes |
| Fifth Question | Successful participatory planning evaluation | Meeting plan objectives | yes | yes |
| | | Maximum satisfied participants | yes | No |
| | | Majority satisfaction | No | No |
| | | Consensus | No | yes |

Figure 4.1.1: Form summarizing outcome of interviewing Sama planners and reviewing planning documents. (Developed by the author).

Initially the planner designed his projects for economic development in the North Sinai area. He had put forth, within his vision, criteria to bind the plan to high level of environmental quality and social integrity. His intention was not to plan an environmental or cultural/social development project. Through the participatory planning process, the planner added environmental and social objectives. Within the projects planned through this participatory process, environmental and social projects evolved.

As for why the planner invited participation in the planning process, the planner thought that people involved in the process are more likely to maintain its outcomes. Public education and awareness was the other reason the planner noted besides achieving sustainable project outcomes. The plan evolved through the participatory planning process to include self-rule as a reason for inviting participation. Self-rule in this case manifested in self regulating the environmental quality and social interaction. The environmental standard that was planned and enforced in the projects planned exceeded the Egyptian standard. Using tribal law in resolving disputes and in penalizing groups that fail to adhere to the environmental code planned was considered by the researcher to be self-ruling.

The planner initially intended to invite participation of the public to be informed during the objectives' formulation period. He also intended to have more interactive participation by the public in implementing the activities and maintaining the projects' outcomes. As the participatory planning process evolved in the Bedouin manner, where tribal chiefs engaged their clans in the formulation of the objectives, the process produced more interaction than initially planned. The participants were also engaged in designing and implementing plan activities. The planner commented that by giving the Bedouins the suitable venue, their involvement became more obvious and effective. The planner believed that the format of the planning sessions played the biggest role in eliciting the Bedouins' full participation.

As he was familiar with Bedouin traditions, the planner initially chose to utilize delegated participation of local people. Usually tribal Bedouins select a representative from their clan. Mostly this representative is a chief or highly specialized expert in the matter being discussed. The planner also chose to keep the public informed through public hearings. He planned public

hearings when finalizing a step or starting a new activity. What evolved through the participatory planning process was little different. As the tribal chiefs fully participated in the planning process, they invited other local groups to meet with the planner and voice more specialized/educated opinion. These groups, fitting the definition of focus groups, discussed specific points of the plan. As an example, a focus group of Bedouins who worked in tourism operations in the Sinai helped formulate cultural activities for Sama resort. Their input was important in shaping the tourists' experience of Bedouin life.

During interviews, the planner mentioned that his way of evaluating a plan was to ascertain whether or not the plans' objectives were met with the maximum number of satisfied participants. He initially thought that achieving the objectives of a plan would be the objective way to evaluate a planning process but he found that satisfying participants was the guarantee of project sustainability. The planner noted that a satisfied local community assures the maintenance of his plan's outcome. As the participatory planning process developed, Bedouin participants labored to achieve consensus. The planner noted that reaching consensus took longer time than what he planned for but led to smoother decision-making process. Tribal chiefs and clan representatives used their indigenous peoples' social framework to achieve consensus. The Sama planner thought that reaching consensus in the first few projects enhanced the trust of Bedouins in the planning processes he adopted. This eased the planning sessions to follow and reduced the negotiation time to arrive at consensus.

Analyzing the planning process:

The Sama planner started with a pre-determined plan then he changed it to accommodate a more interactive planning process. He had long-term goals that he implemented incrementally. The planner designed the participatory planning process to involve the indigenous people and educate them on how to economically develop their locale. The planner discovered the value of the indigenous people's full participation during the planning process and he made changes to accommodate the extent of their willingness to participate. The space for participation of indigenous people evolved throughout the development of more projects. Using the local Bedouins' social structure enabled the planner to elicit support from all indigenous people. The needs the local people voiced during the participatory planning process lead to other

development projects that added to the economic base of the people while dignifying their cultural heritage and protecting their environment.

The planning process can be described as a comprehensive plan for the most part; participation was invited at specific times during the process. The plan was based on Westernized models of planning with an effort to formulate the participatory process in accordance with local indigenous peoples' norms. The local norms in this case included those of Bedouins, farmers, and some urban groups.

The planner and many of his assistants had grown up in big cities and held Western degrees. This fact may have had an impact on the way they designed the planning process. Participation was invited to build support for the plan and implement activities leading to the achievement of objectives set forth by planner. The process was evaluated according to the achievement of objectives, the acceptance of local entities (both authorities and local tribal leaders), and the degree to which the project had a positive image in the public media. In spite of the progressive mentality of the planner, he refused to answer questions about his vision for the area. When the researcher asked him to describe the local peoples' aspiration and their vision for the future, the planner chose to answer in reciting poetry. He used his own poetry as well as some local Bedouin poetry to explain how he wishes the future of the area is shaped and to describe his will to sacrifice his wealth for the people to achieve such flowery future. After all, only a "devil would choose to state what he will achieve", the planner exclaimed using a Bedouin anecdote. The poetry used by the planner reflected the high level of environmental preservation consciousness the Bedouins attained.

The planners made a remarkable effort to execute this process in a traditional manner. Social gatherings, discussions, and public hearings were set in a typical northern Sinai tribal format with westernized elements. A group of participants would be sitting in a traditional way while a flip chart or overhead projector was being used for the presentation. A mixture of local and international experts met with the local public and used a combination of modern technologies and traditional settings. This format was dictated by the large number of participants and the diversity of their backgrounds.

The planner acknowledged the importance of having a neutral territory to hold meetings with tribal chiefs. Such a place proved importance in cases of resolving conflicts. This location, which was neither a tribal territory nor governmental property, took the place of a neutral tribes' territory and the planner acted as the neutral host of conflict resolution sessions. The planner noted that it was worth dedicating part of his resort to preserve the Bedouin culture and keep their traditional ways in resolving disagreements. Total agreement was a very important element of decision making process for Bedouin constituency in the area.

4.1.6 The Sama Participants

Five participants who still work in different jobs with the Sama group were interviewed. They came from different backgrounds and varying educational levels. They were all residents of north Sinai but not necessarily Bedouins. As they came from different parts of Egypt, their traditions varied although all are now affected by the Bedouin norms in their relations and transactions.

The participants' profiles are as follows:

Participant 1: Bedouin, male, in his mid 60s, no formal education, lived in the area all his life, works in farming

Participant 2: Bedouin, male, early 20s, vocational formal education, educated in Cairo, works in a factory, thought participation in such project should empower the public politically. The participant was vocal about Bedouin rights to control the resources in their locale. He was inconsistent in his answers. He was trying to impress the researcher of how much he is familiar with the Bedouin way. He was proud to implement the "Bedouin way" in the participatory planning process. He admitted that Bedouin participants were satisfied with the process. He also viewed the participatory planning process did not satisfy all his expected results.

Participant 3: Non-Bedouin, male, mid 20s, high school diploma, going to college as he works, works in a resort, did not understand the Bedouin format for meetings but still liked it and named it as a reason for his satisfaction with the project. He was unconscious of many dynamics within

the Bedouin interactions. He was not sure if the process was totally dictated by the planner or it evolved during the participatory planning process.

Participant 4: Non-Bedouin, male mid 30s, university graduate, educated in Cairo, worked as a teacher in high school, he thought the indigenous peoples' traditions would have to change as the population in North-Sinai accommodates increasing number of non-Bedouins. The participant's answers were stated in a flashy language. He seemed trying to talk in a theatrical tone thinking the conversation will be published. He talked in a simpler way when the researcher made it clear that names will not be published. He was happy to publish every word he said but the researcher explained that all interviews will be treated in the same anonymous manner.

Participant 5: Bedouin, male, mid 40s, university graduate, educated locally, graduated from a university in a big city, works as a maintenance engineer, did not think that format of the planning process matters. He thought that the content and subject matter were more important for him than the setting of the planning sessions.

Summarizing interviewees answers:

The participants spent long time elaborating on their descriptions of the participatory planning process. The descriptions were well articulated in describing the setting of sessions and the way people spoke. They all noted their comfort in attending and participating. They all described the setting of participatory sessions as suitable for their full participation. They were all satisfied with the participatory planning process. They also all viewed the participatory planning process as successful and all their input was formulated within the plan.

All the participants but one viewed the plan outcomes as successful. One, participant (2), said that he had been under the impression that more political power would reside in the locale of the projects. He participated fully in the process to gain more political authority in the area. His opinion was that, as indigenous people planned and implemented economic projects, they should retain more authority. He complained that the government was not fulfilling local people's economic needs, while practicing strong political control.

Participants had mixed feelings about the definition of the normal indigenous peoples' form of decision making. All Bedouin participants thought that the participatory planning process used were based on their traditions. They strongly agreed on the importance of having the setting of the sessions organized in a Bedouin way and that indigenous peoples' dialect should be used. The non-Bedouin participants had a different opinion.

Participant (3) who was a newly employed in the area, had no knowledge of the normal Bedouin way of doing things. He was impressed by the setting of the sessions and the consensus they arrived at, but did not recognize this process as Bedouin. He liked the process, fully participated and was satisfied with the process. He noted he learned a lot about the indigenous peoples' culture during the process and thought that this knowledge would allow him to be fully integrated in the community.

Participant (4) who perceived himself to be in the minority, felt the representation of Bedouins in the participatory planning process was overwhelming. He was resistant to the idea of having to follow a tradition which was not his. He thought the planning process was satisfactory but it was "too Bedouin" for his taste. He was impressed by reaching consensus during planning sessions but the setting was too rural and could have been more civilized. The researcher notes here that the dialect the participants used in the interview translates civilized and urbanized interchangeably. In Arabic, (mutahader) is translated as civilized and (mutamaden) is translated as urbanized. In big cities in the Nile-Delta of Egypt it is used interchangeably. When recapping the interview results to the participant, he was more agreeable to express that the format of the participation conformed to the Bedouin tradition and make the point that it is not his culture and it is not normal for him.

Participant (5) disagreed that the format of the participatory planning process affected his opinion on the success of the process or the plan outcomes. He argued that he would have been satisfied with the process even if it were in a different setting. He admired the planner's effort to construct his process in a Bedouin manner but that did not affect his perception. He claimed that he only focused on the content of the sessions and not on its form. When the researcher

recapped the result of the interview, the participant thought that the Bedouin format of the planning process was important to all other Bedouins.

Some of the participants had taken part in participatory planning processes in other (not Sama) projects and were not satisfied. They did not relate their dissatisfaction to the form of participation although a participant mentioned that the “much manicured process” of participation in another project was unsatisfactory. The participants here elaborated on that by describing a participatory process that took place at city hall and had power-point presentations. In this process, people sat in a hall facing the planners and local authority figures on the stage. People who spoke had to walk to a podium and talk through a microphone. Bedouins thought that it was intimidating even though they were served an open buffet-type lunches.

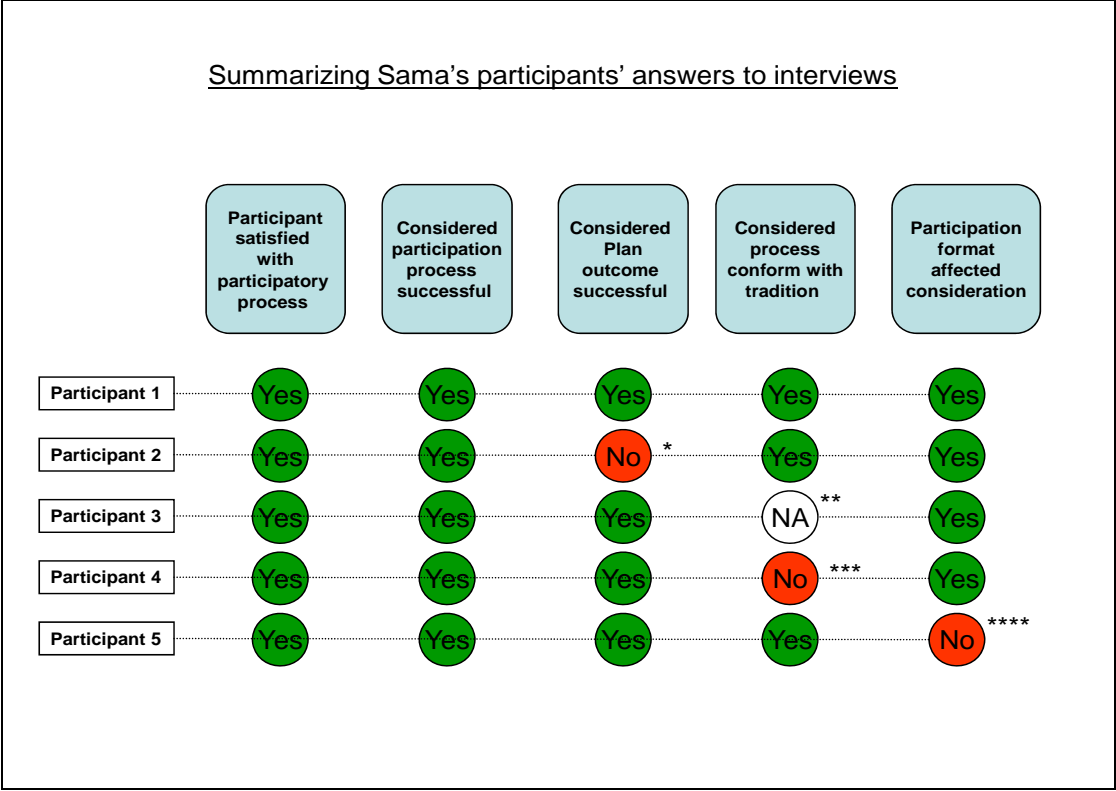


Figure 4.1.2: Summary of Sama plan participants answers to the interviews. (Developed by the author).

NA= not applicable

* Participant 2 thought that outcome should have affected more people; he also thought outcomes should also have more political impact on the locality.

** Participant 3 came from a big city and had a hard time understanding what the indigenous peoples' norms were and identifying with the format of participation, although he enjoyed the process.

*** Participant 4 thought the form of participation is not proportionally representative to the population of locals

**** Participant 5 did not think the format of participation mattered to him

Analysis of the participatory process:

Although the planning process and its stages in the Sama Project were close to the Westernized planning process, the participatory component was shaped differently. The planners followed a comprehensive planning approach then adapted it to fit the traditions in the locale of North Sinai. The participatory process was used to gather resources and provide support rather than to have involvement of the locals throughout the planning process.

Although Friedman (1967) classified planning modes into either functional or normative, the researcher argues that in this case, the planning mode had components of both. It fits this classification because the objectives were initially set and evolved and changed during the planning process.

As for the participatory planning mode of the Sama plan, the approach was to inform the public basically and to consult them in some activities. Although the participatory process was initially planned, it evolved from “Reactive Participation” to “Proactive Participation” as classified by Arnstein (1969). This is because it was based on an input process where the citizens were informed and their approval and consultation was solicited. This participation model fits somewhere between a placation model and a consultation model. A placation model is when the public is consulted in a weighted-advice manner based on their expertise or as a consultation board but with no real power to make changes. A consultation model is when the public gets consulted and the planners change some items based on that consultation. In this case the planner was flexible to accommodate increasing involvement of the local public in the planning process.

It should be mentioned here that the Sama planner did extensive dialogue with local leaders before formulating goals and objectives. This seemed to have influenced his formulation of the objectives and the form of the participatory process. Although the planner did this consultation prior to the formulation of objectives, the participation process yielded little change in the objectives.

Using other classification models such as Pretty (1994) and Oltheten (1995), the process can be classified as passive participation since the approach was a blueprint-planning process.

As shown previously, the participants were mostly satisfied with their participation process and they viewed the participatory process as successful and the project as successful. They viewed the format of participation as important to most of them and some suggested they would have not agreed to participate otherwise.

Participants mostly noted their admiration of the planner. When asked about what impressed them most about him, Bedouin participants noted that the planner acted as a Bedouin host for the events. He was able to host and facilitate in a Bedouin manner that was commended by all tribal chiefs. He was accessible to all indigenous people and was fair and firm in all his interactions. One participant described him as a Bedouin judge that was born in the city.

Participants noted the length of the planning sessions and the generosity of the planner as a host. The interviewees repeatedly described the amount of food served and the big numbers of people attending. They also commended the choice of the Sama resort as the meeting place. The planner has established a meeting ground/location where all tribes can convene on. "This location is not the territory of any tribe and considered a neutral ground where disputing tribes can meet to resolve their problems" explained an interviewee when asked about the importance of the meeting location.

The participants (as revealed during the interviews) came from different parts of Egypt and they now inhabit the locale of the project and its vicinity. The degrees of their assimilation within the Bedouin community were different and their acceptance of the Bedouin norms varied.

The Bedouin participants noted that arriving total agreement was difficult due to the lack of understanding of Bedouin ways by some participants. Also they agreed that in a more homogeneous Bedouin setting, arriving to consensus would have been easier. It seemed that Bedouin participants expected that consensus is the commonly used process for decision making.

Bedouin participants explained that all being happy with the final decision is their way to assure continues support to the project. They also noted that “mabsooteen” all are happy is their way of knowing that the process is successful.

During interviews, the participants described the format of the sessions extensively. This showed the importance of the physical settings for Bedouins. In different segments of the interviews, most of the participants started by describing the location of the meeting, the length of the meeting, and the time of day they met. As this description occurred repeatedly during the interviews, it guided the researcher to consider the physical setting as a context the Bedouin participants use as an important reference. It became clear that Bedouin sense of time and space is an important element for describing Bedouin cultural traditions. It was also becoming clear, from the interviews, that Bedouins were proud of using their tribal dialect during decision-making processes. They all noted the planner’s ability to use their dialect when discussing important matters.

4.2: Hemaya

4.2.1 Introduction

The tourism industry along the Gulf of Aqaba in South Sinai, Egypt has been flourishing since the–mid-nineties, but unfortunately this economic development has brought with it a huge environmental impact and an increase in pollution despite all of the laws created to help reduce it. Springing from the belief that civil society has the responsibility to protect the environment and develop the local community, the idea of establishing Hemaya a local NGO that could help achieve these goals was born.

The researcher in this section documents the Hemaya plan and participants' view of the plan. The organization of this section will be as follows: a statement of the **Documentation and sources** used by the researcher as a reference to the planning process. In this section different types of documents and published materials are used. A brief description of the **History** of Hemaya will then follow.

Using the planning theory literature reviewed in chapter 2 the **Project Plan structure** is described in terms normally used in western literature. The plan structure is divided into **Mission, Goals, Objectives, Projects and Activities, Funding sources**. The planners Hemaya were led by Mr. El Ghamrawy. In this study, he is selected to represent the planners of Hemaya as he was the driving force behind the planning process. Others initially helped him, such as Mr. Ahmed El Shawa who died in a car accident in the mountainous area in the vicinity of the project.

4.2.2 Documents used

The researcher used a book⁹ published by Hemaya and used by Hemaya planners as a portfolio for Hemaya.

The book included well-articulated mission, goals, and objectives. The book records with photographs, the events and activities of Hemaya to better serve the civil society of South Sinai. Many of the photos in the book record situations and conditions before and after the activities of the projects. The book includes tables and graphs illustrating statistics about the benefits to society from the Hemaya activities

The planner also offered the researcher an array of unpublished documents in the form of proposals submitted by Hemaya to funding Agencies. In these documents, the Hemaya planners stated objectives and proposed activities. The researcher deduced information concerning the planning process and increments Hemaya planners used toward achieving their overall goal. A few of these proposals were not funded and are detail herein as requested by the planner.

Additional information was gathered from local newspapers, national magazines, and local radio. The researcher found a collection of articles and recordings that were not dated or cited. For example, the Hemaya office in South Sinai had an archive of newspaper articles filed under the name of the newspaper without reference to date or writer. For example, “Al-Ahram/ tourism page” was the title of a collection of articles published in Al-Ahram, a national Egyptian newspaper, compiled over 10 years. Although citation information was not included with this collection, the information was used to reflect the public opinion in the locale of the projects. Other articles were printed from web publications. Some of these articles could be traced and captured off the Internet. See figure 4.2.1 as an example of achieved print out of Al-Ahram weekly online

⁹ Hemaya: Social Work in South Sinai, Hemaya/Fredrich-Ebeirt , Cairo, Egypt, 2004

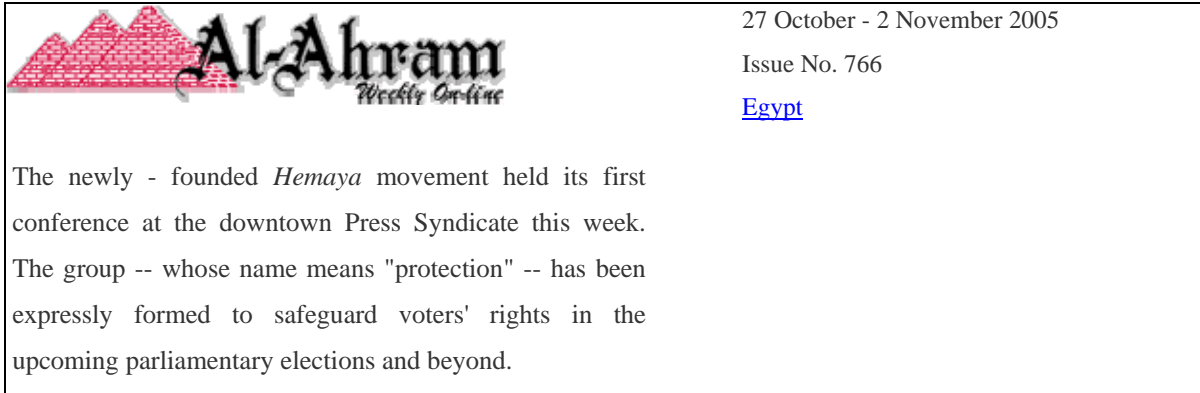


Figure 4.2.1: An example of achieved print out of Al-Ahram weekly online. On the web @weekly.ahram.org.eg/2005/766

The researcher also deduced information from interviewing the planner and the participants of Hemaya projects' participatory planning process to articulate steps and modes of planning used. Many of the documents and articles were written in Arabic language and were translated by the researcher.

4.2.3 The plan

History:

In 1997, the Hemaya Association for Community Development (hereafter referred to as Hemaya) was legally founded. Since that time, Hemaya has been working hard both to conserve the environment and serve the local community along the Gulf of Aqaba in south Sinai. Hemaya is now engaged in training programs to replicate its success in other parts of Egypt.

Mission:

Hemaya organizers believe that it is the duty of the local communities to strive to achieve self-sustainability through work in public service and to establish NGOs to develop local economies, preserve culture, and protect natural environments. The mission is published in English and was documented in Hemaya's publications. This mission was also stated by the planner in Arabic in the interview with the researcher.

Goals:

The broad goals of Hemaya, which translate to “protection” in Arabic, were to stop the degradation of the local surroundings. The planner stated the goals as follows:

- Protect the natural environment in the South Sinai
- Preserve the Bedouin cultural heritage
- Develop the local economy sustainably
- Become a local citizens rights advocacy group
- Train other organizations and communities to develop their own initiatives for local development

Objectives:

The goals stated by the planner are divided into articulated objectives linked with specific activities. These activities were translated into projects and were evaluated by the planner by achievements. The deduced objectives were:

- To protect the environment through developing recycling projects, cleaner and renewable power sources, and helps develop the National parks in the area.
- To educate local people and raise awareness toward issues affecting their locale
- Support the educational system (K-12) in the public and private schools
- To establish training programs for environmental management
- To establish training programs and support projects of cultural heritage documentation
- Support cultural events with emphasis on awareness of local traditions and its relevance in present and future
- To establish training sessions for young adults to increase their prospects for employment in local projects and businesses

Projects and activities:

The following are most of the projects completed by 2006 by Hemaya as stated by the planner. Some of these projects are ongoing in increments, adding to the total achievements.

A solid waste management system was created in the City of Nuweiba. Within this system a transfer station was built, to cover the needs of the area between the City of Taba and the City of Dahab stretching for over 100 miles on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba. Local people are employed to collect the solid waste from resorts and businesses and deliver it in the transfer station. The delivered waste is then sorted by local people and processed for different recycling operations.

Two windmills were installed in a Bedouin village, to generate clean electricity for local consumption. The project was planned and implemented in a participatory process that was funded locally and by a European aid agency.

Hemaya became the first NGO in Egypt to sign a cooperation protocol with the Egyptian Ministry of Environment. This protocol was a step toward Bedouin co-management of the parks they inhabit. As a result, Hemaya was able to implement a number of projects within Abu Galoum National Park.

An entrance and check point for the city of Taba was designed and constructed by Hemaya planners and consultants. The project was considered collaboration with local authorities to enhance the image of local services.

Hemaya provided a speed boat for marine patrolling and coast protection in the range of Abu Galoum National Park. The patrol is operated by Hemaya jointly with park rangers and local police.

A series of Internet and computer literacy courses were organized by Hemaya and taught with the assistance of the Egyptian Ministry of Communication and Information through their mobile information club.

The primary schools in south Sinai were renovated and upgraded through a campaign by Hemaya, funded by local businesses and resorts.

A training course in solid waste management was established, training over 150 homeless children from the streets of Cairo. The training was delivered and facilitated by Bedouin

participants from Hemaya. Bedouins shared their experience in South Sinai with trainees and helped transform the experience to Cairo streets.

In the Cities of Nuweiba and Taba, Hemaya planted 120 palm trees, and public artwork was exhibited at city squares. These actions helped enhance the appearance of the city and provide a more positive environment for its residents.

More than 80 cleaning campaigns were organized and carried out in Nuweiba. This, too, helped improve the environment and increase the livability of the city for all of its residents.

A book was published which emphasized the role of the civil society and volunteerism in South Sinai.

Hemaya organizes and holds an annual cultural competition and public celebration for the birthday of holy prophet Mohamed (Mulid), traditionally celebrated by local people.

Additionally, Hemaya submitted proposals for a variety of diverse projects and studies for both community development and environmental protection.

Achievements:

The researcher followed the rationale of the planner in using benefits and achievements as a measure of success at large, instead of a measurement of the fulfillment of specific objectives. The satisfaction of Hemaya participants with the achievement was noted during the interviews.

Ten years after Hemaya's creation, the NGO is still working hard to protect the ecosystem and develop the local community in South Sinai. To achieve these goals and effectively promote environmental conservation, Hemaya has started working in collaboration with the state's Tourism and Social Development Plan.

In a competition held by the Arab Office for Youth and Environment, Hemaya was awarded the first prize for the best environmental practice.

These considerable accomplishments would never have come to fruition without the dedication and loyalty of Hemaya's employees, the aid of the Government agencies, the city council and the local community.

Funding Sources:

In addition to Hemaya's self-funding, the donations of business, development agencies and private foundations helped facilitate success Hemaya.

These agencies and foundations include:

- 1) The Egyptian Social Fund for Development
- 2) The Global Environmental Fund (GEF), which is part of United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
- 3) The Arab Authority for Manufacturing
- 4) The Ministry of Environment, Egypt
- 5) The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology
- 6) Fredrich-Ebeirt Stiftung
- 7) Vodafone Egypt
- 8) The Egyptian American Bank
- 9) The Community and Institutional Development Firm (CID)

4.2.4 The planner

Sherif El Ghamrawy was born to an upper-middle class family in Cairo in 1956. He became a serious athlete at a young age, traveling the country and winning national awards in swimming. After attending a German preparatory school in Cairo, he took several internships in Germany to gain exposure to the world outside Egypt. He earned a degree in engineering and quickly turned

his attention to pollution and environmental degradation, problems to which most Egyptians paid no heed at the time.

In 1982, Sherif El Ghamrawy, turned down lucrative career opportunities in the private sector and set out for Sinai, with little money but a strong determination to change the future of environmentally-responsible tourism in his country. For four years, he collected the resources and support for Egypt's first eco-lodge, Basata, often having to plead with government officials for the licenses to build. The lodge finally opened its doors in 1986, and since then it has become wildly successful, becoming an international model for responsible tourism. The network of allies that Sherif El Ghamrawy built through his work with Basata forms a strong foundation for his work in Hemaya.

The planner expressed concern about the fact that rapid development is applying more pressure to already strained waste management programs. For example, starting in the mid-1990s, tourist development of the Aqaba Gulf brought the construction of massive hotels along the gulf's southern shores. The construction itself created a huge amount of waste, and it paved the way for rapid increases in consumption and concomitant rapid increases in the production of waste, throughout the region. Without strong systems for recycling and disposal, overflows of garbage often pile up along the roadsides of Egyptian towns or find their way into overflowing landfills or polluting incinerators.

Through Hemaya, the planner has established a complete waste management system in the area of Sinai as a model for locally managed systems throughout Egypt. Drawing on contacts and resources he gained in building his country's first ecotourism lodge, he founded Hemaya and gathered financial and political support to build a regional waste transfer station. He then recruited and trained local citizens to collect and sort waste, using the station as a home base for high-quality, efficient recycling and disposal. Within a few years, he won contracts from local hotels and the City Council to collect and transport the majority of garbage in Sinai.

As Sinai grows cleaner, fees from the businesses of a newly thriving tourism industry support the operation and growth of Hemaya. But even in the hard times of the intifada, when few Israelis ventured to South Sinai for vacation and most hotels couldn't afford to pay for garbage

collection, the planner and his team continued to serve. He kept going in spite of a lack of funds, demonstrating the effectiveness of his locally-led approach and earning the loyalty of his customers. Now businesses are reimbursing him for the work performed years ago.

Sherif El Ghamrawy's success has inspired demand not only for his services, but for his model as well. He is helping the neighboring protectorate of Saint Catherine to adopt the model, starting with the construction of a new waste transfer station. He will soon expand north to the city of Taba, establishing a third station in Hemaya's growing network. Recently, a delegation from Al Qusayr, a town on the Red Sea, asked for the planner's assistance in developing a waste management system for their region.

Hemaya by itself can advance one directorate at a time, the planner explains, but through trainings and advocacy, Hemaya can spread this model quickly across Egypt. Hemaya directly trains and supports young leaders in founding citizen groups or small businesses for waste management. The planner and his team offer the knowledge and tools these entrepreneurs need to get started; they show them how to build transfer stations, recruit and involve local people, develop sustainable sources of funding, and manage the sale of recyclable materials. Hemaya freely shares the organization's best practices to help like-minded workers establish good jobs and a clean environment for their communities.

4.2.5 Participatory Mode of the Hemaya Planner

When discussing with the planner the key issues he thought made his process successful, he noted that he used an indigenous Bedouin model to classify participants and invite their input in a normal Bedouin sequence. He noted that he also used Bedouin settings and that the participants adhered to an indigenous Bedouin protocol. He thought that addressing the status of participants and the timing of their participation should be in accord with the local Bedouin traditions.

Participants and the process:

The planner classified the people he invited to participate in planning into three groups. He described the groups as: 1. Project Management, 2. Tribal Chiefs, and 3. Local Public.

1- Project Management:

The planner defined the project management group as managers and administrators operating in the area around Newieba and Taba, South Sinai, Egypt. This group included professionals who manage Hemaya's social, environmental, and economic projects, as well as many of the managers (Bedouins and non-Bedouins) of other ongoing projects in the area. He chose to involve this group to maximize knowledge and experience in development projects in the area. The managers were experienced in planning and managing projects in tourism, natural resources management, law, business, and some social programs delivered by the government or other international aid agencies.

The managers were mainly invited to help the planner formulate achievable objectives and collaborate in identifying tasks that needed to be added to projects in this locality to improve potential for success. They were also involved as partners in some aspects of the plan. For example, extra measures needed to better collaborate with local authorities were added to ensure working within Health Department guidelines. Other resort managers, from previous experience, advised that such measures should be added to save time and effort working in accordance with the local health department's capabilities.

The planning took place in a variety of physical settings. Most of the meetings took place in a Bedouin gathering area in the Basata eco-lodge (owned by the planner). Many of the meetings occurred in a Bedouin setting around the fire with tea and coffee served. Other meetings took place in hotels, resorts, or offices in the Newieba area. The managers were often joined by owners of Bedouin businesses. In this case, the setting of such meetings changed to accommodate Bedouin traditions of mixing social and business meetings, including a relaxed atmosphere and hours of conversation.

The participation of the managers was a mixture of proactive and reactive activities. Their participation was proactive when they were invited to collaborate in the planning of tasks that they subsequently took part in implementing. Their involvement was reactive when they were informed about the development of the process or decisions that had been made by the planner. In many instances the planner informed them about the development of stages and informed

them of proposed actions decided by other participants. He expected their feedback as consultants if they saw these activities as counterproductive.

2- Tribal Chiefs:

As the planner (Mr. El-Ghamrawi) had tribal status as a clan chief, he operated in a dual mode when tribal chiefs were involved. He had to establish his status as planner/facilitator of the participatory process and at the same time preserve his tribal status among the chiefs' hierarchy. The planner invited the chiefs and tribes' representatives to be involved all along the process of planning and implementing the project.

Although the planner had formulated the vision of the plan, the tribal chiefs helped in formulating the objectives, identifying resources, formulating tasks, and implementing activities. They worked closely with the planner and consulted with their clansmen.

The involvement of the chiefs took place locally and adhered to a strict Bedouin code. Chiefs met for long hours discussing options and making decisions, while being served coffee or tea. Food was prepared and served in a Bedouin manner, while all were seated on the ground at the same level. The planner facilitated the meetings and people spoke in turns, hierarchically. The planner was able to introduce some innovations to the setting such as having women participate in a public (multi-clan) setting. To accomplish this, the planner introduced to other chiefs the need for women to represent their interests. The planner explained his rationale and the chiefs accepted it. It started with two women widely-respected in their clans and owners of their own businesses. Other cases followed, where young women represent the needs and hopes of educated girls. This re-established the custom of having women as representatives or presenters when needed.

The chiefs were invited to have proactive involvement throughout the planning process. They were also expected to ensure the implementation of the tasks and activities of the plan outcomes.

3- Local Public:

The local public in the area of Nuweiba is comprised of Bedouins and other Egyptians who work in the area and settled there with their families.

The planner invited the participation of the public through hearings, so the public could be informed and gain insight into the planning process. “It was more of an educational process to the public who became more aware of the resources available and problems in the area,” the planner explained. According to the planner, the local public was looking for an example to follow and this gave great publicity and support to the project.

The format of the public hearings was varied. Some meetings took place in tribal gathering locations and took a Bedouin cultural form. Other meetings took place in governmental offices (auditoriums) to allow the general public and governmental employees to attend. These meetings usually revolved around a national festivity or a local social event. The attendees were a mixture of Bedouins, businessmen, working class people, and governmental employees. Some of these hearings/meetings looked like many public hearings in the West. Facilitators used sophisticated multimedia equipment for the presentations. The meetings were covered by local media and were short and to the point. Refreshments were served and gifts were distributed to attendees in some events, according to the local tradition.

The participation of the local public is considered a reactive type of participation and it mainly occurred to inform the public.

Summarizing the plan:

The researcher used a form to summarize the outcome of the interview with the Hemaya planner and reviewed documents describing the plan and the participatory planning process.

As discussed in the theoretical framework, five main questions were used to summarize the planners' answers and analyze the evolution of the process. These questions were:

1. What type of development did the planner design his project to achieve?
2. Why did the planner choose to involve the public in the planning process?

3. In what stage of the planning process did the planner invite public participation?
4. What type of public participation did the planner choose for the planning process?
5. How did the planner evaluate the success or failure of the planning process?

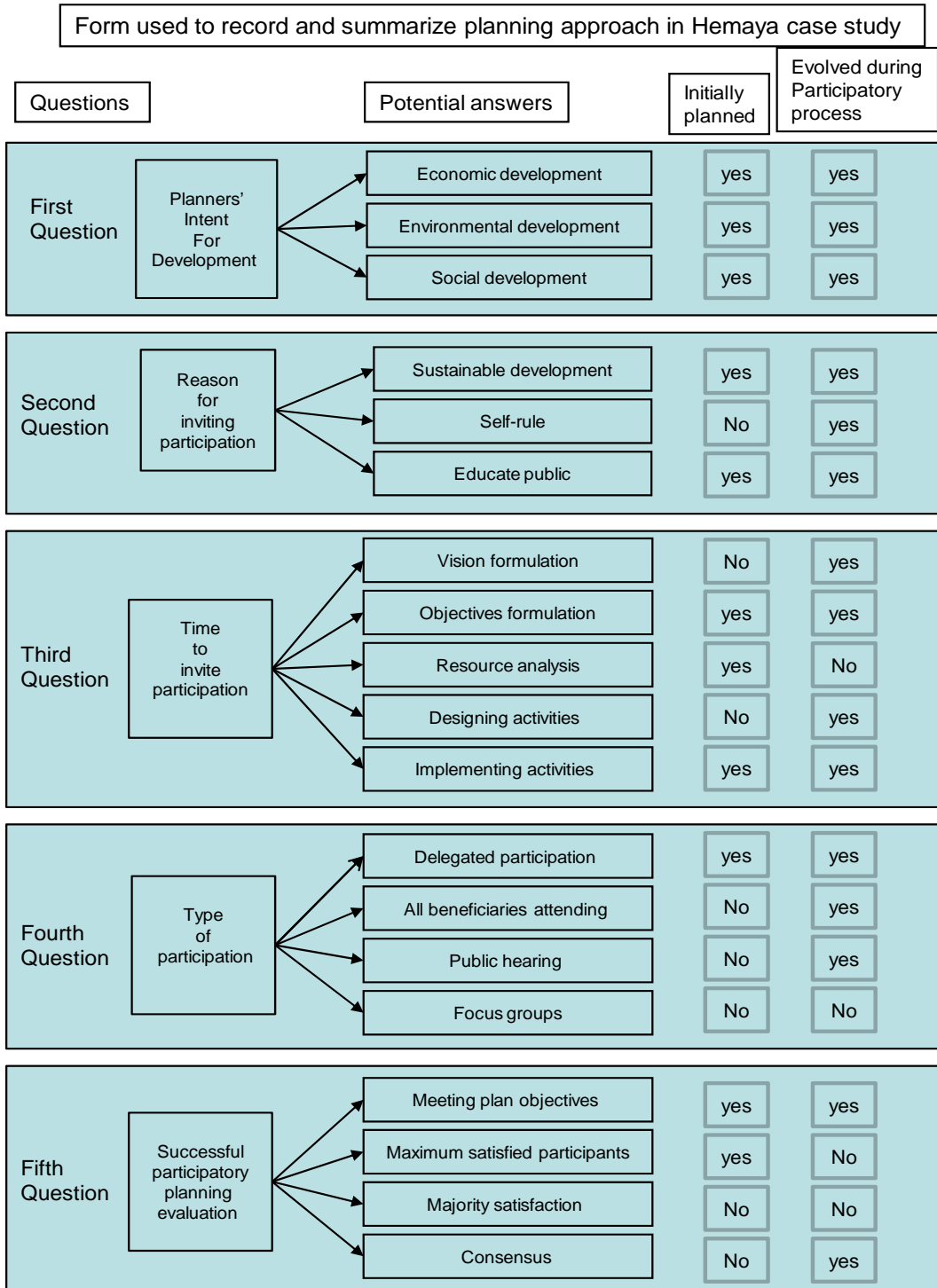


Figure 4.2.2: Form summarizing outcome of interviewing Hemaya planner and reviewing planning documents. (Developed by the author).

The planner intended to plan a sustainable development project. He initially designed his plan to encompass economic, environmental, and social development. As the participatory planning process took place, participants confirmed the planner's intent through their decisions, reflected in the goals and objectives formulation. In this case, the Hemaya participatory process evolved to fulfill the planner's initial intent to plan for sustainable development.

As for why the planner wanted to be involved in a participatory planning process, the Hemaya planner stated that achieving plan outcomes that are maintained is a primary reason. Balanced development that is owned by the people who are educated about their options is guaranteed to be sustainable. He thought educating the public would lead to more amiable view of sustainable development. Sustainable development of the economy while preserving the cultural heritage and protecting the natural environment was the planner's criteria for Hemaya development projects.

Although self-ruling was not part of the initial plan, the participatory process led to activities that developed Hemaya as a legislative entity. The local authority and the National Parks Service accepted Hemaya's efforts to regulate and enforce environmental protection. For a civic group to work as a partner of the government in initiating regulations and enforcing them was unheard of in this area. Hemaya mobilized public opinion and locally lobbied the authorities, both tribal and governmental, to achieve an enhanced level of environmental standard regulations. So local self-rule has been achieved even it was not initially intended.

The Hemaya planner initially planned to involve a participatory process in formulating the objectives, analyzing the resources needed, and implementing the designed activities. During the process, the participants questioned the original goals and made changes. The vision and goals evolved through the participatory process, expanding the goals initially designed by the planner. The planner initially thought to use the participatory process to analyze available and needed resources. He also initially chose to contract professionals to design the activities that would lead to the fulfillment of the objectives. During the participatory planning process, participants chose to invite professional input for resource analysis and to design the activities themselves. As for implementing the activities, the participants dedicated all their efforts to achieve what they have planned.

As for the types of participation, the planner chose to utilize a delegated participation approach as it fit the tribal decision-making process used in the area. He initially did not intend to invite all beneficiaries to attend sessions throughout the planning process or to use focus groups and public hearings as tools for planning. The participants chose to invite all people benefiting from the Hemaya project to attend and give input. At an advanced stage of the planning process, participants called for public hearing/town hall meetings to inform the local public at large of the steps planned and achieved. The participants thought that this would create a model for others to follow, and thus increase the local support to their efforts.

The planner had two criteria for successful participatory planning processes when he started: meeting the plan objectives and satisfying the highest percentage possible of the participants. He thought satisfying a slight majority might make the process democratic but would not be appreciated by Bedouins in general. As the process unfolded, the Bedouin participants defaulted to their traditional methods. Achieving consensus among all participants became the dominant aim of the planner (as facilitator) and the Bedouin participants. The planner was relieved to achieve a higher standard of understanding and cooperation between participants than initially planned.

Analyzing the planning process:

The Hemaya plan had a long-term vision and used incremental planning to achieve a set of objectives with space for change depending on what participants saw fit. The planner designed the main project as a partnership to achieve a set of objectives designed by the participants, leading to arriving to a development sustaining the economic base of the participants while protecting the environment in the area and conserving the cultural integrity of the participants.

The planner noted that formulating the objectives in that way was relatively simple because the project started in a near pristine natural attraction area. The shoreline of South Sinai and its mountains were an international tourist destination. The Egyptian government had a vested interest to keep the area as safe and attractive to tourists as tourism was the second top source of hard currency for the government. This area was also known for a strong Bedouin cultural identity but limited means for economic development for the local people. The planner and the

participants saw the need to conserve and maintain the natural and social resources of the locale, while using these resources as a base for their economic development. As the project grew, many objectives and activities leading to these objectives were added incrementally to the plan and were achieved along the duration of its implementation.

It is noted that the stages of the planning process initiated by the planner is similar to what commonly used in the west. Although the planner did not want to speak about his own vision for the project and the future of the development in the area, he was amiable to talk about the aspiration of the local people and the Hemaya mission in fulfilling some of the peoples' needs. The planner also noted, during interviews, that arriving to an agreement that all participants are "happy with" became a normal procedure when making final decisions.

In interviewing the planner, he explained the refined common sense of Bedouin toward their environment. Tribal law in the area, held Bedouins (individual and groups) responsible to continue their life activities with the least destruction to the environment. Bedouins who excessively waste the natural resource they use are condemned by tribal councils. For example, a fisherman who uses improper net size in fishing can be banned from using tribal territory coastline for fishing. As such practice affect the fish stock dynamics in the area, all tribal fishermen in the area will condemn this act. This led Bedouin participants to initiate a higher standard of environmental protection in their territory.

4.2.6 The Hemaya Participants

Five participants of the Hemaya participatory planning process were interviewed in South-Sinai. All participants were Bedouins from the Tarabeen Tribe and were interviewed in a Bedouin setting. Some of the interviews took place on more than one occasion to verify answers or elaborate on opinions that had not been clear because of the difficulty of translation from Bedouin dialects.

The participants' profiles are as follows:

Participant 1: Bedouin, male, in his 40s, no formal education, works as maintenance technician.

Participant 2: Bedouin, male, mid 20s, high school diploma, works as a fisherman.

Participant 3: Bedouin, female, mid 30s, no formal education, runs a small handcraft shop, thought she participated more in the process because of the progressive nature of the participatory process. She claimed that historically in her tribe women participated more than the present time.

Participant 4: Bedouin, male, early 20s, high school diploma, works as a fisherman and tourist guide.

Participant 5: Bedouin, male, late 30s, 2 year college, works as a community guard in the parks service.

The participants described the participatory process and elaborated on the setting and format of the different sessions. All the participants emphasized their comfort with how different sessions were located, who presented, and how people spoke. The elaboration on the physical setting and the wording used by the facilitator when presenting, was consistent. Most of them related their full participation to the fact that presentations were located on their land using their dialect. The majority also noted that their participation process was consistent with their culture and thus they felt a social responsibility to make the project successful.

Participant (3) thought that as a female, in an indigenous process in her tribe, she would have been less vocal. She described the setting used by the planner to allow her to be vocal about her opinions as gradually accepted by other tribal members. After a few sessions she was more comfortable talking in public and others were used to her commenting. She attributed the tribal acceptance of this change in normal approach to the status of the planner within the tribe and his persistent invitation to her to voice her opinion in public. She related that traditionally, in the past, she would have voiced her opinion through a delegate from her clan who she could talk to privately. The facilitator/planner played the role of her representative in the beginning and gradually made way for her to take part as an equal speaker. She believed that historically, women voiced their opinions in public more openly.

Participant (5) was an educated professional who was fascinated by the process. He thought it was not the indigenous form that impacted his perception, but the plan and the facilitator. He

attributed the success of the participatory process to the fact that it supported their identity and honored their indigenous peoples' way.

Summarizing interviewees answers:

In general, all interviewees were satisfied with the participatory planning process. Some of them described their emotional state as they took part in the decision-making process. They all commented that previously, decisions had been made by the governments and they were not consulted. They described their involvement in different planning stages. Some recalled situations that took place during discussions and how the facilitator negotiated consensus. They noted the indigenous peoples' way conflicts were resolved. They said they were comfortable during the process and were happy to be part of it. Some voiced their wish to have all planning in their area take that form of participatory process.

All participants interviewed considered the planning process successful. They described how the planning process achieved consensus. They noted that consensus is a traditional indicator of success for a decision-making process. Consensus was more important to this group of interviewees than many other aspects of the participatory planning process. They thought that it was the only way to ensure commitment from participants to implement plan outcomes. The researcher noted that all interviewees used consensus as a measure of the success of the process.

All interviewees also considered the outcomes of the plan they participated in planning, successful. They described the plan outcomes as the establishment of the sustainable development projects or the events that were planned. They also considered the total public support of these projects as an indicator of the success of the plan outcome. Again, the researcher noted that the indicators they used to deem the plan outcome successful. Interviewees weighed the number of potential beneficiaries of the projects as most important. Future generations were counted in potential beneficiaries of environmental protection efforts. The public acceptance and satisfaction were considered the second most important indicator of how successful the plan outcomes were.

The interviewees had a remarkable understanding of the intricate relationship between social, economic, and ecological systems in their locale. When confronted with this fact, they all

attributed it to their Bedouin upbringing and heritage. That became clear when they were describing the benefits of the projects they participated in planning.

All participants interviewed agreed that the participatory process in which they took part adhered to their traditional Bedouin culture. Only one interviewee made a specific disclaimer concerning how traditions evolved. She emphasized that in an all-Bedouin context, women were part of the decision making process, in contrast to the recent history of Bedouins where other groups of people shared their resources and decision-making. She noted that in an inter-tribal decision-making process, women voice their opinion and assume equal responsibilities. Women do not voice their opinions in the public at large, she added. She saw this planning process to have an added value to the process that other participants were used to. The planner had made an effort to allow for that alteration in the tradition. The participant described how the planner constructed the participatory planning process in such a setting to emulate a single-clan discussion. He supervised the interaction between participants during sessions as a clan chief would. She describes that in such setting and format she was able to voice her opinion to the planner privately at first, then directly throughout the remainder of the process.

Four out of five interviewees thought that the Bedouin setting for the participatory process affected their ability to fully engage in the planning effort. They all gave descriptions of the physical format of the sessions in great detail. They all acknowledged the impact of using their local dialect on how seriously they took the process. Some of them indicated that the terminology used in some sessions emulated a tribal court language which was an important indicator of the binding nature of the decisions made in that context. In a Bedouin court, all Bedouins strictly abide by and implement the final decisions.

The fifth interviewee agreed with his colleagues on all matters except on the impact of the participation format on his perception of success. When the researcher recapped the participant's answers (negative-member check) he retracted his assertion that the traditional setting made a difference. The participant acknowledged that the format of the participatory process was indigenous and he felt honored to take part of such an elaborate Bedouin process. He argued that the same results could have been achieved in a different setting. He attributed the success of the participatory planning process and the outcomes of the plan to the skillful planner. He described

how the planner/facilitator led the discussions throughout the process. He attributed the success to the trustworthiness and the transparency of the planner. He then acknowledged that the indigenous setting was most important for most of the participants. He thought that many participants would have declined participation if the setting had been foreign to them. He attributed that to their lack of education. He thought that the physical setting did not affect him personally.

Summarizing Hemaya's participants' answers to interviews

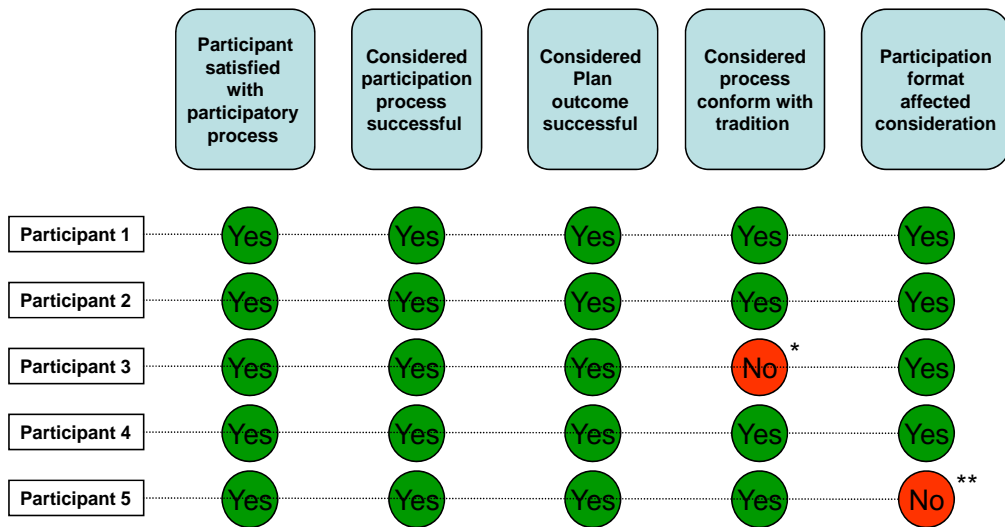


Figure 4.2.3: Summary of Hemaya plan participants answers to the interviews. (Developed by the author).

* Participant thought that as a female, in a pure normative process in her tribe, she would have been less vocal. She described the form as ideal or maybe as it was hundreds of years ago.

** Participant thought it was not the indigenous peoples' form that impacted his perception but it was the plan and the facilitator.

Analysis of the participatory process:

The planning approach that the Hemaya planner chose is considered a process-oriented approach. The plan was answering a need of the local community. This corresponds with Faludi's classifications (1973), as the goals and objectives arose from a rationale used by the participants based on their needs and the requirement to preserve the heritage of the place. The Hemaya projects planner used a process-oriented form of planning as well as an indigenous peoples' planning form where the planning process was shaped in a Bedouin way. The Bedouin way here refers to the normal Bedouin tribal decision-making process and format. The format is identified by the researcher as the physical setting of sessions and the language used by presenters.

The participants were involved in all planning steps and their input contributed to changes in the plan. The participatory process corresponds with Arnstein's classification 1969 of proactive participation type, based on the involvement of stakeholders. The participants' contribution can be described as a combination of citizen control and partnership (refer to theoretical framework). The project evolved to become a citizen-controlled organization and participants negotiated every decision. The citizens' control evolved to local self-rule/regulate and involved passing environmental-quality legislation more strict than the government standards. Oltheten 1995 described such participatory planning as process-oriented in contrast to a blueprint approach which is a pre-determined plan with no participatory input.

It was clear that participants assumed ownership and they took part in identifying goals and formulating objectives. Then they participated in implementing the activities identified by the group, as well. Using the Pretty (1994) classification, the participation can be seen as an interactive process that led to the formulation of an action plan implemented by the same group of participants.

Some of the components of the participatory planning process exceeded the expectations of the planner. Such components evolved during the process in many ways. Participants were involved in more planning components. Participants added to the original goals of the plan and redirected the plan in many aspects. The planner seemed enthusiastic about that and he shared

the credit for the plan with the participants. With a number of obstacles that faced the project along the years, the planner and participants managed to keep the project running through flexible, incremental, plan-implementation tactics.

The near homogeneous tribal background of the participants was reflected in their identifying with one style and tradition. They described the process as the normal manner that they use in their daily interactions. The difference was for them to participate in such manner in a process that is publicized and commended by non-Bedouins.

Participants stated the importance of them attending meetings in their locale/territory. Having the meetings in the evening and serving food during meetings, also were noted in the context of describing the planning sessions. Three of the participants elaborated on what food/drink was served during sessions and that it conforms to what Bedouins are used to. The emphases the participants put in describing the sessions and how long were they directed the researcher's attention to the potential importance of time, location, and duration of sessions to the Bedouin constituency. With this group of participants, time of the day the meetings took place and how long it lasted seemed like most important, as a context, as they described the content of the meetings.

The participants noted the importance of the role the planner played as a facilitator and a host for the planning sessions. All participants commended his knowledge of the traditions and his adhering to the "old methods to reach agreement". The planner worked hard to achieve consensus among participants in every stage of the planning process. A participant noted that the facilitator made sure that after reaching agreement, a statement of the decision is loudly stated in the tribal dialect. The wording of statement is a compilation of traditional phrases that indicate the agreement. Short dialogue takes place where every participant affirms their agreeing and promise their clans will comply. This transaction is witnessed by tribe elders and sealed by a Quoranic recitation (Al-Fatiha). Using the tribal dialect seemed important for this group of participants as they reached the final agreement in decision-making processes. It became clear to the researcher that tribal dialect is used to make an agreement binding among Bedouins in this region.

4.3: The White Desert Association (WDA)

4.3.1 Introduction

The Western Desert of Egypt is one of the most arid deserts in the world. As it is the gate to the great North-African desert, many desert safari operations start in Bahareya and Farafra Oases in Egypt. In between these two oases, the White Desert National Park is situated, a representation of many prehistoric geological eras. The white chalk geological formations are paired with mounts and hills containing the richest stores of prehistoric archeological artifacts from civilizations that inhabited the area. At the time, the North-African desert was covered with a savanna habitat. Preserved under the sand, these civilizations left behind tools and ruins used by archeologists as an open book to study the people, the wildlife, and their interactions.

Along the years, this has attracted expeditions and safari tourists from around the world. With such an influx of researchers and tourists, the area started to show signs of deterioration. The Bedouins, who live in the area and constitute the vast majority of desert drivers and guides to these safari operations, felt they needed to preserve the resource they had built their livelihood on. In each of the oasis in the Egyptian desert, civil society constructed NGOs representing local peoples' interest.

In the area of this study, civil-society Bedouin activists and park officials labored on negotiating an agreement to regulate operations in the Egyptian Western Desert in general and the White Desert Park in particular. Joined by a progressive national park warden, two NGO presidents constructed an association of NGOs devoted to manage resources in the area. Hayah NGO president, Mr. Saad Ali representing civil society of Farafra Oasis joined hands with Mr. Ashraf Lotfi, representing Bahareya Oasis civil society to declare White Desert Association as the first-ever effort of its kind in the Egyptian desert.

The researcher in this section documents the WDA plan and participants' view of the plan. The organization of this section will be as follows: a statement of the **Documentation and sources** used by the researcher as a reference to the planning process. In this section, different types of documents and published materials were used. A brief description of the **History** of Hemaya will then follow.

Using the planning theory literature reviewed in chapter 2 the **Project Plan structure** is described in terms normally used in western literature. The plan structure is divided into **Mission, Goals, Objectives, Projects and Activities, and Funding Sources.**

4.3.2 Documents used

The author used the official declaration documents for both the Hayah and the Desert Lovers NGOs. The documents were forms written in Arabic and were written as part of the licensing process for the NGOs. The information in these forms was minimal but helped the author identify the goals and purpose of the NGOs.

The researcher/author also used the document describing the agreement between the parks service, namely White Desert National Park, and the two NGOs. This document detailed the role of each party in the management and the daily operations within the park. It also documented the goals of the WDA as a civil-society effort to assure a suitable level of tourism services in the area.

The researcher attended many sessions with the WDA staff as they presented the structure and objectives of the association to the local public. The researcher had a chance to observe the planning and the development of this project as it represented a special personal interest.

The planners offered the researcher unpublished documents which had been written as proposals for funding or documents presenting new ideas for discussion by the WDA members. The researcher attended many discussions held between WDA planners and government officials. Reporters and the press were following the advancement of the association closely, but had little published coverage for political reasons. Many locals and international observers were skeptical about the government allowing this kind of partnering with civil society. Many events of the

WDA were not covered by the Egyptian national media but were covered by newly developed electronic media. Chat groups, electronic discussion boards, and private web-based groups covered activities of the WDA. Some opposition¹⁰ (socialist) newspapers covered specific activities of the WDA as an example of national social activism. Other independent newspapers such as Al-Karama¹¹ covered the story of the association and its projects. Al-Karama sponsored a reporter to attend the WDA's activities and published a group of in-depth interviews with the planners and the local participants. As this newspaper was not widely distributed in Egypt, the researcher was able only to obtain some of these interviews. It is worth noting that the articles and the interviews were written by Ms. Sohair Metwaly¹², a nationalist Egyptian poet and writer renowned among minority groups in Egypt. It is also noted that the only national newspaper covering the association activities was Al-Ahram Hebdo¹³. Written in French and directed to expatriates living in Egypt, it is not widely read by Egyptians. The researcher monitored the activities of such electronic media until spring of 2008 and noted the lack of stability of such services in Egypt. The web pages were often off-line and the chat strings were not sustained or archived in a consistent way.

4.3.3 The plan

History:

After many years of lobbying, the White Desert Association was established in 2006 by an agreement between two local NGOs on one side and the White Desert National Park management on the other side. The agreement is one of the first in Egypt and was underwritten by the ministries of Social Affairs, Tourism, and Environment. The underwriting of these ministries was symbolic in the beginning and then developed into a formal arrangement including the creation of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the association.

¹⁰ Al-Ahram is an opposition news paper representing social parties and is published in Cairo, Egypt.

¹¹ Al-Karama is an independent news paper that usually opposes the governmental policies, and is published in Cairo, Egypt.

¹² Ms. Metwally is an established poet with "Diwans" in colloquial and classical Arabic appealing to generations of underprivileged Egyptians. She is fascinated by deserts and its dwellers and has many poems describing the Bedouin culture.

¹³ Al-Ahram Hebdo on the web@ hebdo.ahram.org.eg

Mission:

The WDA planners believe that in remote areas in Egypt, local public who live around a unique resource should preserve it. As the White Desert falls in the area between the Bahareya and Farafra oases, the planners believed that the Bedouin inhabitants of the area should care for heritage of the area of their livelihood.

The information about the mission was deduced from reviewing the agreement document and the statements of the planners.

The researcher deduced the goals and objective from Arabic sources. As “goals” and “objectives” are translated the same in Arabic as “Ahdaf”, the researcher had to differentiate between long-term strategic goals, and objectives that could be linked to specific activities with measurable results. The planner used achievements and continuous support, in the form of funding, as indicators of success.

Goals:

The main goal of the WDA was to preserve the natural heritage that most of the Bedouins dependant on. As nature-based tourism is the main source of income to many Bedouin families in the area, the planners had a mixture of goals representing the interests of both local people and the park. As the three planners interviewed stated, the goals of the WDA were:

- Preserve the Natural heritage in the Egyptian Western desert in general and the White Desert National Park in particular
- Preserve the cultural heritage of the Bedouin community
- Preserve the archeological remains of previous civilizations buried in the area.
- Develop the local economy in the oases
- Raise the standard of tourism services in the area to assure its sustainability

Objectives:

In reference to stated strategic goals, the WDA planners presented a group of objectives that related to specific activities to be implemented. These activities ranged from small, incremental

steps to educate the local public, to changing the tourism operations in the deserts of Egypt. The objectives stated by the planners were:

- Protecting the environment through training tour operators and raising the public awareness of the importance of the interlinked eco-systems in the area.
- Protecting the natural formations found in the Western Egyptian Desert. By raising the awareness of visitors and tour operators, the planners expect to stop the un-natural deterioration of these fragile geological features.
- Develop the local communities socially, by emphasizing the value of the indigenous peoples' culture in the area. As young generations of Bedouin are educated about their culture, they regain pride in their indigenous peoples' processes. The members of WDA believe that indigenous peoples' processes of interactions helped Bedouins survive such harsh living conditions. The tribal Bedouins in the area have traditionally maintained harmonious interactions with nature and other tribes of Bedouins.
- Develop eco-tourism operations in the area as the dominant industry in the area. The WDA members believed that sustainable eco-tourism was the only sustainable tourism operation that could sustain the livelihood of Bedouins working in this field.
- Develop the education of Bedouins in the oases area by supporting K-12 school system. Where governmental schools and institutes in the area lack the needed resources to function, WDA will help the area schools. A special effort should be directed to vocational education and continuing education. Girls' education should be supported and efforts should be funded to educate Bedouin girls within their culturally acceptable settings.
- Raise the standard of tourist camps and safari operations. Training and monitoring of the tour operators should help sustain the natural resource utilized for their livelihood.
- Take charge with the parks management in the day to day operations.
- Support organic farming efforts within the oases. Raising the awareness of Bedouin farmers and support their organic production by establishing local markets for it.
- Supporting public health awareness efforts by the government and other specialized NGOs.
- Become a support system for newly developed NGOs in the area.

Projects and activities:

The following are the group of projects implemented by the WDA or its NGOs in the oases area until fall 2008. Many of these projects are still ongoing and are supported by the local public. The projects develop in small increments with time gaps in between the components. Due to economic and political situations, the WDA progresses slowly but with deep effect in the overall development of the oases area. The list of projects is as follows:

- Desert Conservation: Removing Thirty Tons of Garbage

For many years, the Bedouins in the oases area organized cleanup activities in tourist areas in the surrounding desert. Desert cleanups were usually done by small groups and directed to clean areas used for safaris by this group. Every year before the tourism season starts in September, Bedouin safari operators drive around areas used for camping to clean any trash remaining from the previous year. The WDA organized a massive mobilization of people and resources to systematically clean areas in and around the park. These cleanups target areas reportedly containing buried trash, some of which has been buried more than ten years. A plan to clean the white Desert area was devised and groups of volunteers travel to spots where they camp and work on cleaning the area. The WDA organized and funded the transportation of volunteers and the equipment needed. Housing and service teams, of the WDA members organized logistics of three to four days cleaning campaigns. These campaigns are utilized for further planning and for networking with organizations and individuals interested in the conservation of the area. Mobilization and housing of over 200 people at a time has yielded the removal of over 30 tons of buried trash from the protected area in the last five years. The campaigns were also used to raise public awareness of the fragile desert eco-systems.

- Education and Training to Protect the Desert and it's Visitors

As the goals and objectives of WDA are directed toward services in the area, the planners designed a training system to ensure the standard of services in the area. The planners divided their goals to be achieved between education and training and developing new markets for their products. WDA established training for desert safari operators. This

training covered theoretical and practical components. Experts in many fields were invited to deliver these training sessions. The experts reviewed and trained operators in the fields of ecology, first aid, eco-tourism, tourist safety, parks management, culture and tradition, and the history of expeditions in the Egyptian deserts. Over three hundred participants trained in these fields were given sufficient skills to be able to safely operate a safari. These operators were then certified by the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism. The operators and drivers were supplied with most of the information needed to run a safari tour that is safe and ecologically sound. They received a thorough explanation of the impact the safari operations have on the ecological systems, the archeological artifacts, and the economic base of the Bedouin communities. Different scenarios were produced and discussed by participants to obtain a better understanding of the intricacy of the surrounding systems.

- Computer Labs for Schools

In its efforts to support the school system, WDA established computer labs in the government schools. Some of the schools that showed interest in cooperating with WDA received a set of computers to establish a student computer center. WDA also facilitated the training of the teachers and technicians to use the computer centers in educating the students. Some teachers were selected to receive extra training to use computer technology in their subjects. Teachers were encouraged through their training to introduce creative methods for teaching to increase the percentage of students retained by the educational system.

- Support of Vocational Education

WDA supported vocational education within the school system in their area. The members of WDA facilitated the upgrading of the schools' workshops and tools. Donations through WDA's NGOs replaced non-operating tools and machinery in the some schools and institutes in the oases. Exhibits and outlets were organized by WDA members to show and sell products manufactured by the students. An NGO in the WDA marketed these products locally and internationally. WDA introduced fair-trade practices in the area and continues to establish outlets for these products in hotels and shops.

- Supporting Education for Girls

As WDA supported K-12 education in the oases, it gave special importance to girls' education. As the number of girls dropping out of school increased, educating the parents on the importance of their girls' education became essential. WDA mobilized female members to communicate with girls' families to encourage them to re-enroll. Trust between families and female educators grew and the number of girls dropping out of the school system has been reduced in the oases area.

- Reviving Indigenous peoples' Industries

In a similar effort, WDA established handicrafts centers. The centers revived indigenous peoples' industries such as stone-ground olive-oil production techniques. Other traditional industries include date processing, fruit drying, and honey and preserves production. WDA also facilitated the production by trainees in its centers of traditional oases products such as carpet weaving, carpentry, and traditional desert caravan supplies such as hand-tooled saddles and saddlebags, and hand-woven mats. In some centers, female educators work with young female participants in informal vocational education. These products are marketed internationally by NGOs in Egypt and throughout Europe.

- Hospitality Training

As a program for sustainable economic development, WDA held trainings for hotel and camp owners to educate them on ways to better serve the tourists and the local community. Complaints from some tourists triggered community development NGOs in the area to demand a better standard of services in hotels and camps to retain tourist numbers. Community organizers in the area feared that tourists would stop using their villages as the stepping-stone to eco-tourism in the Egyptian deserts. Many companies in Cairo had started organizing safaris that did not go through the oases. The WDA trainings provided an opportunity to create agreement on standards for a minimum level of services in the hotels and camps.

- Supporting Organic Farms

Through hotels owned by members of the WDA, farmers were able to sell their organic produce. WDA certifies some of the local farmers as organic growers. This certification is a local certification based on trust between members. The hotels or camps use locally-grown organic produce in their meals. The availability of organically grown food appeals to many tourists who showed willingness to support such efforts. In turn, the interest of tourists and hotel owners encouraged more WDA farmers to start organic farming practices. WDA planners used this effort as a starter for operations of organic farming and certification supported by the government or private businesses.

- Economic Community Development

The WDA members decided to use the training approach as their methodology for economic community development. The WDA used marketability as their rationale for advertising their training sessions. The WDA organized many training sessions for different sectors of their community. Training for safari operators educated professional operators in new methods and techniques to promote and advertise for their operation. Desert safari drivers were educated in new technologies in navigation and communication while in remote desert areas. It was a chance for such drivers to enhance their abilities to handle emergencies and tourists' security. Women were helped to train and establish handicraft projects in the area. The ability to work from home helped many of these women to fulfill their family responsibilities while adding to the economic base of their family. The WDA centers for handicrafts were used as a venue for education for women in public health and a venue for networking.

- After School Training Programs

After school training programs for young Bedouins served many purposes. It served as an education tool where students could learn academic subjects in a different setting. As government school classes are overcrowded with students, many students find themselves in need for one-on-one mentoring. Other students were able to communicate via e-mail and surf the web using the computer centers. Many of the students were engaged in vocational

training or sports. Students who were involved in handicraft production were educated about fair trade operations and helped their families to be part of bigger network of producers.

- Community Guards

The WDA achieved environmental management objectives through their co-management agreements with the park service. The WDA planners designed an approach to utilize trustworthy Bedouin safari operators as assistants for park rangers. The community guards, as they were called, monitor tourism operations in remote areas and report violators. The selection criteria were stated and WDA members selected the guards by vote. The guards obtain their authority through the park's warden and they report directly to him.

Communication protocols were devised and incident-documentation methods were agreed upon. The Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency recognizes the Bedouin community guards, and local authorities respond to their requests to intervene when regulation enforcement is needed.

Achievements:

Although the WDA faces many challenges, they still run programs for community development and environmental protection. The political situation and economic recession threaten their ability to continue their work. The mere fact that the communities in the oases are supporting the WDA is an indicator of their successful planning. Local people in many oases support the WDA activities and trust it as a representative of the people's interests.

The Egyptian government continues to support the co-management agreement between the Parks Service and the WDA. Many other organizations are working with different parks in Egypt to emulate the co-management agreement. Although this co-management agreement is not the first of its kind in Egypt, it facilitated many venues of cooperation between the local communities and the managing authority of the parks they live near or utilize its resources.

As the WDA continues their training sessions, they invite other NGOs to attend administrators' trainings. The NGOs interested in achieving the same objectives send staff to attend and consult with WDA planners to design their own training programs.

Funding sources:

Although the vast majority of funding sources for WDA are private, many international organizations support their activities. IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) offices helped fund the training efforts by the WDA for safari operators. Through one of their programs in Egypt, IUCN also funded the writing of the co-management agreement.

Although the international funding for Egyptian NGOs is restricted, many organizations send volunteers to help with different activities. In Europe, many companies help fund and support the WDA activities through their operations in Egypt. International safari operations are recognizing WDA as an entity responsible for the tourism development of the area.

In Switzerland, a group of WDA supporters established the White Desert Foundation to help support the WDA development activities. They represent the WDA in fundraising and in rallying international support.

Many tourist companies in Egypt support the WDA efforts and partially fund activities. This support comes either in financial donations or by enrolling their staff for WDA training sessions.

Affluent Bedouin businessmen in the area continuously support the WDA. As members and staff, businessmen in the oases financially fund the WDA activities. As a matter of fact, most of WDA funds come from affluent Bedouin members. International aid agencies consult with the WDA organizers when planning training sources for local people in other parts of Egypt. NGOs around Egypt seek WDA help to organize trainings for their local constituencies.

4.3.4 The planners

As there are many entities represented in the WDA, the researcher identified three community organizers as the planners. 1) Mr. Tareq Elqanawati, the warden of the White Desert National Park is the main community organizer and planner. 2) Mr. Saad Ali, a Bedouin businessman who owns a tourist company organized Hayah NGO and the Bedouins of Farafra oasis. 3) Mr. Ashraf Lotfi, a Bedouin businessman who runs a tourist camp and organized the Desert Lovers NGO and the Bedouins of Bahareya oasis.

- 1) Mr. Tareq Elqanawaty was born in Alexandria, Egypt and was educated there. Although he graduated as a mechanical engineer, he applied for a job as a park ranger in the Ras Mohamed National Park in the Sinai, Egypt. Mr. Elqanawati worked in the South Sinai Protected Areas sector and was responsible for public relations and Bedouin affairs. He became the Abo-Galoum protected area manager and established systems to regulate artisan fishermen operations in the park. He helped in the establishment of the Saint Katherine National Park and became the Manager of the protected area. In his work in the parks service, he established many communication channels with the Bedouin tribes in the area. He initiated many community development efforts with the civil society in the Sinai. He was serving as the warden and manager of White Desert Protected Area that is adjacent to the Farafra and Bahareya Oases.
- 2) Mr. Saad Ali was born and educated in Farafra Oasis. Mr. Ali graduated from the local college as a teacher but started a long process of self education. He traveled in Europe for a while, independently studying tourism and tourist management including attending a number of training courses in Switzerland and Germany. His dream was to return to Farafra and established his own tourism operation. With his brothers, Atef and Hamdi, he developed his business and spread his tourism operation to all the Egyptian western desert oases. Believing in the social responsibility of the business sector, he initiated Hayah NGO for community development. He spends his time, when not in the desert, travelling and fundraising for Hayah NGO and the WDA. He organizes safari operations all over the Egyptian deserts and employs a large number of Bedouins in the Farafra and Eldakhla oases.
- 3) Mr. Ashraf Lotfi was born and educated in Bahareya oasis. Mr. Lotfi graduated from a local college and worked in the tourism sector. He owns a safari operation and a camp that is used to organize tourists into groups. As a Bedouin businessman he showed great interest in community service and helped establish small activities that benefit different segments of his local community. As a community organizer, he hosted many gatherings that lead to the establishment of the Desert Lovers NGO as a nonprofit community service organization. With an intensive social and business network, Mr. Lotfi was elected to be the president of the NGO and he still serves as a planner and community organizer of many of its events.

4.3.5 Participatory mode for WDA planners

The three planners discussed with the researcher how they designed their planning sessions. It became clear that they had discussed and agreed on every step of the process. It is important to note that the plan was not divided between the planners. The three planners discussed/ argued every step and made a collective decision. The researcher questioned their agreement process and they stated that it is the Bedouin way. The planners stated that, as they represent different tribes and interest groups, they had to reach a 100% agreement on every step. The planners noted that this process might look like wasting time but it was the only process they knew that would guarantee Bedouin peoples' acceptance; without consensus, the outcomes of any planning or decision-making process could not be guaranteed. They noted that Bedouins will not feel obligated to implement any decision they did not agree with. They said all sessions had to be constructed in a Bedouin format. The planners elaborated on how they classified members of the WDA and described the format and rationale for every step. They agreed that both planning and implementation had to employ a Bedouin process. The planners remarked on the difficulty of their process as they were constructing a new social body (WDA) within the tribal system. One of the planners joked that it felt like establishing a new tribe among Bedouins.

Participants and the process:

The White Desert Association (WDA) is composed of two NGOs in two different governorates in Egypt. The planners (Mr. Ashraf Lotfi, Mr. Saad Ali, and Mr. Tareq Elqanawaty) identified two groups, 1- Local and 2- Non-Local members of the NGOs comprising the association as the two entities involved in the participatory planning process.

1- Local members:

Local members are mostly Bedouins who live and work in the two localities. Their livelihood is dependent on either tourism or farming activities. The local members were involved in all aspects of planning and decision making for the project. Members formulated goals and objectives, evaluated resources, identified tasks and activities, and implemented those activities.

The involvement of the local members took place in a Bedouin setting in the same locale where issues had arisen. For example, when they were planning and discussing potential tracks to be developed as part of their project, they gathered in the area of the potential tracks. Interested parties or members who had experience in tracks' planning and construction attended this meeting. Some traveled over 200 Km to attend and comment. Members who were interested and unable to attend sent a representative. The planners took into consideration the farming and tourism operations' schedules when calling for such meetings to get the largest number attendees. The planners also gave time for side discussions and negotiations before the meeting, and planned for extended time on site for discussion if needed. Food was prepared and was served at the different major pauses during discussion. Lobbying and negotiations occurred prior to and during the onsite meeting. As many of the local members could not read, the planners made suitable presentations. With around 300 local members, meeting attendance ranged from 30 to 250 members.

The participation of the local members was proactive all along the planning process. The local members acted as partners in every step of the planning process and in the implementation of the plan outcomes.

2- Non- Local Members:

The non local members were mostly members in one or two of the NGOs and were outsiders to the Bedouin families. These members were attracted to the area either through their profession or through their passion to preserve the natural heritage of the area and its dwellers. They varied in age, gender, nationality, and profession. They acted as either working members or as advisors to the planners. They volunteered their work to help support the activities of the NGOs. They were oriented toward environmental protection and social development as means for preserving the heritage of the area. Around 50 non-local members assisted in supporting the association's activities financially and by lobbying for its support on the national and international level. As the planners prepared the participatory planning events, non-local members were invited to assist in presentation and facilitation. These members visited the area on a weekly to a monthly basis and attended as many events as they could.

The involvement of the non-local members occurred during their visits to the area or when the planners called upon them. Their involvement took many forms, including phone conferencing with the planners or other members. Non-local members attended meetings in official offices in the capital or local government. When in the local area of the oasis, their meetings were in Bedouin form and adhered to the tradition of the local members. All decision-making sessions by the association took place in Bedouin form. In these sessions non- local members sat on the sand, ate, and drank tea. As Oases Bedouins are less tribal than Sinai Bedouins, the hierarchy in discussions was not tribal. Experience in the subject matter of the discussion became the deciding factor in the hierarchy of the setting. Experienced members (local or non local) were known and respected by such a small community. The seating of members occurred on an equal basis and the talking occurred by turns in the circle (round robin). The long sessions included the cooking and serving of food and drink as is the custom in Bedouin events.

The non-local members participated both proactively and reactively during the planning process. They participated proactively as partners and collaborators and reactively as advisors to the planners.

Summarizing the plan:

The researcher used a form to summarize the outcome of interviewing Hemaya planner and reviewing other documents describing the plan and the participatory planning process.

As discussed in the theoretical framework, five main questions were used to summarize the planners' answers and analyze the evolution of the process. These questions were:

1. What type of development the planner designed his project to achieve?
2. Why the planner chose to involve the public in the planning process?
3. In what stage of the planning process the planner invited public participation?
4. What type of public participation the planner chose for the planning process?
5. How the planner evaluated the success or failure of the planning process?

Form used to record and summarize planning approach in WDA case study

| Questions | | Potential answers | Initially planned | Evolved during Participatory process |
|-----------------|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| First Question | Planners' Intent For Development | Economic development | yes | yes |
| | | Environmental development | yes | yes |
| | | Social development | yes | yes |
| | | | | |
| Second Question | Reason for inviting participation | Sustainable development | yes | yes |
| | | Self-rule | No | yes |
| | | Educate public | yes | yes |
| Third Question | Time to invite participation | Vision formulation | yes | yes |
| | | Objectives formulation | yes | No |
| | | Resource analysis | No | yes |
| | | Designing activities | yes | yes |
| | | Implementing activities | yes | yes |
| Fourth Question | Type of participation | Delegated participation | No | yes |
| | | All beneficiaries attending | yes | No |
| | | Public hearing | yes | No |
| | | Focus groups | No | yes |
| Fifth Question | Successful participatory planning evaluation | Meeting plan objectives | yes | No |
| | | Maximum satisfied participants | No | No |
| | | Majority satisfaction | No | No |
| | | Consensus | yes | yes |

Figure 4.3.1: Form summarizing outcome of interviewing WDA planner and reviewing planning documents. (Developed by the author).

The planners agreed that they initially planned a sustainable development project. They stated that their intention was to achieve economic, social, and environmental development projects. They debated as whether or not to call the process a sustainable development project for fear of misunderstanding of terms as it translates in Arabic. They decided to call every component according to its development classification. For example, the handicrafts project was classified as community economic development. Even with the environmental and cultural considerations and implications of such project, the planners chose not to call it sustainable development in order not to confuse participants. The researcher classified such projects as sustainable development based on the considerations taken by the planners. The participatory planning process unfolded the participants desire to treat all their projects as community-based sustainable development. The participants' awareness of the connectivity of different systems evolved to consider sustainability in all their endeavors. This evolution was faster than the planners expected. The researcher considered that the initial intention of the planners and the evolution of the participatory process met the definition of sustainable development and the term was clearly defined in future planning processes.

The planners agreed that they designed their planning process with the intention of sustaining the plan outcomes and to educate Bedouins in the area. The planners stated that there would not have been a plan to be implemented if there were no full participation of local people. One planner stated that involving local people is the only way to develop a project. The plans are to develop projects that are implemented by the people and for their own good. Another planner noted that participatory decision-making is the only way he knows as a Bedouin.

The planners initially wanted local participants to help formulate the vision and formulate objectives with the activities leading to it. They did not expect the local public to analyze resources. They planned for the local participants to design activities leading to the achievement of the objectives and implement such activities. As the participatory planning process progressed the planners found the participants amenable to formulating vision and goals but had problems in formulating objectives. The participants were able to formulate strategies of activities. The planners then decided to formulate the objectives and present them to the

participants. On the other hand the participation process indicated the ability of the local participants to analyze the resources in a professional manner. The participants also were able to design activities and take part in implementing them.

The planners initially intended to include all beneficiaries in all sessions. They also designed a number of public hearings to inform local people of the achievements and to rally the public support for the projects. As the participatory planning process progressed, the local people evolved from attending to delegating members of the WDA to represent their interests. Also, the local people met with their delegates and felt there was no need for public hearings. That was a great development in the attitude of people toward the participatory planning process held by the WDA. Also, focus groups were not initially planned but as the participatory process evolved, delegates asked for the formation of focus groups of people they thought would add to the process.

As for the planners' process of evaluating the planning process as successful or failure, the planners agreed that meeting the objectives with agreeable participants would be the ultimate success. They stated that reaching consensus among participants is the real measure of success. They also considered that a project not meeting its objectives would be less than successful. Achieving consensus was the most important mission for facilitators and community organizers among the Bedouin constituency.

Analyzing the planning process:

The WDA planners used an incremental planning process to achieve long-term strategies leading to sustainable development of their locale. All projects were designed as partnerships between local people and local businesses. In many cases the planners involved local authorities. Usually they would invite the participation of a local authority figure to be involved as an individual. This led many local authority figures to assist the process and eased the interaction with local authorities.

The planners noted that formulating the objectives was the most challenging aspect of planning. Objectives had to be stated in a way that was acceptable to the participants. The wording of each

objective had to be inclusive to all interested parties. Without this process, the planners expected that the participants would not have reached consensus and thus the process would have failed.

The local public started attending all sessions until they established trust in the planners, the planning process, and the intended outcomes. From that point on Bedouins started selecting delegates to represent their interests. As the process progressed, the numbers of delegates shrank, indicating that more Bedouins entrusted the same individuals to represent their interest. It was interesting to observe such a process as it represented natural election of trustworthy delegates. The delegates made sure to inform the local people they represented will all the steps of the process.

Reaching consensus was the planners' intent from the beginning of the participatory planning process. As reaching consensus is the Bedouin way, the planners noted that it was not difficult. They noted that the area has a pristine natural site and most of the Bedouin in the area are dependent on the tourist visits. In an economic stressful time for the oases area, all Bedouins understand that their sustenance is related to the conservation of the natural resources in the area. Having objectives such as improving the standards of tourism operations in the area translated to more steady income for all members of the Bedouin community working in this field. The economic benefit extends to other Bedouin community members working in services in the area. Even farmers who never interact with tourists were guaranteed a better market for their farm products purchased by hotels.

One of many challenges WDA planners faced was coordination between local authorities in different oases. The two NGOs within the WDA are located in two different governorates in Egypt. Local authorities were not at all accustomed to coordinating logistical activities. This added to the WDA planners' work as they facilitated communication between local authorities in the two governorates.

The researcher noted the lack of national media coverage for such a civil society initiative. WDA planners had to invite the media and accommodate their different agendas to cover any of the events planned. The researcher agrees with one of the planners that the political discourse to support the local civil society has not yet reached the local authorities. Services had been

coupled with control in most of the social regimes. Although Egypt had moved to capitalism, local authorities feared civil society activism.

4.3.6 The WDA participants

Participants were from a mixture of farmers and local business owners. They are all members in the two NGOs in the Oasis of the western desert in Egypt. They come from different backgrounds and educational levels and they all live in the locality of the project. As participants represent members of different communities with different leadership, they tried to claim more tribal responsibility in success and less blame for failures. It was more difficult to separate individuals in casual conversations to get their personal opinions.

The participants' profiles were as follows:

Participant 1: Bedouin, male, mid 20s, high school diploma, works as tourist guide, lived in the oasis all his life

Participant 2: Bedouin, male, mid 50s, no formal education, works as a driver and own agricultural land, lived in the oasis all his life

Participant 3: Bedouin, male, mid 30s, 2 year college, educated in Cairo, works in tourism

Participant 4: Bedouin, male, mid 30s, university graduate, educated in Cairo, teaches local high school

Participant 5: Bedouin, male, mid 40s, university graduate, educated in Cairo, owns a hotel

The researcher noted the different age groups represented and the difference in level of educations among participants. The participants were actively engaged in planning civil society events as local Bedouins. Conscious of their differences, the planners facilitated their discussions in a traditional Bedouin manner. All voices had to be heard and it was up to the participants to choose the better opinion.

Summarizing WDA's participants' answers to interviews

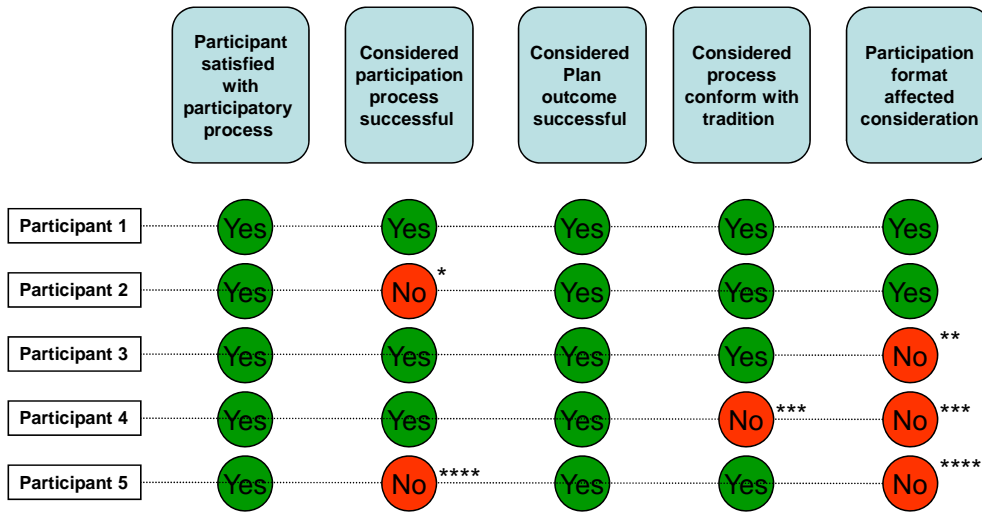


Figure 4.3.2: Summary of WDA plan participants answers to the interviews. (Developed by the author).

* Participant 2 thought process was not successful because everyone had a say in all aspects. He thought only experts in each matter should be asked.

** Participant 3 thought physical setup did not impress him and that the process content and not the setting was the determining factor for him.

*** Participant 4 thought that the format did not conform to his tradition, that he does not agree with these traditions, and therefore the format did not impact him.

**** Participant 5 thought that participatory process was not successful because too many people had a say in every detail. For example, "... farmers should not have a say in what we (tourism businessmen) do as community development... also how uneducated people can have a

say in education of kids...” He also thought that whether or not the form was Bedouin did not make a difference.

The researcher should note that most of the participants have not been involved in a participatory process in any other setting. They answered the researcher questions in different ways. The interviewing process was difficult as the participants were trying to project the researcher’s intent of the questions. When an interviewee found out that questions might lead toward an answer that he is not sure of, he would change his answer for a previous question. Being an academician stirred participants’ fear of the researcher being judgmental toward the Bedouin traditions.

Participant (2) had strong opinions about public participation. Although a participant in a planning process, the participant (2) thought that he should have been asked specific questions in his field of expertise. He expressed his confusion at being asked by the planners/facilitators to participate in a decision-making process concerning public awareness. He expressed his feeling of humiliation when educated people asked his opinion. He felt that they were either mocking him for not being educated or they asking him to voice his opinion then they would not consider it. Saying that, he noted that the planners had considered every idea or opinion he offered in the planning sessions. He also stated that the planners engaged him in separate discussions to elaborate on his opinion.

Participant (3) was in a state of disbelief that this process was taking place in Egypt. He was fascinated with the idea that local people could be engaged in decisions that affect their livelihood and the future of their families. He described his feelings toward the process and the planners. When asked about the physical setting of the sessions, he described the emotional state of Bedouins getting a chance to self-rule in their indigenous way. When asked about the effect of the physical setting or the language used on his feeling of satisfaction, he stated he did not want to remove the focus of his satisfaction from the content of the sessions to its format.

Participant (4) downplayed his Bedouin culture and its influence on his decisions. Bedouin and educated in Cairo, the participant viewed his Bedouin heritage as backward and viewed its impact as negative. He described his participation as important for others as he is better

educated. He renounced his Bedouin traditions and related his innovative thinking to his education in private schools in the capital.

Participant (5) put emphasis in his description of the participatory planning process on his role as facilitator. As a highly educated businessman, he criticized the Bedouin way as not functional in the present times. He accused the Bedouin tradition of equating educated and non-educated peoples' opinions. He also admitted the physical setting was most important for other Bedouins. He always referred to Bedouins as different people from his culture. While recapping the results of the interview, he noted that he was Cairo born to two Bedouin parents. He admitted he was working in the area because he was making good living running his hotel. He deemed the process not successful as time was wasted on educating Bedouins. He would prefer that decisions were made by smaller number of intellectual businessmen. He enjoyed the physical setting and stated that it was necessary to assure Bedouin participation.

Analysis of the participatory process:

The informal way the association's planning process went was very incremental and flexible. This way seemed to be necessary to achieve the consensus of all parties. Also, this process borrowed a lot from the lifestyle of Bedouins in the western desert of Egypt. With the diverse tribal background of the inhabitants of the western desert, a consensus was proven to be the only way to sustain a decision. In the history of the place, many disputes occurred between tribes or families when a portion of the population did not agree on a decision that concerned their livelihood.

The process used by the WDA can be described as disjointed-incrementalist, according to Faludi's (1994) classification and as a normative planning mode (Freidman 1967). This is true as the increments of the plan were sometimes scattered in different places achieving seemingly disconnected goals. The goals and objectives arose from the needs of the participants. According to Arnstein's model (1969), the citizens' participation type was proactive based on the involvement of participants. The local peoples' participation approach was a combination of partnership- and citizen- control models. The participants negotiated every decision and discussed every step of the process. It was harder in this case since the participants as Bedouins

and in an NGO needed consensus at every step. It seemed impossible to arrive at consensus in many of the steps but, with time and many sessions of negotiations, they came near agreement. The participation here can be described as a process-oriented approach based on Pretty's (1994) classification.

As part of an NGO in a remote area, the people assumed responsibility for planning, implementing, and funding the activities for the most part. The participants here defined the goals, identified the activities, and implemented and helped evaluate them.

The participants elaborated on the format of the planning sessions. Many of the sessions took place during social events. Many of these social/cultural events took place in the desert and many languages were used. Although multitude of languages and dialects were used during the planning sessions to accommodate local and non-local members, the final decisions were iterated in local dialect by the planners. Some of the participants noted the importance of using local dialect in the planning process. Some other participants disagreed that the dialect was important at all. The researcher observed some of the planning sessions where a WDA planner, standing in the center of the seating circle, states the final decision aloud in a Bedouin dialect. The planner would then go around the circle asking if all were happy (maabsoteen). He would make a point of standing in front of Bedouin participants who initially opposed the decision and ask in Bedouin dialect if the participant was made content (mardy). The decision is not considered binding till all attendees approve.

The participants noted the importance of the planners' choice of meeting locations. Having many of the planning sessions in the White Desert National Park eliminated territorial issues between Bedouin WDA members. Different tribes were able to gather in the park comfortably and Mr. Elqanawaty acted as the host and facilitator. Many participants commended Mr. Elqanawaty's knowledge of the tribal dialects, clans' history, and tribal laws. As a government official, Mr. Elqanawaty balanced his authority and the local peoples' trust.

The process was elaborate, but not complex, as everybody within the group was involved personally or through delegated representation and negotiated consensus at every step of the process.

The participants explained that for them all to be happy (maabsoteen) with every decision was important. When some were not happy, other participants work with them till they are convinced of the mutual benefit and then they are called to be “mardy” or made content. Usually by others making concessions till all are made content. This process took lots of time and effort but seemed most important for all participants interviewed. The process of negotiating every decision toward a mutual benefit and concessions made by individuals to arrive to such level of agreement was notable and shed light on intimate aspects of Bedouin decision-making process.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this section the researcher will discuss findings from the analysis of the cases studied. Common trends and differences are mentioned in the context of each case. The context includes the cultural framework of the participants of the planning process. By discussing what was common among the cases studied, the reasons for their success should be clearer. The common answers of planners and of participants in the planning processes should clarify what participants, especially Bedouins, value as a community. The differences in answers may show subtle variations in how people view the participatory planning process. Those differences can shed light on how participants evaluated the process. From answers to interview questions, the researcher will deduce what the Bedouins valued and what contributed to their satisfaction. The main components of participant satisfaction and what led them to view as successful the participatory planning process in which they took part will be discussed. The researcher will then attempt to decode some elements of the process as described by interviewees, to shed light on details of the cultural framework.

Throughout the interviews, the researcher observed the facial expressions and body language of the interviewees. Most of the Bedouin interviewees showed great interest and involvement in the discussion. Their facial expressions reflected satisfaction and pride. Many Bedouins expressed an emotional attachment to the planning process and its outcomes, as though they were describing a part of their life they held dear. The majority of the interviewees described the planning process in a narrative. They mentioned names and places and remembered minute details. The extent of interest and detail inspired questioning to gather information on deeper levels. When asked, many of the participants explained their emotional state and how they felt about every detail in their story. The participants seemed to use the interviews as a venue to voice how they felt about, and how they valued, the elements of the decision-making process. The researcher noted that they described recent experiences as if they were part of their history. They expressed that they had never expected to live such experiences and found it hard to imagine that anyone, especially an outsider, would be interested in learning about them.

5.2 Similar planning process but different concepts' definitions

Study of the three cases revealed that the planning processes used were clearly similar to one another. The planners of Sama, Hemaya, and WDA used stages equivalent to those in the normative Westernized planning literature. All the planners interviewed confirmed having what can be described as a mission, goals, and a group of objectives. All the planners also related activities to objectives and identified resources before implementation. It is safe to deduce that the planning process in rural Egypt is similar to what is normally viewed as a plan in the westernized planning literature. At this stage, it is important to discuss subtle differences that were found in the rural Egyptian cases studied. Most of these differences did not show in documentation but were deduced through layers of discussions with the planners and participants.

As discussed in chapter 1(Introduction), the researcher expected to find different planning processes and that the culture of the participants would affect their evaluation of the planning process and the plan outcomes. The fact that the planning processes were the same proves the first hypothesis of the researcher wrong. The researcher hypothesized that the planning process would be very different in rural Egypt and the west. As the plan components proved similar, many differences emerged in the setup and the format of the sessions of the planning process. Differences in the physical setting of sessions, the language/wording used in presenting the ideas, and decision-making techniques were the biggest differences emerging from the analysis of the cases studied. As the planners and participants interacted in the planning process, each component was formatted to be suitable for Bedouin participants. The format of different components included the time frame, location, who talked, and how people were seated. The differences in formats and the importance given to them by the participants presented the most marked difference between the normative Westernized planning and the planning used in the three cases studied.

The emerging diversions from the Westernized norms that proved most important for the planners and participants of the participatory planning process in rural Egypt are discussed further below. As most of the local people interviewed as participants in these plans are Bedouin, the influence of the Bedouin culture was obvious. The cultural framework of the locale

in which the projects took place is key to understanding the difference in the format of the planning process. An extensive description of the sessions and where planning took place was necessary to discern the import of the differences in format, especially after the importance of the cultural setting for the perception of success emerged. Participants described, in detail, the setup of meeting locations and related scenarios of interactions that took place as part of the planning sessions. All Bedouin interviewees described this format as “the Bedouin way.” Note that all planners gave attention to the subtleties of format when Bedouin participants were involved in the planning sessions.

Five concepts within the participatory planning process in rural Egypt emerged as differing significantly from the normative westernized planning process. Each serves to illuminate how culturally affected perceptions can determine levels and kinds of participation.

5.2.1 Individual vision or group mission:

One of the differences between the cases studied and the westernized model was the way the planners approached documentation. During the study, the researcher had to deduce planners’ vision as they were not documented. In the documents and published materials, planners rarely talked about their individual ideas for the future in the form of a vision. They would be more amenable to discussing it as practical projection or a collective viewpoint. The Egyptian planners interviewed shied away from mentioning their vision of the future work and its expected results. They attributed not stating their vision to cultural approbation toward people promoting their individual thoughts.

Traditionally in Egypt, people would not talk about plans for the future but rather their hopes for future potentials. If one were to be asked about their hopes, they could discuss them in detail. They would present their analysis of the present state and what might otherwise be called a vision of the future as a projection.

Similarly, Egyptian planners interviewed, did not present an individual vision but rather a mission for the entire organization. A “collective vision”, presented as an organizational mission statement or strategic goals, is culturally more acceptable than an individual vision. It was easier, culturally, for the planners to write their vision into the mission of a group of people. All

planners interviewed did not talk about their vision “for personal reasons” and to avoid apprehension among the local public toward their plans. In further discussion, the Sama planner played down the potential negative impact of stating a vision, while Hemaya and WDA planners thought it was most important that the publicized mission evolved from the group. This importance makes sense in communities with a strong cultural bias toward the group. In more homogeneous or mono-cultural communities such cultural traits as bias to the group are more easily observed than in multi-cultural settings. Local people in the areas served by Hemaya and WDA were more adherent to their Bedouin/rural culture, while in Sama’s case the influx of Egyptians from the Nile-Delta diluted the rural culture. That is not to say that the Bedouins of North Sinai are less attached to their cultural heritage, but the increasing number of non-Bedouins makes the overall culture of the area more urban. This change in demography makes the subtle cultural behavior harder to discern.

5.2.2 Conceptions of self-rule:

Authors such as Oltheten, in Westernized planning literature, discuss self-rule as a motivation and a reason for public participation (Oltheten 1995). While studying the cases in Bedouin communities, the researcher recognized a different form of self-rule. While closer to what is defined as self-regulating, in an ethical (in contrast to political) context it functions in the same way: as a reason for implementing a participatory planning process. Self-rule here can be defined as an extra-regulatory rule that is self-imposed. It was clear that the Bedouins interviewed wanted self-regulation only for civic interactions in the context of ethics and not necessarily self-rule on the political level. This kind of self-regulation is an element of their tribal Bedouin traditions. The interviewees elaborated in their discussions with the researcher on the fact that they always had tribal law as a foundation for decision-making even when under a different cultural or even a political umbrellas.

A good example of this self-regulating tribal system can be found in decisions on the fishing and hunting seasons. Tribal chiefs and experts got together and decided on where to fish and for how long. Although different ruling governments had different regulations, Bedouins had their own regulations that they all abided by. Mostly these regulations were within the permissible limits of governmental laws. In the case of Hemaya, the NGO and its participants agreed to activities to regulate fishing on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba. The problem was that non-Bedouin

inhabitants of the area did not answer to tribal chiefs and did not follow Bedouin rules. So, in the last couple of decades, with the increase of non-Bedouins inhabiting the area, the tribal self-rule diminished. By partnering with National Parks in the area, Hemaya revived that self-rule within the Parks' regulations.

The same is true for Sama where the participants applied a higher level of environmental quality, exceeding governmental regulations. The WDA participants chose to regulate the tourism in the entire area. WDA members implemented higher environmental and archeological conservation standards than expected by local authorities. They restricted access to more vulnerable areas in the desert where WDA members operated. Again, there were no governmental laws regulating the tourism operations of the desert safari in Egypt, which had threatened many fragile ecosystems and degraded many pre-historic archeological sites.

The WDA participants constructed a number of training sessions in partnership with the National Park in the area to certify safari operators. As a first in Egypt, the WDA participants self-ruled and motivated the government to follow their model and sponsor similar trainings in other parts of the country. As a result, the Department of Tourism currently is proceeding with laws to regulate desert Safari operations in Egypt.

Non-governmental regulations that control activities within an area are considered to be non-political self-rule. This became evident from the interviews with planners regarding how the participatory planning process evolved. All planners did not consider self-rule initially in their design for the planning process. It was through the participation of Bedouins in the three planning processes that extra regulations became necessary. Only through active civic structure, such as the Bedouin tribal traditional system, could such regulations be put in place and implemented. In the Sama case, the projects were considered private endeavors, so the government was not involved. In the cases of Hemaya and WDA, it was a social movement that motivated the regulations. The full conviction of the participants and their binding agreements to protect their surrounding environment facilitated the enforcement of such regulations. A progressive sector of the government, such as the Egyptian Parks Service, was needed to make official the regulations to be implemented by Bedouins and non-Bedouins.

5.2.3 Consensus as a decision making process:

During the planners' discussion on their evaluations of their participatory planning process, a disagreement occurred. At issue was the percentage of satisfied participants needed to evaluate the planning process as successful. Some thought that any majority of satisfied participants would qualify as success. Others thought satisfaction of as many participants as possible constituted the best outcome. This guided the researcher to construct additional classifications in the form used to summarize their plans.

The majority of literature reviewed suggested that people evaluate a planning process as successful if the process meets the plan's objectives (McNamara 1999) or satisfies the participants (Bernstein 1993). None of the literature reviewed discussed the proportion of satisfied participants necessary for the process to be perceived as successful. A new concept emerged during the planners' discussion of the evolution of the planning process. All planners agreed that consensus among participants was most important for them. As a result, the researcher added this concept to his analysis framework.

Although most of the planners did not consider consensus in their initial plan, they all agreed that it emerged as an aim in all their discussions because it was the objective of all the Bedouin people involved in facilitating the sessions. WDA planners indicated that they started with consensus as their evaluation mechanism. In an individual tribe, disputes can be resolved through the influence of a trusted elder. In multi-tribal collaborations, there is no one person who fits the "trusted elder" category for everyone. All the constituents are on the same level. Therefore, consensus is the only reliable means to make binding decisions. Mostly Bedouins, the WDA facilitators understood this. Having constituents from different tribes and conflicting interest groups meant consensus was the only viable choice for WDA planners. They noted that reaching consensus was the overlaying Bedouin process that transcended any Bedouin tribal style or custom. Interviewees, especially Bedouins, indicated that agreeing was important in all aspects of the planning process. They also indicated that it was most important for them to end a session agreeing that they are all "mabsoteen".

5.2.4 “Mabsoteen” as an evaluation component:

All Bedouin interviewed repeated the same term, “mabsoteen.” indicating their collective satisfaction. It is important to analyze the use of this word by the interviewees to express their satisfaction with the planning process. All Bedouin participants used “Mabsoteen” to express their satisfaction. Mabsot is translated as happy or pleased. The classical Arabic translation is “to be at ease.”

One of the translations (classical Arabic) of the word is “flat” and it is used to describe the topography of a valley as flat and easy. Hans Wehr (1980), in A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, defines the word “mabsot” which is the singular form of “mabsoteen,” as: “extended, outstretched; spread out; extensive, large, sizeable; detailed, elaborate (book); cheerful, happy, feeling well, in good health; well to do.”

It was noted in the interviews that the word was used in its plural form to express, what an individual state was in this case. None of the Bedouins interviewed stated it as “mabsot” which would answer the question about his/her individual feeling, indicating that the normal definition of the success of a process was, “to be collectively satisfied. “ So, when they say, “everyone is satisfied,” Bedouins mean that they have arrived at a decision with which they are all satisfied. This corresponds with the Bedouin definition of success as discussed previously. All participants were satisfied by arriving at a decision with which they are all are happy.

From these subtle definitions of terms, the researcher was able to deduce that the dominant definition of success, for Bedouins, is to reach consensus. Note that the cases studied are in three different locations with Bedouins speaking slightly different dialects. The different use of some terms constitutes the biggest difference in their dialects. But all Bedouins used the same term to express their satisfaction even though they would use different terms to express their happiness or satisfaction in a different context. Some would use the term “merttah” or relaxed to express their satisfaction with a situation or state, in South Sinai. Other Bedouins used the word “zein,” or “good,” to express their state of satisfaction in North-Sinai. Many Bedouins in the desert oases in Egypt used “meleeh” to express that they were in a happy state. But all described their state of satisfaction with the process using the term “mabsoteen” as their collective feeling.

It is safe to deduce that they used the term to express an evaluation process. For Bedouins in Egypt being collectively satisfied is their benchmark of success. If consensus is not reached in a manner that leaves all participants satisfied, the Bedouins will evaluate the process as a failure. With all the merit that they give to a plan or a process, they will consider it less than satisfactory if decisions were not comfortable to all.

The researcher has observed situations where Bedouins did not reach consensus. It was interesting that in these situations the majority of participants showed dissatisfaction that the process did not yield consensus. In many cases, when asked, the Bedouins stated that there is no sustainability without consensus. Bedouins believe that if consensus is not reached, people will not support the decisions. In Bedouin culture, only decisions upon which all agree are binding. Reaching a decision that is not supported by 100% of the participants, excludes the dissenters from their social responsibility toward implementation and support for that decision. Bedouin elders relate that such situations lead to unrest and have led to tribal disputes lasting decades. “All have to be happy, you cannot force a free man to do something they don’t want to do,” said Otayeg, an old fisherman on the Gulf of Aqaba. This definition of freedom among Bedouins plus their cultural respect for peoples’ choices through the years, defines the Bedouin way.

In observing other situations where a lack of consensus occurred, the researcher found different terminology used. If a group of individuals did not agree with the majority opinion, a facilitation process would be held by trustworthy Bedouins. Sessions of negotiation would take place and continue until near consensus would be achieved. In these sessions, many members of the majority would make concessions to fulfill some of the opposing individuals’ needs. At this stage, the terminology changes and the word “mardy” or “made content” replaces “mabsoot”. The initially un-satisfied individuals acknowledge that they were made content. Then, a final session would be held where all testify if they are “mabsooteen” or “mardyeen”. All concessions made would have to be stated in the agreement and witnessed by all attendees. At this point all agreements and concessions would become obligatory and binding.

5.2.5 Territoriality:

The Bedouin cultures have been shaped along thousands of years by their environment and necessity. Although not a nomadic culture anymore, the Bedouins interviewed described their

ownership of land as a range or territory. They all described the range as an area their tribe had influence on. This range/territory is not owned by any individual member of the tribe, but it is the public domain of this tribe. A member consults with elders and the tribe would have to agree to allow someone to build a residence. But the land ownership still would be public domain for the tribe.

Not owning land individually does not cause any sense of insecurity for Bedouins. Bedouin loyalty is for their culture and the dynamics of their interactions. Most Bedouins interviewed expressed discomfort at having to settle in another tribe's territory. When asked about location and their comfort, Bedouins interviewed indicated sense of security and comfort in friendly tribal territory. "It is obligatory to help and protect any traveler in your tribal territory," explained Subbah, a camel trainer and guide in South Sinai. This protection is not extended to men of an adversary tribe. Many described their territory as land they have total accessibility to anytime. This is consistent with participants' answers when asked about their discomfort in attending planning sessions away from their territory. By asking Bedouins to travel to attend planning sessions in a public/governmental facility, you are asking them to operate outside of their territory.

By asking Bedouins to attend sessions in non-friendly territory and adding an unfamiliar format for participation, the participatory decision making sessions are dissatisfactory even before they start. Participants used the term "freedom restricting" to describe town halls, universities, and official buildings used to house planning sessions.

5.3 Form of participatory planning sessions

Not only location but also the form of a meeting can contribute or detract from its potential for success. The study uncovered similar planning components but different formats for participatory planning sessions. The importance of the format of the participatory planning process became clear from interviewees' descriptions of the planning process. Planners and participants gave elaborate descriptions of the locations, the physical settings, and the timeframes of the planning sessions. The interviewees also described the format as "Bedouin way" and included the time of the day they met, the dialect used, and who facilitated the sessions as

meaningful components. It became clear that subtle elements could affect the perceptions of the participants (Bedouins) towards the planning process and the plan outcomes. The level of detail given to descriptions of the format of the sessions and what they implied to each of the participants was unexpected. From these descriptions, it was possible to build a context for understanding the interaction between the participants and the planning sessions. In many instances, the format of the participation seemed more important for the participants than the content of the planning session. By engaging the participants and the planners in discussions about the details, the researcher was able to identify some elements of the format and what they meant to the local people. These elements seemed the ones with the most profound impact on the Bedouin participants.

The top three elements that were mentioned by the interviewees were:

1. The physical setting of the participatory planning sessions
2. The status (tribal/ local) of the organizer and the facilitator
3. The language and dialect used during the sessions

Physical setting as described by Bedouin participants included who called for the meeting, where the meeting took place, when in the day it started, how long it went, who attended, who facilitated, what dialect the facilitator spoke, and what was served during the session. How people were seated and how they reached agreements were also described during the interviews. “Sessions were long and involved food and beverages,” said the Sama planner describing the planning sessions he designed. In Egyptian culture, in general, serving food and drinks is an essential component of any gathering in a friendly setting. “Seating and discussions were constructed in a Bedouin way and followed a Bedouin protocol”, said a Hemaya participant commenting on the setting of the sessions in which he took part.

Decoding the physical setting:

One can better understand how Bedouins perceive the physical setting, by close examination of the interviewees’ descriptions and the researcher’s personal observations. To study variables that exert an influence on a contextual frame work, John Naisbitt (1982) in his *Megatrends*, suggested using coding/decoding to better understand the relationship between such variables.

Time and space and how Bedouins understand them were some of the most important factors/variables in explaining their passionate acceptance or rejection of planning sessions. From observations and hypothetical situations discussed through interviews, the researcher decoded the Bedouin sense of time and space as it relates to the participatory decision-making process. The location and time of meetings are discussed in the following section. The length of meetings and the format of presentations were found to be as important for Bedouins as the content of the discussions. The ownership of the meeting place and the relationship between the participants and hosts played an important role in the process. A wrong combination of elements of the setting could cause a perceived failure in the process before it started.

1-Time:

Calling for a daytime gathering indicates an urgent problem that needs resolving. If, during the gathering, tea is not served, it indicates that the problem is escalating. A daytime gathering with tea served indicates an urgent problem to be solved in a friendly manner.

An evening meeting is friendlier. If coffee is served, it becomes a business meeting. If food is served it indicates a deeper and more important matter to be discussed. The amount of food and number of people invited are indications of how important the matters are. Not all the people invited to a gathering join the discussions. People who are assigned to cook and serve food to the visitors are mostly from the host's tribe.

An event that takes place overnight is the most important for Bedouins. It indicates attendee's acceptance; it shows an ongoing interest and willingness to participate in the outcome of the event.

Please note that planners of the three projects called for meetings that were long, mostly in the evening and they served food and coffee.

Table 5.1 summarizes the meaning of different meeting settings (as understood by Bedouins interviewed).

Table 5.1: Summary of Bedouin the perceptions of appropriate format for participatory decision-making sessions. (Developed by the author).

| Event called | | Event time | Perceived reason | Event length | Indication | Perceived effect |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Tea or Coffee served | | daytime | Problem solving | Short time | Hospitable | +ve or –ve |
| | | Evening | Friendly/Business | Extended time | Friendly | Positive |
| Food served | One meal | Mostly evening | Socializing and tribal duty | 2-3 hours | Guest rights* | +ve or –ve |
| | Two meals | All day | Establishing social bond | 5-10 hours | Relation building | positive |
| | Overnight | One to 3 nights | Celebration | Extended time | Embracing idea/decision | positive |

*In Bedouin traditions, a visitor is entitled to a meal regardless of his/her relation to the host

2-Space:

Bedouins indicated in their interviews, it is most important for meetings to take place locally and be hosted by a local figure. It is abnormal and suspicious to call local people to convene in a faraway place even if the host and the presenters are locals. It is strange to ask people to travel away from their local place to participate in a local decision.

If a non-local wished to present to locals he/she should partner with local figure to champion his/her cause. It indicates he/she has a beneficial proposition and it is of local interest to hear him.

If a third party or non-local is calling for the meeting (on a non-local ground or a public space) it indicates a dispute that needs to be resolved. From the experience of many Bedouins, calling a meeting in a public or government facility usually means that Bedouins will have decisions or regulations dictated to them by the government. They believe they will have to sit, listen, and will be forced to comply. Explaining this attitude toward government/public facilities, some of the interviewees indicated that usually Bedouins are called into such facilities only when there is a problem.

If a gathering is called by a person to take place on his land, it indicates he is calling for assistance. Note that the three planners/ facilitators called for most of the meetings to take place at their facilities which indicated that they were seeking assistance and participation from all parties. This put a tribal responsibility on people to participate in the event by representing their tribal interests and offering their tribes' resources. A facilitator calling for a meeting on his land indicates the importance of having all attendees with equal power. As facilitators are usually a third party in resolving disputes, they call for meetings with potential power tensions, to take place in an unbiased party's territory.

Calling for a meeting in a remote place is thought to be impinging on the rights of Bedouin attendees to fully participate. Many of the interviewees felt that calling them to a government office or far-away city to participate was an indication that they lacked power to influence the outcome of the event. They assumed that they had no say in the decision being made, and thus most of them chose not to talk. Most of interviewees thought they should have been consulted within their territory on matters they know best.

Although this can be interpreted as participants choosing not to participate away from their comfort zone, it may also indicate a strong connection between Bedouins and their physical environment. One participant said: "you can't take me away from my land and my mountain and think that I feel fine. I hate leaving here if I don't have to. You cannot expect to bring a fish out of the water on your table and ask it to join you in a meal; usually you put it on your table to eat it."

Table 5.2 summarizes the different locations and the perceived meaning as indicated by Bedouin interviewees.

Table 5.2: Meeting locations and implied meaning to Bedouins. (Developed by the author).

| Location | Perceived location | Associated perception | Perceived participation |
|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Local site | Our land/territory | Intimate and personal | Important/beneficial |
| Public site | Government facility | Oppressing/Dominating | Dictated/maybe beneficial |
| Faraway site | Strange land | Unfriendly/suspicious | Least important |

The seemingly casual look of a setting or event in a Bedouin locality should not be misinterpreted as preventing a constructive meeting. Bedouins will meet, discuss, and make decisions while seated casually on the sand, drinking tea. An event in the desert such as a wedding or other festivity will be understood as a completely appropriate venue for the public presentation for a project. A focus group can be formed and have discussions while the participants are cooking or eating during a local gathering.

3-Facilitator's status:

Based on observation and from questioning some of the tribal elders, the researcher interpreted what Bedouins understand from the status of the facilitator or the organizer calling for the meeting:

Rich Bedouin or businessman:

If the meeting is being called by a rich member of the tribe, it is understood that a successful business transaction has been completed and benefits are going to be distributed. In such a gathering participants should not bring gifts. This becomes a good opportunity for facilitators or guests to present other ideas or plans as most of the local people attend. It is expected that such gatherings are long, inclusive, and meals are served.

Wise (witness or judge):

If the meeting is called by a person who carries a judge status or wisdom (Hakeem) among the elders, Bedouins understand that the gathering is serious and is for witnessing a ruling or a judgment in an important matter. It can also mean that an important local matter is going to be presented and discussed and all clans must represent their interests and their opinions. In such gatherings, gifts of food supplies are expected to be presented to the Judge's tribe prior to the gathering to help host the event. Although such gatherings mostly resemble a court, the presentation of projects of local interest are encouraged to have an initial presentation by the planner/facilitator for all clans to be informed of the project, the planners, the beneficiaries, and to spur discussions in each clan.

Tribal consultant status (expert in subject matter):

If a meeting is being called by a person who is considered an expert in a certain field, Bedouins prepare to discuss a potential development/problem in that field. In such meetings, gifts of food supplies are expected to be presented to the host of the event. Mostly such events are hosted by a tribal figure who champions the consultant and his cause. The event could be educational, for planning, or for following up on information in the field of expertise.

Table 5.3 summarizes the status of the speaker and the perceived purpose of the gathering. Depending on who organizes the gathering and called for it, Bedouins will interpret who should attend and for what reason the meeting is called.

Table 5.3: Status of meeting organizer and Bedouins' perceived purpose. (Developed by the author).

| Tribal status of speaker | Perceived reason for gathering | Perceived importance of attending | Perceived who should attend |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Rich | Celebration | Keeping social network | All available |
| Wise | Involve in discussion | Hear different opinions | Discussing parties |
| Judge | Witness a ruling | Abide to tribal decision | Tribal dignitaries (must attend) All (participate) |
| Expert/consultant | Education/discussion | No abiding outcomes | Interested individuals |

4-Language:

Language plays a great role in the meaning of Bedouin events. As part of an oral tradition, Bedouins classify their events and their importance by the language, dialect, and speakers. Bedouin can identify other tribal people by their dialects. Bedouin dialects identify the region the tribe resides in. It also can identify the occupation of a clan or individual. In many cases, the dialects vary between members of the same tribe that reside in different countries. As part of their identification, Bedouins had to agree on terms used during resolving inter-tribal disputes. These terms override local dialects and are used by all tribes as legal terminology. When asked, a Bedouin participant in South Sinai described the different terms used in different hypothetical court scenarios. Although the researcher recognizes and understand many of the region's dialects, many of these terms were unfamiliar. The participants explained that these terms are

only used now in resolving disputes between tribes. It became clear that there was a high level of sophistication in terminology in the tribal Bedouin system established to transcend different dialects and reconcile different definitions of the same term.

If classical Arabic language is used to address attendees in a Bedouin gathering it is understood that it is mostly religious. As the written, classical dialect that every Arabic speaker understands, the use of classical Arabic makes it the widest used medium of communication. Government officials also use classical Arabic in their speeches and declarations. Bedouins consider government officials and other speakers who use classical Arabic to be disseminating news.

If a colloquial Arabic dialect is used, Bedouins consider this talk is casual and is usually about something that is not important. As colloquial Arabic in the Cairo dialect dominates radio and TV shows, all Egyptian understand and speak this dialect. For many Egyptians, it is a casual dialect in which terms are often used inaccurately.

Although they are willing to accommodate strangers who do not speak their dialect, Bedouins interviewed, will still consider the talk to be casual and non-binding.

If a local dialect is used, it is obligatory for all Bedouin attendees to listen and engage. Bedouins interviewed thought that local dialect used in presenting plans and throughout the participatory planning process was important to their understanding that the outcome was binding. “This made me engage as if I am in court and everything said will affect me, my kids, and the tribe,” said one of the interviewees in the Sinai.

As very specific terms are used in tribal courts, using such language in the three planning processes gave Bedouins the feeling of importance and intimacy. When asked, Bedouins said they view the use of their dialects as an indication that the process was important, personal, and beneficial.

It was notable to find that most of the Bedouins used almost the same terminology to indicate their satisfaction, the feeling of relief that such planning process was used, the feeling of the

importance of the participatory process they experienced and the willingness to continue supporting the projects' outcomes.

Table 5.4 summarizes language used in gatherings and the associated value of the presentation as perceived by Bedouin interviewees.

Table 5.4: perceived value of dialects used in presentation. (Developed by the author).

| Language/dialect used by presenter | Perceived talk | Associated perceived outcome | Perceived value of talk |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Classical Arabic | Official news | Orders/information | Unaccommodating |
| Colloquial Arabic | Casual | Socializing/chat | Accommodating |
| Bedouin Dialect (Arabic) | important | Abiding decisions | Beneficial |

5.4 Conclusion

The way the planning sessions were set was comfortable for Bedouin participants in the three cases studied, a process that resulted in a high level of comfort that allowed Bedouins to fully engage in the participatory planning process. The physical setting and the cultural structure facilitated consensus during planning sessions. This consensus led Bedouins to be satisfied with the process and they deemed it successful. Their consensus made the decisions and their implementation and sustenance binding on all who participated. This caused the projects that used this process to be more sustainable. In the long run, such projects should show less maintenance cost. The process of decision-making in a participatory planning process of a project, can lead to a sense of social responsibility that binds Bedouins to the maintenance and sustainability of the project. Different from many plans designed by government agencies, the planning processes Bedouin participants took part in were deemed successful and continued to be supported by local people in the area. This level of local people's acceptance of the planning process and commitment to the plans' outcomes could be dependent on the cultural context chosen by the planners of the three projects. It became clear to the researcher that adding a cultural context to a planning process's format can be a reason for increased perception of success in rural Egypt.

It is only fair to acknowledge the difficulty in implementing such participatory processes. Reaching consensus in every step of the process takes longer and needs more effort than reaching a majority opinion. In participatory planning processes that take place in areas with different cultural traditions or with opposing interests, achieving consensus will be even more difficult. Some of the participants voiced their disagreement with the need to spend time and effort to reach consensus. Challenges arose from within the Bedouin community and the way the younger generation views the value of their traditions. Many Bedouin youth, especially those educated in big cities, cannot relate to their tribal traditions and do not view them as progressive enough for their ambitions in life.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter, discussing the implications of the findings, is divided into two sections: first, a discussion of the theoretical implications of the research, and second, a discussion of practical implications. Included are a discussion of what the findings mean in light of theory and a discussion of some practical implications for planners, agencies, and local people. These discussions are important to add to the body of theoretical knowledge in the fields of planning and participatory planning process. It is also important to shed light on the relevance of the study to community participatory planning.

6.1 Theoretical implications

Planning is defined as a rational act in which the planner projects, in a positivistic manner, his view of future. In this study, the “planner” is a group of local participants going through a planning process. The effort is guided or facilitated by community organizers. The study explained components of Bedouin culture in light of participatory processes that they viewed as successful. It also brought to light some important underlying components of Bedouin culture that affect participants’ perception toward success.

To arrive at an understanding of the structure of an experience, phenomenological psychology researchers collect protocols describing the participants’ experience and then systematically interrogate these descriptions, step by step (Giorgi, Knowles, and Smith, 1979). This research adds to the theory in hermeneutical-phenomenological psychology as it found modes through which the experience, participatory planning process, serves as access to interpret the meaning of the phenomenon (Titleman, 1979). As the planning processes used in rural Egypt were studied and described, the researcher found the explanations for what some of the components of the process meant to participants. In doing so, new insights in decision-making processes preferred by Bedouin communities were illustrated. These components and their importance to Bedouin

communities can guide further research in cultural influences on other indigenous groups and their decision-making processes.

The researcher tried to describe the interviewees' experiences and synthesize their answers to explain what is beyond the obvious. What is new is the awareness of the different meanings that different people apply to similar concepts. The study findings are consistent with the theory of participatory planning. They add new insight into how local people of a certain culture define important concepts, concepts like consensus and success and specifically how Bedouin communities might define them; the sense of time and location, and how that sense might affect what a Bedouin would consider a comfortable setting or acceptable format for participation. The knowledge of how indigenous people or cultural groups perceive and identify with components of the decision-making process can be utilized to better serve communities in different parts of the world.

The findings are not intended to imply that hypotheses supported by analysis and personal observations are to be taken as a rule determining the human interaction within the Bedouin communities. Michael Oakeshott (1962) argues that researchers should not attempt to explain basic human activities observed in a study as rules guiding social activities. Researchers should view theoretical knowledge as a *post facto* rationalization of events after they are done (Jackson, 1996). In this study, the explanation of social organization and decoding symbols should not be used as general rules, but rather as a rationale to be used in designing planning processes for similar cultural groups. The way a group of people define simple concepts governs their decisions, and the cultural differences that affect perception are important elements that can affect the success or failure of a project.

The researcher agrees with Oakeshott that findings should be treated as following the activity observed and not the origin of such activity. The findings herein are abridgements of events and an abstract of the Bedouins' practical knowledge of decision-making techniques. The researcher views the findings as an abstract of the Bedouin knowledge gained through their years of existing in a territory. Based on the premise that theoretical knowledge has its origin within practical life activities, this study adds to the participatory planning theory as well as ethnographic studies' body of knowledge.

In this study, the Bedouins interviewed emphasized the importance of consensus in their decision-making process. In a multi-tribal context consensus became the only way to reach effective agreement. One should not assume that based on this study that Bedouin communities reach consensus on decisions they make in all their issues. For example, the same tribe that utilizes consensus in deciding what their project goals are might follow a very dictatorial process in making other decisions.

The way people, in this case Bedouins, defined their concepts within a participatory planning process should be acknowledged in similar ethnological studies. In other cultural groups as well as in similar groups in different contexts, different rationale might apply. In the case of other cultural groups, this study directs researchers attention to the importance of building the appropriate setting to be able to study a normative process. By choosing cases where the setup of the process was comfortable for the participants, a researcher can better study components of this process. By eliminating variables of discomfort to the participants, researchers can verify the rationale used by these participants to evaluate the process. It also allows researchers to better understand how much participants value different components of the process. In the case of this research, for example, the participants valued the physical setting of the planning sessions. By studying the factors that might affect why the participants valued the physical setting, the researcher found that elements of the physical setting, among other factors, carry a specific code for Bedouin participants. By understanding/decoding such codes, the researcher shed light on how a specific culture group, in this case Bedouins, perceive elements of physical settings. The same process applies for the elements of the decision-making process.

As this study discusses the normative planning process, it adds to the body of knowledge of the participatory planning theory. Although the participatory planning theory included many studies about participants' satisfaction and its implications in decision-making and the work-place environment, it did not cover the process with this level of details. A better understanding of the subtleties of the participatory process and its relationship to participants' satisfaction increases the potential success of a plan. This study is important as it points out details that can make a participatory process more successful when planning with communities with strong cultural traditions.

More research in latent components of the Bedouins' cultural traditions is needed to better understand the rationale they use in their lives. Understanding these components will help the planning parties to better serve similar communities.

6.2 Practical Implications

The researcher will discuss some practical implications of the study findings. These implications will relate the findings to planners, agencies, local communities, and governments.

6.2.1 Planners:

Planners need to re-examine their assumptions about definitions when they engage in a culture/locale-specific planning process. Concepts have to be re-defined in the context of the local people. Concepts like success or failure should be viewed in light of the contextual framework of the dominant culture. The local perceptions of time and space also should be taken in consideration.

Understanding the rationales used by local communities can take the lifetime of a planner, so unless they are planning in their own communities, planners cannot know all the subtleties of a culture. Using community organizers from the culture/subculture can prove essential for success when engaging the local public in a participatory planning process. Cultural nuances of agreements and indigenous peoples' processes of decision making should be mastered by the facilitator/organizer to increase the possibility of the success of a participatory planning process.

If the planner is of a different culture, the best-case scenario is having a facilitator who shares the culture of the local community but has sufficient knowledge of the planner's culture to make successful "translations". Employing exchange students, as an example, can facilitate bridge building between the planner and the culture of the local people. This facilitator would have studied and lived among the cultural group of the planner, while maintaining the knowledge of his own culture. Such interaction allows for smoother interaction between the two cultures and thus the achievement of a higher potential of collaboration.

In this study, for example, Bedouins interviewed in rural Egypt were found to value consensus as an agreement process. Time and effort were not spared to achieve this high level of agreement.

For this community, less than total agreement meant the failure of the decision-making process. Such a community is process-oriented so the decision-making process is more important than the result. For a planner to assume that producing a good decision will obviate the Bedouin community's attachment to their process can cause failure of the planning process. Failure will occur due to participants' dissatisfaction and concomitant lack of support for the plans' outcomes.

The same could be argued for the local peoples' sense of time. A planner designing/facilitating a participatory planning process should be aware of his pre-disposition toward a particular way to use time. Time could be valued differently by the community for which he/she is working. As the planner/designer usually considers time constraints in designing participation sessions or project implementation, the local community might have a different view. Local people might have different criteria for evaluating how time is spent.

In this study, the Bedouins interviewed valued long, relaxed planning sessions. In fact, short sessions would have been seen as hostile. The planners interviewed in this study designed a flexible process to be able to accommodate the community's perceptions of time spent in each session. They were also flexible in how long each of the planning stages would take to be completed. Such flexibility is essential when working with local communities. The Bedouins interviewed viewed time as a continuum. So time is considered to be well-invested if it is utilized to achieve a valuable process such as reaching consensus.

Partnering with a dignified, trustworthy, local community-organizer should be considered by any planner serving local Bedouin communities. This will assure the planners' introduction to the subtleties of the culture and allow him/her to shape the planning process accordingly.

6.2.2 Agencies:

An agency funding or regulating participatory planning processes should consider redefining concepts used in its regulations. Concepts have to be defined in the manner used by the local people. For example, a regulatory agency should not enforce the "rule of majority" in a community that values consensus as its form of agreement. An enforcement of a decision that is "less than complete agreement" will be viewed by Bedouins, for example, as unjust. It will build

resentment within the constituency of local people and the agency will face problems implementing and sustaining its policies and regulations.

An agency evaluating development projects, for example, should be aware of the values and the expectations of local people regarding the components of a planning process. The Bedouins interviewed valued collective satisfaction in the participatory planning process. This differs dramatically from the expectations that would be found in most U.S. settings. The expectation here is that as long as the constituents have been given an opportunity to have a say, the majority (or expert) decision is acceptable and binding. Because these very different points of view are so engrained, planners may not be aware of their own bias. Agencies evaluating the project should not consider meeting a plan's objectives as the only evaluation criterion. Including "all participants' satisfaction" in the evaluation process adds to the potential success and sustainability of the project. Failing to consider concepts such as consensus and collective satisfaction leads to alienating local communities from processes they value and, in some cases consider essential.

Agencies and businesses that employ Bedouins should study the subtle differences between the employees' cultures. Agencies considering establishing projects in a locality should be accommodating to how Bedouins value regulations. For example, based on cultural definitions of freedom and criteria for commitment, Bedouins who do not agree to a decision are not obligated to implement it. The Bedouins interviewed stated that if consensus is not reached, the matter is considered unresolved and the decision is not final. In other words, the outcome of the discussion is not binding and Bedouins are not obliged to implement it. If this is paired with the employer's assumption that his/her decision is final, Bedouins are then considered to be in disobedience. Such discrepancies in how Bedouins and non-Bedouins view decision-making processes is thought to have caused the demise of many potentially useful alliances and the failure of potentially beneficial projects.

Fulfilling the Bedouin tradition of achieving consensus can take longer time and more effort than other processes. In many situations, decisions need to be quickly. Often, the workplace cannot accommodate Bedouin peoples' decision-making processes. Maybe a compromise can occur between Bedouin communities and service agencies. An awareness of the cultural components

and their implications paired with open channels of discourse may allow parties to find a mutually acceptable middle ground.

6.2.3 Planning community

What is really needed, however, is a planner who is trained to facilitate an organic planning process in concert with people's needs and pace. This costs time and money in the planning process but saves money because people are invested in the project. The planner will put aside or not attempt a pre-conceived design and will work as a facilitator for the people to bring out the design from them, even if it runs counter to his style and usual approaches. The planner becomes co-planner with his constituency, putting aside his ideas and accepting the fact the end result will not be solely his or her design. And, in fact he or she will often find it culturally necessary to work in the process as though it is not his or her design.

This is, in essence, a cultural shift in a profession that values individual achievement and the supremacy of the artistic vision in design. It requires adaptation to the values of the constituency in a deep and often counterintuitive way. The planner becomes a guide in a truly participatory process, using his knowledge of the limitations of design to help the participants construct a plan that will meet their vision while fitting the constraints of physics and finances.

The democratization of development-project planning involves the deconstruction of the process of design, giving the end users the tools they need to find the best solutions and in the process, insuring their sense of ownership in and commitment to the project.

One implication of this model for planning that warrants serious study in the future is the problem of designing for people who are corrupt or confused or ignorant of the social and/or cultural implications of their plans. The successful outcome of a project could build toward the demise of a people and their culture. Just as planners in landscape architecture develop simulations to show how the plants will look in the future, planners of development projects must work toward constructing complex simulations of the future impact of the project on the culture.

It is obvious that however practical and necessary this proposed fundamental shift in the planning process, it presents an enormous challenge to the academic community. Inherently hierarchical, academia produces planners and designers trained to be the experts with points of view on what is appropriate, efficient, and effective that may or may not align with the cultures of the people served by their designs and plans and their means of constructing them. But this change is necessary to prevent millions of dollars more being poured into houses that no one lives in and trainings no one attends.

6.2.4 Local Bedouin communities:

A Bedouin planner or a community organizer should be aware of the effect of the potential discrepancy in viewpoints and what they can lead to. The assumption by Bedouins that others define concepts similarly because they use the same terms is naive. Explaining the alternative rationale they use, Bedouins are also responsible to present their point of view.

In the course of this research, Bedouin planners were aware of different uses of the same terms by Bedouins and non-Bedouins. The WDA planners stated in their presentations to members of their association the rationale behind the need for consensus. They stated that as they come from different tribes and groups, they should arrive at consensus in every decision. As there are many non-Bedouins within the WDA constituency, articulating the rationale was necessary. Bedouins and non-Bedouins alike agreed to discuss matters until they reached consensus. The agreement was then binding to all parties.

Civil society should identify community organizers within their constituency and support them. As NGOs usually are motivated by common good and are oriented towards public service, they should utilize community organizers and educate their planners in local traditions. National organizations and government agencies define concepts based on the dominant cultural framework. In many cases minorities and ethnic groups find themselves alienated or mentally ghettoized, because of their different cultural traits. The civil society should play a bigger role in bridging the cultural gap caused by differences in defining concepts. Community organizers should present and elaborate on how they view important concepts and rationales.

6.2.5 Governments:

Government should be sensitive to cultural subtleties when issuing rules and regulations. Governments, such as Egypt's, should adopt regulations allowing local authorities to accommodate cultural realities.

In this study, Bedouins felt unease when invited to participate in sessions taking place in government-owned buildings. Land ownership is a primary component of the Bedouin sense of location. The Bedouin perceive locations as friendly or not based on ownership more than familiarity. Bedouins will be more comfortable travelling or settling in land/territory claimed by a tribe that is friendly to them. In Bedouin traditions, one should not be invited to attend a gathering on land/territory claimed by an adversary.

Based on this fact, as stated by Bedouin interviewees, government buildings could be uncomfortable for any Bedouin. If a dispute is involved, it could be viewed as hostile territory. The dispute could vary from a traffic ticket to an imprisoned clan member. As long as the dispute has not been resolved in a satisfactory manner, the government building is considered hostile territory. Normally, government programs and regulations are not designed to accommodate these kinds of considerations but ignoring them can alienate the very people the projects seek to serve and sabotage efforts to promote sustainable policies that could benefit everyone involved.

6.3 Conclusions and Reflections

This research has shed light on important considerations to be taken by planners, agencies, civil society, and governments. Such considerations lead to building consensus among Bedouin local people (and, potentially, many other groups) in decision-making processes. Consensus among Bedouin tribal participants can prove to be especially helpful in community development projects. Organic community planning for development projects is an essential tool for working within multi-cultural contexts. The planning process should be initiated, nurtured, and implemented by local people. The planner should gain the knowledge and skills to be able to facilitate such community efforts. Planners and designers alike should work with local

communities to bring out their cultural processes and consequently their culturally imprinted designs.

This study answered the questions posted by the researcher in the introduction of this thesis. The researcher identified that a perceived successful planning process in rural Egypt have the same stages as planning processes normally used in the United states but differ in elements within these stages. These elements such as physical setting, sense of time, sense of place, how do people reach agreement, and how they evaluate processes they take part in are mostly cultural. These cultural elements deeply affect the perception of indigenous people toward evaluating success and failure. Failing to take such elements in consideration and integrate cultural values within a planning process or a design can cause the failure of such a design in the indigenous peoples' point of view.

More studies are needed to better understand the rationale that different groups of people use to arrive at their viewpoints. For example, understanding the rationale used by indigenous forest dwellers in valuing their environment can lend to integrating their traditional value system in future projects utilizing forest products.

Such knowledge of peoples' rationale and how it shapes their perceptions can help identify factors worth studying to better understand how our human race has evolved. The relationship between humans and their surroundings were shaped for a long time by how they perceive their surrounding and its elements. Studying how peoples' perception developed through time in the context of their environment, can help recapture relationships that have disappeared. The local knowledge of indigenous people contributes to an understanding of their rationale and thus a rediscovery of concepts that urban society has lost. The loss of such knowledge affects us, as humankind, as much as losing the knowledge of any of the endangered species.

Many of indigenous people are process-oriented and their traditions value the means more than the result. Such groups seem to value the collective gain over the individual benefit. They believe that the collective gain is more valuable than the sum of individual gains. This way of thinking corresponds with non-game theories and contrasts with game theory which is used to govern many of our economic and political theories, theories which very well may be conflicting

with the rationales used by indigenous peoples in many parts of the world. Deeper studies are needed to determine if the economic and political approaches that are governed by the game theory are conflicting with the value systems of indigenous people. In this case, the enforcement of such approaches can be detrimental to these indigenous people and their value systems. If this is true, forcing our methods in our attempt to help these people can prove to be destructive to their way of life. Conforming to the format and the value system of indigenous people can benefit our designing processes as well as benefiting the people we try to serve.

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APPENDIX A

First Stage Questions: Planners' Interview Protocol

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Project Name: Planner/s names/s: | |
| Gender: | |
| Cultural Back ground: | Education: |
| Note: | |

The questions asked in interviews with the planners were as follows

| Code | Questions |
|------|--|
| | I. Regarding the project... |
| PL1 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe (or talk to me about) the project |
| PL2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the project trying to achieve? |
| PL3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the stated goals and objectives? |
| PL4 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please describe the project |
| PL5 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Was it broken to steps or phases? |
| PL6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What were these phases? |
| PL7 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Why was the project planned that way? |
| PL8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Who were the key people involved in the project? |
| PL9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What was the role of each person? How were they |
| PL10 | involved? |
| | II. Regarding the success of the project... |
| PL11 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the project achieving its goals and objectives? |
| PL12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How do you know that it is/ is not? |

| | |
|------|---|
| PL13 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Was there anything about the process that is most important to its success or failure? |
| PL14 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ If so, what is it? |
| PL15 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Why is it critical? |
| PL16 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Were there individuals who played an important role in the success or failure of the project? |
| PL17 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Who? |
| PL18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ How so? |
| | <p>III. Regarding the planners who were involved...</p> |
| PL19 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How many planners were involved in this project? |
| PL20 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Who were they and where can I reach them, if needed? |
| | <p>IV. Regarding the planning process used...</p> |
| PL21 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Describe the planning process. |
| PL22 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How and why was this process chosen? |
| PL23 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Who chose the planning process? |
| PL24 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Had that process been used by the planner in the past? For what types of projects? What were the results? |
| | <p>V. Regarding the participation process...</p> |
| PL26 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Were local people involved in the project? |
| PL27 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Were local people involved in the planning of the project? |
| PL28 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Who were they? |
| PL29 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How were they chosen to be involved? |
| PL30 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Describe how they were involved. |

| | |
|------|--|
| PL31 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What was their contribution (as individuals or groups) to the process? |
| PL32 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How important was their involvement to the success of the project? |
| PL33 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why do you think so? |
| PL34 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Were all participants' opinions weighed equally? (How did you determine which input was most important)? |
| PL35 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Specify how their opinions were dealt with and why? |
| PL36 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Who initially choose the participation method, and how was this decision made? (How did you decide to involve local people?) |
| PL37 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Was the participation format that was initially chosen actually used, or was there a change of plans from the original intent? |
| PL38 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If there were changes, specify what the differences were and why changes were made. |
| PL40 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Was there any consideration of the tradition of the participating group? (Was there effort to make the participatory process appropriate for the culture of the local people?) |
| PL41 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If yes, what were the main steps/points considered by the planner to assure the cultural match? |
| PL42 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Did you feel that these steps adequately addressed (in accordance with the tradition) the participating group's ability to provide input? |
| PL43 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How strongly did the planners feel about the culturally |

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|------|---|
| | sensitive format of participation? |
| PL44 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you think another participatory format(s) would have been better for their planning process? (Do you see other changes to the process to better meet the needs of such group?) |
| PL45 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What are they? |
| PL46 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were there any obstacles to the success of the project? |
| PL47 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If yes, how were they remedied? |
| PL48 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are there any other issues you would like to add concerning the success of the project? |

APPENDIX B

Second Stage Questions

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-------|
| Project Name: | | date: |
| Cultural Background: | Gender: | Age: |
| Education: | occupation: | Note: |

The questions used in interviews with project' participants were as follows:

| Code | Questions |
|------|--|
| | I. Regarding the participation... |
| PR1 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First, describe what you know about the project... |
| PR2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you know of anybody who participated in the planning process? |
| PR3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe your participation. |
| PR4 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were you able to voice your concerns satisfactorily? |
| PR5 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Was your voice heard? |
| PR6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How was it heard? During the sessions (direct input) or did you have to use other methods? |
| PR7 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If not direct input, why not? |
| PR8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If not direct input, how and when? |
| PR9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If your voice was heard, were the changes considered? |

| | |
|------|--|
| PR10 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If changes were not considered, were you satisfied with the reason? Why ? Why not? |
| PR11 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If changes were considered, did they satisfy your concerns? |
| PR12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Were you satisfied with the kind of participation offered to you? |
| PR13 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Could you have participated more in the plan, and did you want to? |
| PR14 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Would you have wanted to make any changes to the process? |
| | <p>II. Regarding the Culture... (The Bedouin way)</p> |
| PR15 | <p>III.</p> |
| PR16 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Was there agreement among participants, |
| PR17 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If not, why not? |
| PR18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What issues, if any were left unresolved? |
| PR19 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Do you think the way the participation happened was helpful for such projects or harmful? |
| PR20 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why? |
| PR21 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Can you propose a different type of participation that might be more appropriate? |
| PR22 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Did you think the plans met the needs of local people? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Were participants operating within the guidelines of their traditional values? |

| | |
|------|---|
| PR23 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Was the participatory process designed to accommodate the traditional values of the participants? |
| PR24 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Are you taking part in implementing or maintaining the outcomes of the plan? |
| PR25 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why or why not? |
| PR26 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Are you able to approach the managers of the project and make comments? |
| PR27 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are they approachable? |
| PR28 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If they are, do you think your comments will be taken into consideration? |
| PR29 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Would you like to add other things that could have been done to make the project more successful? |
| PR30 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Did you have this idea during the planning stages of the project? |
| PR31 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ If yes, why didn't you voice your suggestion? |
| PR32 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ If no, do you think the planner should have thought of it? |
| | <p>IV. Regarding the project...</p> |
| PR33 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Who planned the project? (to your knowledge) |
| PR34 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What was the project trying to achieve? |
| PR35 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Do you think the project was successful? |
| PR36 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Was it broken to steps or phases? |
| PR37 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What were these phases? |

| | |
|--|--|
| PR38 | ➤ Was each phase successful? |
| PR39 | ○ Who were the key people involved in the project? |
| PR40 | ➤ What was the role of each? How were they involved? |
| VI. Regarding the success of the project... | |
| PR41 | • Did the project achieve its goals and objectives? |
| PR42 | ○ How do you know that it did/ or did not? |
| PR43 | ○ Was there anything about the process that was important to its success or failure? |
| PR44 | ➤ If so, what was it? |
| PR45 | ➤ Why was it important? |
| PR46 | ○ Were there individuals who played an important role in the success or failure of the project? |
| PR47 | ➤ Who? |
| PR48 | ➤ How so? |
| PR49 | • Are you happy with the outcomes of the plan? |
| PR50 | ○ Why was or wasn't the project successful? |
| PR51 | ○ Did it (the outcome or the participatory process) affect you or someone you know? |
| PR52 | • Was the impact of the project as you expected? |
| PR53 | ○ Was the impact positive or negative? |
| PR54 | • Overall, would you say that the planning process, participation opportunities, and process outcomes were a |

| | |
|------|--|
| | <p>positive or a negative experience? How satisfied were you?</p> |
| PR55 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the one (or more) thing that you thought worked best? |
| PR56 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the one (or more) thing that you thought needed improvement? |
| PR57 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you glad that you participated? |
| PR58 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why or why not? |

APPENDIX C

Selected Notes from Participant Interviews:

(Note: Bedouin tradition made recording of interviews or note taking during the interviews impossibly rude. The following are from notes taken immediately following each interview.)

Regarding the participation...

Describe what you know about the project

*: "I know everything as I participated from the beginning with the *planner*. I was part of the tourism and the craft projects. ... started this project as tourist resort, discussed it with us and explained his vision to maintain the Bedouin culture, conserve the environment ... "

* "The planner hired me to do some work, I commuted between here and home where I used to live. He involved me in designing mechanical and electrical work and any other thing I could do, I had problems and he helped me a lot. When THEY (the police) pushed me very hard in town, I moved my family to here. ... He gave me a place where I can live and work. Also, my wife works here and she and another woman do handicrafts.

Describe your participation.

* "he came up with an idea, or someone told him about it, then he brought it up in our discussions, sometimes with individuals first and sometimes when we were all together. We discussed it and fought about it if not all agreed until we reached a compromise that we all liked".

Were you able to voice your concerns satisfactorily?

* "Yes, I am loud, you know, and I insist on using the traditional wording for any agreement, wording is very important you know, not that it rhymes only but that it has a very specific meaning"

* "... In my tradition we give advice in what we know best. I usually comment on things that I know well or ask clarification on things I don't understand. When I comment or ask for changes I know what I am talking about and they know that ..."

If changes were not considered, were you satisfied with the reason why not?

* “Some times it was considered and sometimes not, but I have to be convinced first before anything is done. The facilitator runs the Majlis (tribal official court) as a tribal chief; he has to and I respect that. He knows the words and what it means”

Was your voice heard?

*“Of course”

“In the beginning I used to wait to the end of the session and talk to ... , then he asked me to voice my opinion time after time until I got used to it”

“I participated in discussing ideas, suggesting changes, and some times suggested new ideas concerning some of the handicraft sales.”

Regarding the Culture... (The Bedouin way)

Was there agreement?

*“We arrived at agreements”

“You know, some issues didn’t need even discussion and others we had to discuss a lot, some times with the whole group and sometimes with a couple of people, until we arrived at an agreement. In the very few cases when we didn’t arrive at an agreement, we agreed on a judge to make a decision. Then the verdict was obligatory to all, but we didn’t get have that happen very often.”

Were there many issues left unresolved?

*“Not really, you know we talk a lot; we keep talking until everybody is happy (Mabsoteen).”

Do you think the way the participation happened was helpful for the projects or harmful?

* “It was helpful, because we are Bedouins and this is our way, some young people think it is slow, but so what as long as we are all happy”

Were participants operating within the guidelines of the traditional values?

*“Yes, we all know that either you choose the tribal way or the city way and we all were sticking to the Bedouin way”

*“Maybe modern styles are good for other people, but for me, our way feels better, maybe slower, but better”

*“For some businesses direct orders might be faster and easier, but when it concerns people’s lives, consensus (Ejmaa) is required”

Was the participatory process designed to accommodate the traditional values of the participants?

*“I am not sure how it is designed, it came naturally, I think”

Was the planner approachable? Or not?

*“... He lived with us we saw him every day”

*“... (He) is always here, his kids are with our kids in school, I see him all the time”

Regarding the project...

Who planned the project (to your knowledge)?

*...he, and us with him, but it was his idea, vision, effort, and management”

*“He started it, then he invited us and discussed everything with us, but really he was the planner and organizer, he had our trust and always proved to work for our benefit.”

What was the project trying to achieve?

*“Initially, we thought it was a source of tourism income to the area, and then when we talked with the planner, we found that it was also to promote our way (Bedouin) and also our kids could get a multi-lingual international education while being Bedouins. I have stayed the way I wanted and still interact with tourists, and everyone in the resort watches over my stuff so my family is happy, my husband works with us too, you know, but he does not speak much. The place benefits us economically, traditionally as it teaches our kids the value of our way, and gives hope to others that they can achieve what they want with dignity.”

*It aims to sustain our families economically without disturbing God’s creation (environment) and keeps our Bedouin tradition”

Was it broken into steps or phases?

*“Yes, first the resort and we worked as guides and small things, then it grew and we had the craft stuff, then the school, then the interaction with other projects in the area, it all became beneficial to us and our kids”

*“I don’t know about phases. It looked like normal growing of events. The planner talked about different ideas and we discussed and agreed and waited for the opportunity to do it. Not always what you want you can do immediately. “

Who were the key people involved in the project?

*“Workers, drivers, fishermen, resort employees you know, or Bedouins like us who live and work on the property”

*“Many people were involved. The planner of course and then his wife, there were engineers who made drawings with him, other guests who made suggestions or helped in one thing or

another, but mainly him, his wife and us (about 11 Bedouins), ... some people came and went you know we all worked together but some had more specialized work and expertise. Mechanics, building, sewage, navigation, driving, electrical work, you know everyone had their own expertise.”

Regarding the success of the project...

Did or is the project achieving its goals and objectives?

*“Yes”

How do you know that it is/ is not?

*“I live and work here, my kids get a good education here, they look forward to working here or around here and that is very good”

Was there anything about the process that was important to its success or failure?

* “Yes, the way things were discussed or decided, people forget that the way you do things is as important as the product, making an engine run is easy, but making everything clean and in place makes it work better, longer.”

Were there individuals who played an important role in the success or failure of the project?

*“... Everyone involved was important. They got involved in the planning, projection of hopes, and worked hard on implementing it”

*“Yes, I think that being like a family or a clan, we trust each other and depend on each other. It is our survival you know. These are hard times, you know, and many people didn’t get such a chance. Discussing everything in our whole group makes things clear and if someone can add something, they do.”

Are you happy with the outcomes of the plan?

*“Yes.”

Why was or wasn’t the project successful?

*“I think the project was successful because it started right, slowly, and people were very sincere. We all wanted to do good.”

Was the impact of the project as you expected? Was the impact positive or negative?

*“Positive I think, more than I wished for, I was looking for a temporary place to settle, and this ended up to be my life and my kids too.”

*“More than my expectation, I didn’t believe that we were going to go so far, or we were going to be permitted to do what we do, in these hard times, you know.”

Did it (the outcome or the participatory process) affect you or someone you know?

*“Yes, my family, all of us, we all benefited from the outcome, and our kids see an ongoing process of community that other kids only read about, and it is a Bedouin way that they see even if the tongue is not Arabic sometimes.”

How satisfied were you?

* “Very satisfied”