

Evaluation and Social Analysis of the CARE-Egypt Project:

Integrated Basic Services & Fishermens' Shelters  
and Afforestation/Agriculture Activities

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## INTRODUCTION

Any newcomer to programming for the High Dam Lake region must be struck by the diverse views which previous analysts have held regarding the region's potential for development. Under the heading, "A Gold Mine is Created," a former director of the Lake Nasser Development Center wrote as follows:

...availability of water in the desert region of Upper Egypt has opened new vistas and broadened horizons for agricultural production. There is abundant sunshine throughout the year. Hence, agriculture should know no bounds when the water and sunshine prevail together. The application of modern technology can turn the region into a perpetual gold mine.

The CARE organization, at least apparently, takes a contrary, less optimistic view of the development prospects:

The shoreline is infested with scorpions and vipers. Jackals and hyenas sometimes encroach upon the fishing camps in search of food. The area surrounding the lake is arid desert. Normal temperatures range from near freezing at night during the winter to 50°C (122°F) during the day in summer.

Perhaps the divergent views can be summarized as follows: although the region is rich in natural resources (fresh water, fish, arable land), the people residing in the region now are poor and they lack even basic services.

WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE FISHERMEN ON THE LAKE

Building the Aswan High Dam had the effects upstream of depopulating the Nubian region and of creating a new, natural resource base. The High Dam Lake is a reservoir of fresh water which is the second largest man-made body of water in the world -- a veritable inland sea. It stretches from the city of Aswan for 350 kilometers southward across the Egyptian-Sudanese border for yet another 150 kilometers. The High Dam created a frontier region in an old society. Social reformers have seen the potential for a "fresh beginning" in such regions; that is, the chance to design better, more participatory and equitable social institutions. The danger is that the defective institutions of the old society would be imported into the new region. A physical reconnaissance of the High Dam Lake region suggests that the construction of the Aswan High Dam created for Egypt a new frontier which would realize social ideals frustrated by the rigid resource and institutional constraints prevailing in old Egypt downstream from the dam. One plan for the region from 1978 assumed (wrongly, as we shall discuss) that the High Dam Lake area "is at a state when it is still possible...to avoid many of the socio-technical problems which the rest of the Egyptian Nile Valley is now facing." Administratively and commercially, Egypt ends at Aswan; there is not a school, hospital, shop, or paved road to the south (except at Abu Sinbel); border formalities are conducted at Aswan; all of the electricity generated at the dam is transmitted northwards. Despite this vacuum, old Egyptian society has partially reproduced itself in the High Dam

Lake region. In the space of 20 years since the Nubian society was displaced, the new inhabitants have recreated the organization of production of old Egypt downstream from the dam.<sup>1/</sup> However, they have not reproduced the household and village institutions which provide the services that are supportive of production. It was in recognition of the fact that this type of partial development was occurring in the High Dam Lake region that CARE designed its Integrated Basic Services Project.

The new inhabitants of the High Dam Lake region are 6-7,000 fishermen living in hundreds of primitive camps scattered along the shoreline of the gigantic reservoir. The fishermen are migrant laborers coming from all over Egypt (but especially from Qena and

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<sup>1/</sup> One reason for the rapid recreation of the old organization of production was that there was pre-dam fishing industry upstream in the Nile River from the dam site, which had ties to Qena and Sohag, and which simply moved into the new reservoir situation (without, however, adapting its technology to this new situation). Already in 1970, Bernard van Heck, the first social scientist on the lake to observe the working conditions of the fishermen, recognized that the type of production organization typical of old Egypt was being replicated in the growing fishing industry there. He wrote: "Although this could not be verified during the social survey, it may be assumed that this more or less monopolistic, capitalistic employer-labourer system is to some extent 'imported' from the Qena villages where until recently a few feudal landlords employed most of the villagers as farm labourers." Van Heck exaggerated the degree of concentration of capital resources for fishing in the hands of the boatowners, but he had a basic insight into the nature of social development in the lake region. The UNDP-FAO plan for the "Settlement of the Lake Nasser Fishermen" was based on his work.

Sohag) in order to earn on the average of LE200-500 per year from fishing. None of the workers on the lake actually owns the boats and nets they use, or the right to fish there. The owners of the equipment and fishing grounds live in old Egypt, either in Aswan or further to the north. The fishermen and the owners split the catch 50-50, which they must sell to the government Fish Marketing Company in the west harbor of Aswan for .11 per kilo. No money circulates in the lake region itself. Instead, there is an elaborate barter and account system. The tangible link between the fishermen and the outside world for the time they are on the lake is the carrier boat which transports the fish back to Aswan. The labor of the fishermen comes to nothing unless the carrier boat arrives with ice since fresh fish is a very perishable commodity. The carrier boat also brings them the means of subsistence (onions, garlic, flour, tomatoes, potatoes, cigarettes, oil, salt, plus occasional luxury items) which are purchased for them in Aswan by the owners or their representatives, and sent via the carrier boats. The carrier boats also function to transport the fishermen themselves to and from the camps. None of the fishermen in the lake aspire to owning a boat and fishing on their own account. The fishing grounds and boat licenses (issued by the Fisheries Department of the Ministry of Agricultural) have all been appropriated by the members of the "cooperatives" and owners, and no new members are being admitted. Rights to fishing grounds and license boats are rarely, if ever, sold but are kept in the family. Furthermore, most fishermen could not achieve the capital required to mount a

fishing operation on the lake: boat, nets, provisions, and enough money to leave at home to keep their family alive before taking off for a season on the lake. Many of the fishermen receive advances from the boat owners which they leave with their families.

Sometimes the advances are as much as a year's revenue (conservatively estimated). Many of the fishermen are, in reality, boys and teenagers. Some support families, others do not and so the latter do not need such large advances. The fishing camps are seen by all parties as the property, in the essential meaning of the term, of the boat owners. Their authority does not extend to responsibility for the living conditions of the fishermen who reside in them. They must approve, and may even encourage improvements in the camps (mud brick houses to replace thatched and rock shelters, vegetable gardens, etc.) but they bear none of the costs. Even the increasing difficulty of finding labor to work on the lake in recent years, which appears to be the case, has not led the boat owners to begin competing among themselves to provide amenities in the camps, or to improve the productivity of labor. Outside donors (CARE, the Scandinavians) have been the source of new technologies and services. The sole exception is outboard motorboats. The primary response to the scarcity of labor has been to recruit younger males who cannot handle the rowboats when the wind kicks up. Working conditions of the fishermen range from idyllic to infernal, depending on the weather. However, the youngest among them speak of going to the lake as a great adventure. In not too many years this attitude changes, and fishing is seen as a last resort. Being a

fishermen on the lake, however, is not necessarily a lifelong commitment. The industry is too young, and everyone is aware of the employment opportunities which exist for unskilled labor these days elsewhere in the Middle East. The ages of the fishermen in each camp range from 13-17 to the early 30's. Age has its privileges within these work groups, and benefits and burdens are allocated accordingly although the most onerous work must be done by the most ablebodied. Since the group leader (generally the oldest representing the boat owner) receives an equal share with the others at the camp, it is likely that he receives his pay differential in terms of greater and better rations, less burdensome work.

The stability of the production relationships, between boatowners and fishermen and between fishermen themselves in the work groups, differs. Some have been together for years, others are temporary. If the fisherman is cheated, or where the yield of the fishing ground is inferior, there doesn't seem to be any problem these days with finding a new boatowner to work for with whom the relationship will be more profitable. Even if the fisherman<sup>or</sup> is in debt, he can find a new boat owner who will give him an advance to repay the debt and move on. The catch from different fishing grounds around the lake differs, and there is always the advantage of being close to ~~Academy~~ However, the contractual arrangements between fishermen and boatowners around the lake are not adjusted to take these differences into account. Therefore, there is quite a lot of variation in fishermen's incomes.



The fishing cooperative is, despite its name, a highly individualistic organization. Although it operates half the carrier boats (the other half are operated by the High Dam Lake Authority), it bears no responsibility for making sure that the catch of fresh fish arrives in marketable condition in Aswan. The members of the board are able to direct the carrier boats towards their fishing grounds so that marketable production is maximized. Other members of the cooperative (and their fishermen) are so uncertain as to when the carrier boat will arrive to pick up the catch, and as to the available capacity and ice when it does arrive, that they wait to fish for fresh fish until the boat actually comes. The rest of the time they "repair nets" or catch "dogfish", which are salted, and therefore not dependent on the timely arrival of the carrier boat. The members of the board also direct resources placed into the lake by foreign donors (fiberglass fishing boats from Scandinavia, shelters and motorpumps from CARE, etc.) towards their own fishing camps. The members of the "cooperative" have a common interest in not competing for labor by offering better terms, and the resources provided by the foreign donors do not violate this tacit agreement.

Now that the high water level of the lake is known, the fishermen themselves have begun improving their living conditions and bringing in cultural artifacts. Housing is improved, gardens at least with onions and melons are planted, pictures of Zamalek and Ahli football teams and from illustrated European magazines (the only feminine presence on the lake) are hung, small open mosques are built, salted

fish storerooms are separated (due to the odor) from living spaces, housing is made more secure from the weather (chiefly the strong, dry winds) and from the scorpions and vipers which come out at night and from the wild dogs and hyenas (which have mixed with local dogs, some left over from the old Nubian villages), cats are brought along, and in one instance, a boy discovered some duck eggs along the shore and domesticated the ducklings (I observed no other examples of raising livestock).

The fishermen all seek to escape sleeping on the boats and to have fresh vegetables as part of their diet. The CARE project is nicely attuned to the aspirations of the fishermen themselves regarding their living conditions. The CARE project (the belharzia pills) also caters to the fishermen's desire to consume pharmaceuticals rather indiscriminately. The CARE project would not, however, satisfy advocates of more comprehensive change which the fishermen themselves, probably cannot themselves articulate and perhaps even contemplate: a fishing society of small, independent boatowner-operators, a true cooperative in which the leadership took a broad view of its responsibilities, a technologically dynamic sector in which the productivity and status of labor was upgraded. The CARE personnel on the project, international and national, does not appear to have thought seriously about any of these options for development of the fishing industry. By and large they take for granted the social and cultural limits of change set by Egyptian society. However, these limits are also set by the inevitable .

injustice of established resource-holders protecting their turf against the newcomers to the lake who work for them. The High Dam Lake Authority and the Fisheries Department of the Ministry of Agriculture (both of which must issue the permits to fish on the lake) are backing up the refusal of established boatowners to admit more new fishermen to the lake on conservation grounds.

The main hope for improving the working conditions and income of the fishermen on the lake in the absence of fundamental institutional change is a tightening labor market and the pursuit of self-interest by the labor side of the industry. Whether the fishermen can pursue self-interest within the existing institutional structure of family ties, debt relationships, property rights in fishing grounds, and restricted issuing of permits to fish on the lake, is unclear.

Finally, the low incomes of the fishermen on the lake are related to national policy of buying the fish cheap (.11 per kilo) in order to sell it cheaply, it is said, in the poor neighborhoods of Cairo.

The welfare of the fishermen will thus depend in the long run on the introduction of market pricing (in fish and fishing grounds) and on allowing private marketing of inputs and carrier boat services on the lake. This, in turn, will succeed only if growth is disciplined so that the industry does not become overcapitalized with inefficiency, or development of poor quality.

STATUS OF THE BOATOWNERS

Previous social analysis of the fishing industry in the High Dam Lake in general has vilified the boatowners as being inhumane exploiters of the fishermen who work for them on the lake. This perception of the boatowners is too simplistic and no longer valid, if it ever was. It is based on theory instead of fieldwork. Also, the tightening labor market in recent years has permitted the fishermen to drive a harder bargain with the boatowners. A more objective, composite and current picture of the boatowners would be as follows:

- 1) Most boatowners have only 1 boat; few, if any, personally own more than 3-4 boats.
- 2) The larger fishing camps (over 3-4 boats) tend to be financed through partnerships. The fishermen on the lake are often unaware of the partnership financing of the expeditions they are part of. All they know is the name of the managing partner, and believe that he is the sole owner, which often is not the case. Partnerships are often families.
- 3) To mount an expedition, the boatowners must often themselves borrow money at the beginning of the season (December-January). Just as the fishermen are in debt to the boatowners, the boatowners are in debt to others such as the salted fish merchants to whom they repay in-kind with the catch. Credit relations extend from the lake to Aswan, Sohag, Qena, and as far as Cairo (big merchants).

4) The possibility of individual boatowners having shares in more than one partnership was not investigated, but should be. It is logical this would occur as a way for the individual to diversify his investment portfolio and reduce risk.

5) The boatowner who stays in Aswan cannot afford to be lazy. He must actively participate as a coordinator between fishing activities on the lake and institutions and people on land.

Supplies of food, etc., for the camp need to be purchased every week and dispatched via carrier boat. The carrier boats need to be induced to make their scheduled stops at the camps. Fishermen need to be recruited mainly in Qena and Sohag and directed to the harbor of Aswan. Boats must be maintained and replaced. Payment must be received from the Fishing Cooperative. Capital must be raised from partners and creditors to mount the expeditions, etc., etc.

6) The boatowners absorb more of the risks of fishing because the living expenses of the fishermen are guaranteed. Only after the fishermen receive their subsistence allowances is the rest split 50-50. The boatowners consider the fishermen as partners, not laborers.

7) Advances which the boatowners give to the fishermen are not legalized debts, and the former therefore have only informal methods of recourse if the latter fail to work long enough to pay off their debts (or if they fail to show up at all for work in Aswan).

8) Rather than a privileged class, the boatowners view themselves as the victims of government price controls and adverse bureaucratic actions. The price of fresh fish has been raised only from 8 to 11

piasters per kilo over the past 10 years. The boatowners are subject to rising labor and material costs which they cannot pass on to consumers due to the price controls. Saltable fish (tigerfish) which could be sold on the free market <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ disappearing from the lake. The fresh fish must be sold to the government because there is only one port on the lake.

9) In technical economic jargon, the government is extracting an economic surplus from the fishing industry on the lake without reinvesting in the industry. Due to price controls the industry cannot be adequately capitalized through private sector investment. No money is left after covering current expenses to invest in improved equipment to fish in the deep parts of the lake.

10) The High Dam Lake Development Authority's position is that the lake is in danger of being overfished. To prevent this, the Authority has failed to invest in new carrier boats, or to allow the Fishing Cooperative to add carrier boats to its fleet. The boatowners see this as an arbitrary decision, arguing that the long-run catch from the lake can be increased. The Fishing Cooperative has paid for 8 new carrier boats from Alexandria, however the Authority has prevented them from being used.

11) The boatowners are angry, demanding 20 piasters per kilo of fresh fish. Some boatowners say they would prefer to sell their boats, and draw government salaries like the people in the Authority who make "400 pounds per month." The private boatowners view themselves as the only productive segment of the lake's economy. They believe that they "saved Sadat" during the

protein crisis last year by supplying the poor neighborhoods of Cairo with fresh fish at cheap prices. But the government fails to acknowledge their critical role in the economy through positive assistance to the industry.

To illustrate social relations and income distribution among the individuals involved in fishing on the High Dam Lake, the example of a boatowning partnership will be presented. Mustafa and 3 others have 11 boats at Mareya divided among 3 camps which have a total of 27 fishermen. For the period December 31, 1980 - February 5, 1981, the account was as follows for the fresh fish (Bolti) catch:

Total Production	1,894 LE
Less Living Expenses <sup>(1)</sup>	<u>-814 LE</u>
	1,080 LE
Fishermens' Share (50%)	540/27 = 20 LE/fisherman
Boatowners' Share (50%)	540 <sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Expenses refers to the personal expenses of the fishermen and the partners (if any) while they are directly involved in fishing at the camps on the lake. They include such items as the train transportation from home villages in Sohag (Mustafa is from Belliana) to Aswan, accommodations at the Hotel Mahroos in Aswan (where the fishermen from Belliana usually stay), food for the camp (bread, flour, oil, tomatoes, onions, m'louchia, and meat -- which was purchased twice during the period for 63.80 LE -- tea and sugar), Cleopatra cigarettes, honey tobacco for the waterpipes, transportation of fishermen and supplies between Aswan and the port,

license and permit fees, etc.

(2) The share of the 4 partners who owned the boat was undivided since out of this sum had to come the capital expenditures for maintenance and replacement of the boats. Between January 1 and April 1, 1981, 1,404 LE was spent on maintenance of the boats and nets. The heavy expenses, exceeding the boatowners' share, were due to the fact that this was the beginning of the season, and that no maintenance was done on the boats last year. In other words, at least for the first part of 1981, the boatowners, unlike the fishermen, derived no personal income from fishing.

According to Mustafa, in 1980, the boatowning partners' share was 8,244 LE gross, they had expenses of 2,378 LE, and were able to divide 6,665 LE four ways among themselves. Every partner earned 1,666 LE. This should not be taken as Mustafa's or his partners' personal annual income. It is unclear whether it includes revenue from salted as well as fresh fish. Also, Mustafa stated that he was involved in another partnership to fish at the southern end of the High Dam Lake in the Sudan (Lake Nuba). To mount this expedition, he also stated that he had to incur large debts.

Another statistic indicates that the fishermen are not faring all that badly in the economy of the High Dam Lake fishing industry, and that both the capital and labor sides are being squeezed by government price policy rather than capital squeezing the labor side. The total annual catch of fish from the lake is 30,000



tons, and there are about 5,000 full-time fishermen on the lake (i.e., present 10 months per year). This means that the productivity of each fisherman is 6 tons per annum or 30 kgs. per day, having a value of LE 2.20. With the fishermen's living expenses plus salaries running at about LE 1.50 per day, this leaves .70 to cover the capital costs and profits of the industry.

#### THE CARE PROJECT AND OTHER REGIONAL PLANS

Although the CARE project will upgrade some living conditions, it was not designed to change the fundamental conditions of living and working of the fishermen on the lake. Improvements from the project are limited in the following respects:

- 1) The fishermen will continue living in small, all-male work groups rather than in households with their families.
- 2) The fishermen will continue being deprived of the normal, basic government and commercial services available to all Egyptians in rural villages.
- 3) The fishermen will continue as laborers rather than boatowners, and the boatowners will continue to dominate the activities in the fishing camps.

The CARE project does not implement the plans for what is now Region VIII of the country. Regional plans have called for the resettlement of households in new village communities, and for making boat ownership accessible to the fishermen working on the lake. They have also called for the "injection of new institutions"

such as stores, clinics, radio, telephone, and mail service. (See Annex A for a bibliography of plans for the High Dam Lake region.) None of the plans would perpetuate the migrant laborer status of the all-male fishermen community, which the CARE project takes as a given. It must not be forgotten that fishing on the lake for many of the fishermen is a full-time, lifelong job broken only by summer and religious feasts. Fishermen spend 9-11 months on the lake for much of their lives up to the age of 35-40, in many instances. The CARE project is less idealistic and more pragmatic than the previous regional plans for the lake area.<sup>2/</sup> It is more cautious and less directive of social forces. But CARE has designed a project which, if it succeeds (and it probably will), won't make a qualitative impact in the living and working conditions of the fishermen on the lake. Defenders of the CARE approach note that the other, more ambitious plans calling for the comprehensive reform of living and working conditions, were never implemented.

#### RESULTS OF VISITS TO SOME FISHING CAMPS

Five days were spent visiting fishing camps around the Lake (March 24-28, 1981) as follows:

8 CARE sites (3 completed, 5 under construction)

1 prospective CARE site

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<sup>2/</sup> On the other hand, the CARE project has its heroic aspect of providing sites and services in the entire lake area.

4 fishing camps in which the fishermen themselves had upgraded their housing

1 fishing camp which was totally unimproved

Based on these visits and other information, it is possible to conclude that the improvements being made by CARE at the sites in housing and waterlifting are being used and are wanted by the fishermen who reside at the sites. The proof of this was obtained from the camps where CARE had not intervened but where the same types of improvements were being made by the fishermen themselves. At the same time, this creates a difficulty for CARE since it appears that CARE has not identified sites on the basis of self-help efforts underway by the fishermen themselves (criteria have been primarily the availability of construction materials and irrigable land as well as access by CARE's relatively deep draft boats). For example, rather than providing a complete package of improvements, CARE might procure pumps for camps where the fishermen have built their own improved housing. Existing camps can be ranked on the criterion of the extent to which the fishermen have allocated their own efforts to making improvements; CARE has tended to prefer totally unimproved sites rather than collaborating with the fishermen at the sites.

Although CARE's improvements are used and wanted, this does not resolve the issue of whether CARE has the right project design for the target population (fishermen on the lake) being served (indeed the basic homogeneity of the current design itself is suspect in

this regard). A comprehensive preference ranking of housing options might show that, although the fishermen prefer shelters to living in the boats, they would prefer villages to shelters. The CARE project seeks to have an impact around the entire lake without adapting the design to the specific circumstances which prevail over this huge area. Based on secondary information, it appears that the Khor Allaqi area (proposed for new sites) is the one in which the current project design may be the most unsuited, since this is a unique area of the lake with pre-existing human habitation and autonomous village development both by fisherman and nomads. (c.f. the work of the anthropologist Shahira Mokhtar). Site selection and shelter design in Khor Allaqi area needs to be done with the real collaboration of the fishermen rather than on the basis of criteria and principles applied previously. Finally, the CARE project design does not address the most urgent health problems of the fishermen which are curative rather than preventive (e.g., belharzia). For instance, there were three deaths out of 16 fishermen at one site (Soliman) during 1980 where the average age is under 20 years. Medical evacuations from the lake ~~are~~ by carrier boat are common, but there are no health statistics collected about the number and outcome of these evacuations. The project physician stated that most of the evacuations were due to "psychological" causes. It is possible that the problems of delivering curative medical services to the fishermen are too intractable to be addressed. However, if the physician is correct that most evacuations have psychological origins, (essentially due to isolation and monotony), only the

change in project design from shelters to villages will begin to solve the problem.

Besides curative health services, there is a wide range of other problems of the fishermen requiring external intervention which the CARE project is not addressing. This would be less serious if any other development programs were in contact with the fishermen on the lake, but at the moment CARE is the only one. The CARE project is providing inputs for housing and waterlifting with minimal interference (and therefore change) in the lives of the fishermen themselves. It also operates with no impact on the institutions which affect the income of the fishermen (e.g., the carrier boats). Perhaps such efforts along these lines would be politically and socially infeasible, but CARE's philosophy and operating procedures seem to leave this hypothesis untested. Construction and covering the lake seem at times to be ends in themselves. By virtue of the contact it has, CARE has the potential to begin expanding the range of problems it addresses on the lake. At the moment, it cannot be said that CARE is addressing the highest priority problems of the fishermen which require external intervention. Visits to the 4 fishing camps in which the fishermen themselves were upgrading their housing showed that CARE at its sites was substituting for self-help rather than augmenting it. Labor and local building materials can be mobilized by the fishermen themselves, and does not require the involvement of an external development agency. On the other hand, many of the other problems of the fishermen do require such involvement whether because of lack of material or political resources.

THE NEW COOPERATING ENTITY OF THE CARE PROJECT

The cooperating entity of the project which, at least in principle, has the greatest contact with the benefitting fishermen on the lake themselves will be different for the proposed project than it was for the first 11 shelters. Instead of being the Fishing Cooperative it will be the Welfare Cooperative for the Fishing Workers. This new cooperative was set up in 1979 at the direction of President Sadat, who had heard that the Fishing Cooperative only had boatowners as members. The new cooperative would be for the workers. Actually, the idea to set up a separate cooperative for the workers is an old one which van Heck included as a recommendation in his report (p. 50). Van Heck wrote in 1970:

Too many labourers are irregularly and too poorly paid by the (large) boat owners. They are at the mercy of their employers. Concerning this problem one fisherman made a rather interesting suggestion by proposing the creation of a Central Labour Office, to be located in the Southern part of the Lake say in Abu Sinbel. This office should perhaps be better created as an autonomous agency beside the present Fishing Cooperative and should regulate, normalize and control the establishment of just and equal work conditions for the numerous labourers operating in the Lake.

The new Workers Cooperative has the potential to become an important institution benefitting the workers because it receives 1 piaster for every kilo of fish delivered to the West Port, Aswan. As of November 1, 1980, it had 448,501 LE which had accumulated because of lack of organization to make decisions about how to use it. Funds disbursed to date (55,470 LE) have been primarily for assistance to the following types of individuals: old age, veterans, soldiers, newly married, sick, and widowers. The cooperative has also made

contributions on national occasions, including 10,000 LE for the Afghan freedom fighters. In any case, the new cooperative appears to be an executive rather than a decision-making organization. It seems subordinate, first, to the Fishing Cooperative which, in turn, is regulated by the High Dam Lake Development Authority. The contribution which the new cooperative will make for the CARE shelter project was decided upon by the Authority.

#### THE LOW PRICE OF FISH

No information (besides the prices themselves) was obtained in Aswan from the Ministry of Supply regarding its domestic fish purchasing operations. Yet, it is clear that the fresh fish procurement price is the dominant factor affecting the welfare of the fisherman (boatowner and laborers) on the High Dam Lake. This price was increased from .08 to .11 between 1970 and the present, an increase which is far less than the general rate of inflation or of costs. Both the boatowners and the laborers' welfare is affected since they divide the revenue from the catch equally (after paying the living expenses of the laborers on the lake). To some extent, the lack of substantial price increases has been offset by the increasing size of the catch. On the other hand, fishermen in the High Dam Lake are finding it more and more difficult to bypass the government procurement program of the Ministry of Supply as the buyer of their production. The percentage of salted fish which is sold to the private sector is declining, and, unlike in the fishing grounds in the Delta, the government is able to control shipments of fish out

of the lake region since there is only one port to which the fishermen can bring the catch. Salted fish merchants have historically been a source of credit for the fishermen on the lake. Only recently have the government banks begun lending to them.



ANNEX A

Plans for Social Development of the High Dam Lake Area

UNDP-FAO, Lake Nasser Development Centre, Aswan, Settlement of the Lake Nasser Fishermen, Rome, 1973 (based on the work of Bernard van Heck)

This plan basically called for the creation of 10 villages of 350 houses each at sites around the lake, integration of fishing and agricultural activities, and for enhancing the status of the fishermen by making them boatowners. The plan was based on the social survey conducted by Bernard van Heck, who determined the aspirations of the fishermen. His major finding was that 70 percent of the fishermen wanted to be resettled in villages around the lake. The plan called for substantial institutional change and capital transfers, and was never implemented. However, van Heck's work provides important baseline data for studying the evolution of the social system connected to the High Dam Lake fishing industry.

Lake Nasser Development Center, Regional Planning of Aswan, Case Study, The Lake Nasser Fishermen at Abu-Sinbel Area, 1972 (by Darwish M.D. El Manzalawy)

Detailed study of the Abu-Sinbel area done by van Heck's principal Egyptian collaborator.

Lake Nasser Development Centre, Aswan Regional Planning, Towards Settlement of Lake Nasser Fishermen, Aswan, 1973 (by Aboul-Fotouh Abdel-Latif)

Draws heavily upon the van Heck report, but carries a purely Egyptian imprimatur. Most, if not all, provisions of the plan were never implemented.

General Organization for Housing, Building and Planning Research, High Dam Lake and Eastern Desert Settlements Project Phase I, The Development of Human Settlements in the High Dam Lake and the Eastern Desert: The Allaqi Pilot Project, 1978 (by Dr. Sherif M. El Hakim, et. al.)

The strategy proposed is to base the development of settlements on indigenous efforts. Accordingly, the only inhabited portion of the shoreline of the lake (Khor Allaqi) was selected for development. The strategy also included substantial institutional change with the difference that less capital would be needed due to the reliance on indigenous efforts. Apparently, no implementation.

Arab Republic of Egypt-Japan International Cooperation Agency, The High Dam Lake Area Integrated Regional Development Plan, 1980

The most ambitious plan to-date, foreseeing multi-sectoral development of the region.

Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Planning-UNDP, Terms of Reference, Regional Planning, Region 8, 1979, (by Vittorio Marrama, to be executed by Dar-El-Handasah consultants)

The High Dam Lake area is part of Region 8. This will be the next major planning effort for the region.

ANNEX B

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Project Accomplishments To Date

The program is being implemented; there are visible results; the U.S. is getting credit; the beneficiary group is poor; the shelters are being used by the intended beneficiaries, their use is not being 'privatized' very much; construction is labor-intensive; through shelter construction, CARE has gained access to the fishermen in the camps and the potential exists to provide them with services; pumps for water-lifting from the lake to the camps are desired and appear to be maintained.

2. Number and Location of Sites Around the Lake

a. The final number of sites which CARE ultimately hopes to improve around the lake should be determined for planning purposes and justified.

b. The spacial distribution of the sites, around the entire lake, leads to inefficient utilization of personnel time and boats; the goal of improving basic services in the entire lake area is probably beyond the level of CARE's resources and administrative capabilities. Consideration should be given to adopting a sub-regional focus for the project. This might induce other national entities to begin similar projects for elsewhere on the lake.

c. Sites selected deeper in the sidearms (khors) of the lake rather than nearer to the main channel will pose new logistic problems which appear to be underestimated at the present time.

d. An intensive social survey of the Khor Allaqi area should be conducted in connection with site selection due to the unique conditions existing in this khor which distinguish it from previous CARE project sites. The proximity of Allaqi at the center of the lake, the present existence of a nucleus settlement there, and its strategic location close to the heart of the Eastern Desert where there are nomadic peoples and traditional trading routes between Egypt and the Sudan makes Allaqi an area of great propensity for spontaneous development as a market town. The possibility of housing the fishermen in the existing settlements rather than in shelters in camps should be explored.

e. CARE should review previous mapping and site selection planning documents, and should make full use of regional planning documentation generally.

### 3. Program

#### a. General

i. Whether CARE can make the transition from shelter construction to providing services at the sites is an open question.

ii. Will CARE be concerned exclusively with the living conditions of the fishermen, or will it also eventually address problems on the production side of fishing?

iii. Will price policy issues related to fishing in the lake be raised?

iv. CARE should consider giving only part of the full package of physical improvements at individual sites. For example, it should be possible to provide pumps for waterlifting to camps where fishermen themselves have improved their housing and made gardens. Whereas shelter construction can be accomplished through self-help, it appears difficult for the fishermen themselves to procure items such as pumps.

v. Long-distance boat trips on the lake for representational purposes should be curtailed.

#### b. Housing

i. The housing program is premised on an incomplete picture of fishermen's preferences. Although they undoubtedly prefer shelters to living in their boats or on-shore without shelter, many of the fishermen would probably prefer villages to shelters. Variation should be built into housing designs based on the preferences of the fishermen, especially as between the upgrading of existing camps versus resettlement of households in villages around the lake. Current design does not permit the resettlement of households at the lake.

ii. Rafts for construction workers are unnecessary at some island sites.

#### c. Health

i. The emphasis on schistosomiasis has led to complacency regarding the other health problems of the fishermen, which are clearly severe. Site visits need to be made to identify the most urgent health problems. Curative medical services are undoubtedly needed, although the problems of delivering the services are recognized to be very difficult.

ii. Data should be gathered from fishing camps around the lake regarding the real level of danger of being at the lake from jackals and hyenas, scorpions and vipers. Statements regarding the level of danger in the present proposal document may be exaggerations, and, if so, simply aggravate the problem of recruiting personnel to serve in the lake area.

#### 4. Project Personnel

##### a. Training

i. Technicians' behavior at the sites is too routine for such an early stage in the program. Visits to sites need to be more open-ended and unstructured, emphasizing feedback, problem of identification and diagnosis instead of only delivery of the predetermined services and supervision. Contacts at the sites need to shift from construction workers to the fishermen themselves.

ii. Arabic language training should be given at project expense to all U.S. personnel.

##### b. Recruitment

i. A position should be added to the project for a Social Services Officer who would (a) plan delivery of new services, (b) maintain relations with fishermen in the lake and boatowners and organizations in the fishing industry in Aswan, (c) be available to assist the agriculture and health officers in the administration of their parts of the program, (d) supervise social surveys in connection with site selection and design, and (e) be responsible for retrieval of pertinent documentation.

#### 5. Relations with Cooperating Entities

a. For the purpose of administering interventions (health, educational, etc.), relations should be expanded with the Fisherman's Clinic and the new Fishing Workers Cooperative in Aswan. All fishermen make contact with these entities at least once a year in order to get permission to work on the lake. Also, these entities collect data on the population of fishermen which are of value for programming.

b. A relationship should be established with the College of Social Service in Awan which has experience in executing social surveys, including in the lake area.

c. The Social Services Officer would need to work closely with the new Cooperative and the College of Social Service in order to upgrade their capacities.