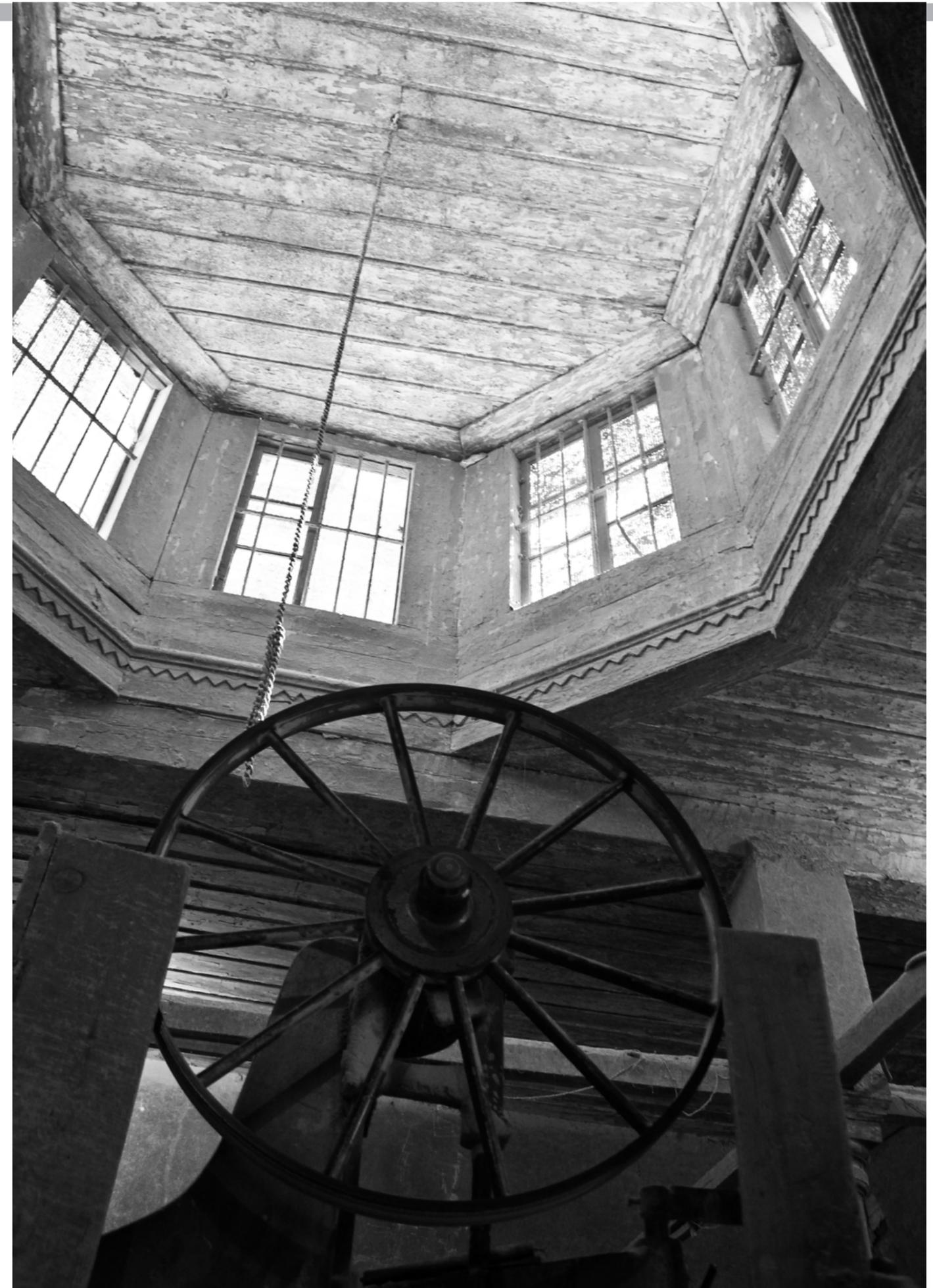


Living and Working

in Historic Cairo:

Sustainability of Commercial and Productive Activities

DINA K. SHEHAYEB



URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT FOR HISTORIC CAIRO

Living and Working in Historic Cairo: Sustainability of Commercial and Productive Activities

Background Study for the Management Plan

Final Report

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Cairo has been a dominant political, cultural, commercial and religious capital throughout history playing a prominent role during Fatimids, reaching its golden age during Mamluks, and sustaining its cosmopolitan significance during Ottoman times. Due to its unique peculiar skyline, it has been known to scholars and historians as “City of the thousand minarets”.

Historic Cairo was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979 recognizing its “absolutely unquestionable historical, archaeological and urbanistic importance.” Upon ICOMOS recommendation, the inscription was based on the following criteria:

1. Several of the great monuments of Cairo are incontestable masterpieces;
2. The historic centre of Cairo groups numerous streets and old dwellings and thus maintains, in the heart of the traditional urban fabric, forms of human settlement, which go back to the middle Ages;
3. The historic centre of Cairo constitutes an impressive material witness to the international importance on the political, strategic, intellectual and commercial level of the City during the medieval period.

URHC Goals and Objectives In July 2010, UNESCO-WHC launched the Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo (URHC) in the framework of a larger program of technical assistance to the Egyptian Government concerning the management of the World Heritage Site, focusing on the following objectives:

1. The preparation of a Conservation Plan for Historic Cairo’s “Core and Buffer Zones”, which would include the Management Plan required by the WH Operational Guidelines;
2. The establishment of an institutional framework to undertake and develop a sustainable urban conservation policy, promoting coordination and collaboration amongst different institutions, administrations and agencies concerned with the management of the World Heritage Site;
3. The creation of an appropriate and shared information platform for urban conservation.

To achieve these goals, an interdisciplinary team of local and international consultants are collaborating with the concerned bodies to develop a set of protection measures in order to uphold the site’s Outstanding Universal Value, to prevent further decay of the historic urban fabric and to enhance the socio-economic conditions of Historic Cairo.



The authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this report, and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNESCO and do not commit the Organisation.

The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the report do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

This report focuses upon the consequences on livability of Historic Cairo (HC) of the uncontrolled spreading of formal and informal commercial and productive activities into the public spaces by analyzing how this affects the urban fabric with regard to: heritage values, residential and other non-residential uses, mobility and accessibility, environmental conditions and risks.

يركز هذا التقرير على عواقب الانتشار العشوائي للأنشطة التجارية والانتاجية الرسمية وغير الرسمية على المساحات الفضاء وذلك عن طريق تحليل مدى تأثيره على النسيج العمراني فيما يتعلق بالقيم التراثية، الاستخدامات السكنية وغير السكنية، التنقل والحركة وسهولة الوصول إليها، والظروف والمخاطر البيئية.

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FORWARD

Within the framework of the programme Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage in Egypt, in close consultation with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, responsible national authorities and project team of “Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo” (URHC project), and under the supervision of Miglioli, Franca the Individual Specialist shall:

A. In the framework of the programme Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage in Egypt, in consultation with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, responsible national authorities and project team of “Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo” (URHC project), the Consultant shall carry out in-depth investigation of the “Sustainability of Commercial and Productive Activities in Historic Cairo”. It will focus upon the consequences on liveability of Historic Cairo (HC) of the uncontrolled spreading of formal and informal commercial and productive activities into the public spaces by analysing how this affects the urban fabric with regard to:

- a. Heritage values;
- b. Residential and other non-residential uses;
- c. Mobility and accessibility;
- d. Environmental conditions and risks.

In particular, the study shall:

1. Define the selection criteria and select a minimum of 2 sample areas, in close consultation with the URHC project team on the base of the findings of the URHC project, to represent the different modalities of appropriation of public space for commercial and production activities.
2. Define the survey form as well as other survey/investigation tools required for the study and develop, with assistance from the URHC project team, base maps for the intended surveys; in case of need of additional elements (i.e. satellite images or cadastral maps) and after consultation and approval by the UNESCO.
3. Conduct an accurate field survey of the sample areas, to explore the different modalities of the uncontrolled spreading of formal and informal commercial and productive activities and their consequences.
4. Outline possible measures to control the process in order to eliminate or reduce its negative impacts while preserving the heritage socio-cultural and spatial/typological patterns of Historic Cairo in order to incorporate it in the World Heritage (WH) site Management Plan.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks is due to Dr. Mahmoud Abdullah, Miss Heba Al-Batreeq and Dr. Diaa Gad al-Kareem for the retrieval of archival data from various sources concerning the history of properties within the case study areas including the description of the buildings, the indication of property owners and occupants, the transfer of ownership status, plot development history and building permits to date. This data would not have been accessible if it were not for the support of the URHC office team and their perseverance in acquiring the needed official permits.

The empirical work in this report was made possible by the generosity of the local community of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar (ADAA) and specifically Mr. Mohammad Raafat owner of a traditional fabric shop in the Kheyameya portion of the main Quassaba. Gratitude is due to the workshop community of 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary with special thanks to Hagg Ata Al-Mawla who introduced the research team members to all the surrounding workshop owners and tenants who have great respect to his person and therefore trusted the team and collaborated with them. Hagg Ata also graciously offered his upholstery shop to the team as a field office to hold meetings and take lunch breaks when needed.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is built on the findings of a previously conducted sector study that explored the community-oriented socio-economic and cultural activity patterns in public spaces of Historic Cairo (HC). The study concluded that the potential for revitalisation with reference to community-oriented activity patterns in their socio-physical totality is high in HC. The positive “gains” resulting from certain existing activity patterns that in effect serve the sustainability of one or more value of HC; either tangible or intangible or both.

Activity Pattern	Sustainable GAIN to the Values of Historic Cairo
Heritage perception as community-oriented activity patterns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mosque use protects the monument from complete neglect - Thematic markets - Value to watch handicraft production (Kheyameya and Khan El-Khalily till the 1970s)
Public Space Appropriation (Dwelling spill-out/workshop spill-out) balance condition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sustains pedestrian dominance - Sustains traditional housing and consequently the traditional fabric
Productive Activity network Workshop Vitality network (Materials – Production – Market) proximity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saves energy (environmental sustainability) - Sustains social networks / support (social sustainability) - Saves money (economic sustainability)
Dwelling – Work proximity lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saves energy (environmental sustainability) - Sustains social networks / support (social sustainability) - Saves money (economic sustainability)
Walkability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Slowing down vehicular traffic - Minimizing traffic pollution - Increased perceived and actual safety

Findings also included the identification of several critical issues that serve as a background reference for the preparation the Historic Cairo WH site Management Plan:

Critical Issue 1:

Saving the **traditional crafts** from extinction and acknowledging community-oriented activity patterns associated with their production and sales as invaluable part of the less tangible historic value of Historic Cairo.

Critical Issue 2:

Retaining the **WORK-HOME proximity**, a valuable characteristic of sustainable neighbourhoods, this necessitates sustaining the residential population of craftsmen which is a heritage pattern of Historic Cairo.

Critical Issue 3:

Sustaining, and reinforcing, the **intangible** heritage (alongside the tangible heritage) of HC and those who cognize it, and practice it. This can be done partially by discovering, acknowledging and enabling/supporting activity patterns with historical roots in the locale.

Critical Issue 4:

Involving local communities in the conservation of the **historic fabric** and **monuments** of HC by capitalizing based on social, cultural and psychological values perceived by the community and adding to their awareness other dimensions of value such as historic knowledge.

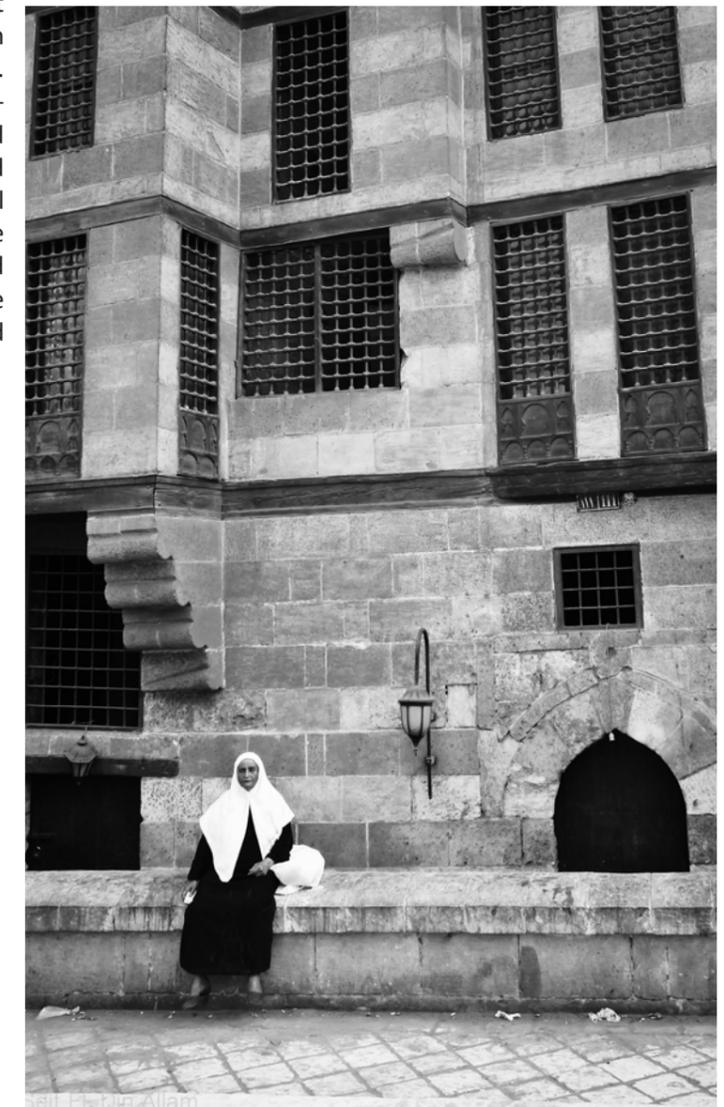
Critical Issue 5:

Institutional reform and awareness raising at **societal level** to reverse the contextual factors that pose a threat on the sustainability of HC.

Accordingly this study was planned to explore the economic dynamics of the transformation that is occurring to the built environment based on an understanding of, and not divorced from, the non-economic values that are still perceived and appreciated by the resident population including the remaining portion that still lives and works in HC. It set out to outline the different energies in action and the constraints that block existing potentials based on in-depth qualitative data analysis to understand the basis upon which local community members weigh trades-off, make decisions, and act. This would assist experts to better predict the reaction that any intervention would trigger, and only then would intervention be able to capitalize on the potentials and avoid the threats inherent in the physical and social fabric of HC.

The study outcomes are directed to feed into the management plan exploring alternative and innovative economic assessment criteria that would sustain multi-dimensional values and consequently lead to economic development scenarios that are not destructive to the large potential that HC has over other historic cities.

It also outlines venues for the much needed awareness raising to valorise current community practices and potentials for conservation. It identifies all those involved in the shaping of the built environment (local community, local government and experts) and the relation between elements of the urban fabric (street alignment, building height, plot size, land use... etc.). It sets a clear road map to what needs to be done to mobilize local community as well as society at large to invest and actively participate in the rehabilitation, development and conservation of HC. Based on this study substantive material and strategies for advocacy and training purposes could be prepared such as workshops, media releases and published guidelines targeted to different groups, as well as delineate domains of partnership between the local community and other societal agencies to be part of the Conservation Plan.



1. a. Aim and Objectives

This in-depth study has two main objectives; one is to understand the intricate interrelation between productive and commercial activities and dwelling in Historic Cairo and its manifestation in the physical and social transformation of the place, and the second is to direct the Management Plan of HC based on this understanding. What needs to be understood is also two-fold: the first concerns the nature of the productive and commercial activities so characteristic to HC, while the second focuses on the dynamics of transformation that HC is witnessing. The study is therefore organized around three objectives. For each of the first two objectives, the study addresses a set of issues that together assist in drawing a comprehensive picture of current and future conditions. For the third objective the study attempts to formulate recommendations to direct the Management Plan in terms of the regulations it should enforce as well as short-term, intermediate-term and long-term actions and strategies.

1. Understand the delicate balance between productive and commercial activities and dwelling in HC in order to sustain this balance while minimizing conflict or any other negative impact on both people and place.

- Productive activity livelihood patterns for different types of products
- Social and spatial aspects necessary for the survival of those activities
- The interrelation between productive activities and dwelling
- Community-valued working and living conditions in HC and future visions

2. Understand the dynamics of the physical and social transformation in HC in order to identify entry points to direct transformation energy towards sustaining multi-dimensional values of HC.

- Morphological transformation (land subdivision, building typology...)
- Social transformation (origin, occupation, affordability, perceived value...)
- Functional transformation (land use, public space...)
- The dynamics of transformation and key actors

3. Formulate recommendations to direct the Management Plan in its regulations, actions and strategies including who they should be addressed to and how they may be implemented.

- Implications of not inferring in the current dynamics to be used as advocacy material
- Substantive recommendations concerning regulations and actions needed from different key actors
- Procedural recommendations advising on how should each key actor can best be addressed.

1. b. Methodology

Based on the findings of the Sector Study conducted in 2011 (Shehayeb, 2011), the consultant and URHC agreed upon the choice of two case study areas to initiate the in-depth study. The first is a dead-end alley or Zoqaq where transformation from residential to productive activity has taken place to the maximum including the new form of vertical factory, and the second is an example of a horizontal concentration of workshops in the close vicinity of heritage buildings including several monuments. Both case study areas were chosen in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar for convenience of having contacts that would assist in penetrating the local community in a time when local community members and city officials are very sceptical of any research activity.

CASE STUDY AREA SELECTION

The Case Study Area 1: Zoqaq Al-Gaabary was chosen because of the advanced degree and variety of urban transformation that it had witnessed. The idea was to understand how this transformation came about, what were the driving forces, procedures and actors involved as well as the impact of that transformation on productive activity as well as on dwelling activity patterns. The purpose of this understanding would be how to mitigate this development and redirect it to maintain the balance needed to sustain both activities.

The Case Study Area 2: Radwan Bey's complex, inaccurately referred to as Quassabet Radwan¹, was chosen as the second case study area. It is part of his 17th Century redevelopment project and currently a 'waqf' with several ruins that are listed as monuments. It currently houses some 44 workshops, shops and storage spaces all rented out from the Ministry of Awqaf. The point here was to explore this pattern of productive and commercial activities and its relation to the affordances of the morphology of HC.

The intention was to investigate all workshops in Case Study Area 1 and a sample of residents. As for Case Study Area 2, a sample of the workshops, shops and storage spaces were to be chosen to cover the variety that exists today. This was possible to a large extent in Zoqaq Al-Gaabary except for one workshop for circumstantial reasons, and one factory where access was denied.

When field work started in Case Study Area 1, the consultant soon realized that to explore the networks of productive activities of the 5 in-depth workshop cases and their intersections with social networks related to both work and dwelling, it was necessary to widen the scope of the case study area based on those relations. After presenting intermediate findings to the URHC and UNESCO teams, it was agreed to drop Case Study Area 2 in favour of pursuing leads from Case Study Area 1 following a snow ball sampling technique. Case Study Area 2 was not totally ignored, but rather explored to less deep to reveal the role of the Awqaf in the transformation of HC as well as to verify the future trends that appeared from the in-depth study area regarding the future of production and commercial activities in HC.



DATA COLLECTION

Data collection methods applied in the study include: archival research, behaviour observation, in-depth interviews (following an interview guide). Base maps used are mainly 1:500 cadastral maps of 1937 acquired from the National Survey Organization of Egypt and from URHC office in Cairo. Archival data involved building permit data, Awqaf data and property tax data. Building permit data from the district of ADAA could not be traced earlier than 1970, because according to the district earlier permits were granted on case basis directly from the Governorate. Property tax data were successfully acquired from the different local government levels as well as from the 'Mahfuzat' where records older than 1950 are deposited. Data about the waqf properties were indirectly discerned from property tax records and from literature but not directly from the Ministry of Awqaf. The field research team would acquire data about the different properties and verify it against the archival data from the official records. Unfortunately, official records are sometimes themselves inaccurate or too brief, so that a detailed reconstruction of the morphology of the two case study areas and their exact occupancy history could only be completed rather roughly.

1. The inner part of this complex is known today part as Wekalet Shomar and part as Quassabet Radwan which is an inaccurate term since Quassabet Radwan is historically the covered portion of the main quassaba in HC, currently know as Al-Kheyameya.



Documentation of the production process was implemented using photography and brief in-interviews at all stages of the production process; that is in the different workshop locations. Behavioural observation of public space was also applied at different times of the day and different days of the week in the Case Study Area 1 to better understand the appropriation of public space and its implications to mobility and the potential conflict with resident activities.

Initially unstructured interviews using an interview guide were conducted to cover the in-depth cases in the case study area. The field data covered the operation of the workshop and the entire cycle of production, mapping all complimentary workshops that participate in this production, as well as sources of raw materials, end markets and marketing strategies. It also covered the workshop owners' relation to the district, family background, previous work and dwelling locations and side businesses. Workshop economics were roughly outlined wherever possible, documenting tenure and legal status, cost of production, type of labour, and basic expenditure to cover electricity, transportation, taxes, and social security...etc.. Side businesses were also explored where applicable as well as daily routines and behaviour in public space.

The explorative nature of the research necessitated many follow-up encounters with the workshop owners and their social networks. Data collection continued during data analysis so that the methodology was of an iterative cyclic nature.



DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative analysis following a naturalistic inquiry approach was applied to the in-depth cases as well as the complimentary cases that came about as a result of pursuing the leads to explore social and work-related networks. Field data from observation and interviews was combined and later complimented and verified by archival data which was delayed due to the slow procedures to gain permission to access the data. When morphological transformation patterns started to appear within the case study area, the findings needed to be verified for their generalizability and this led to several rounds of data collection from both data sources; field data and archival data. A physical survey of a wider sample of the urban fabric and snow-ball sampling of other cases outside the Case Study Areas 1 and 2 were conducted as needed.

Results are presented with an emphasis on graphic representation and a continuous referral to case studies as examples that explain the intricacy and subtlety of the findings which may not be clear in the more generalizable format of their discussion.



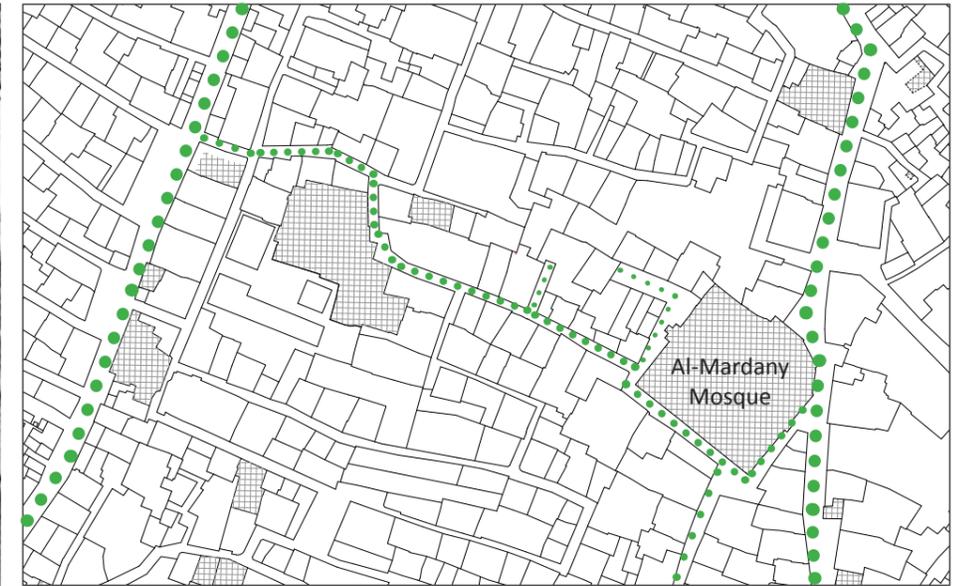
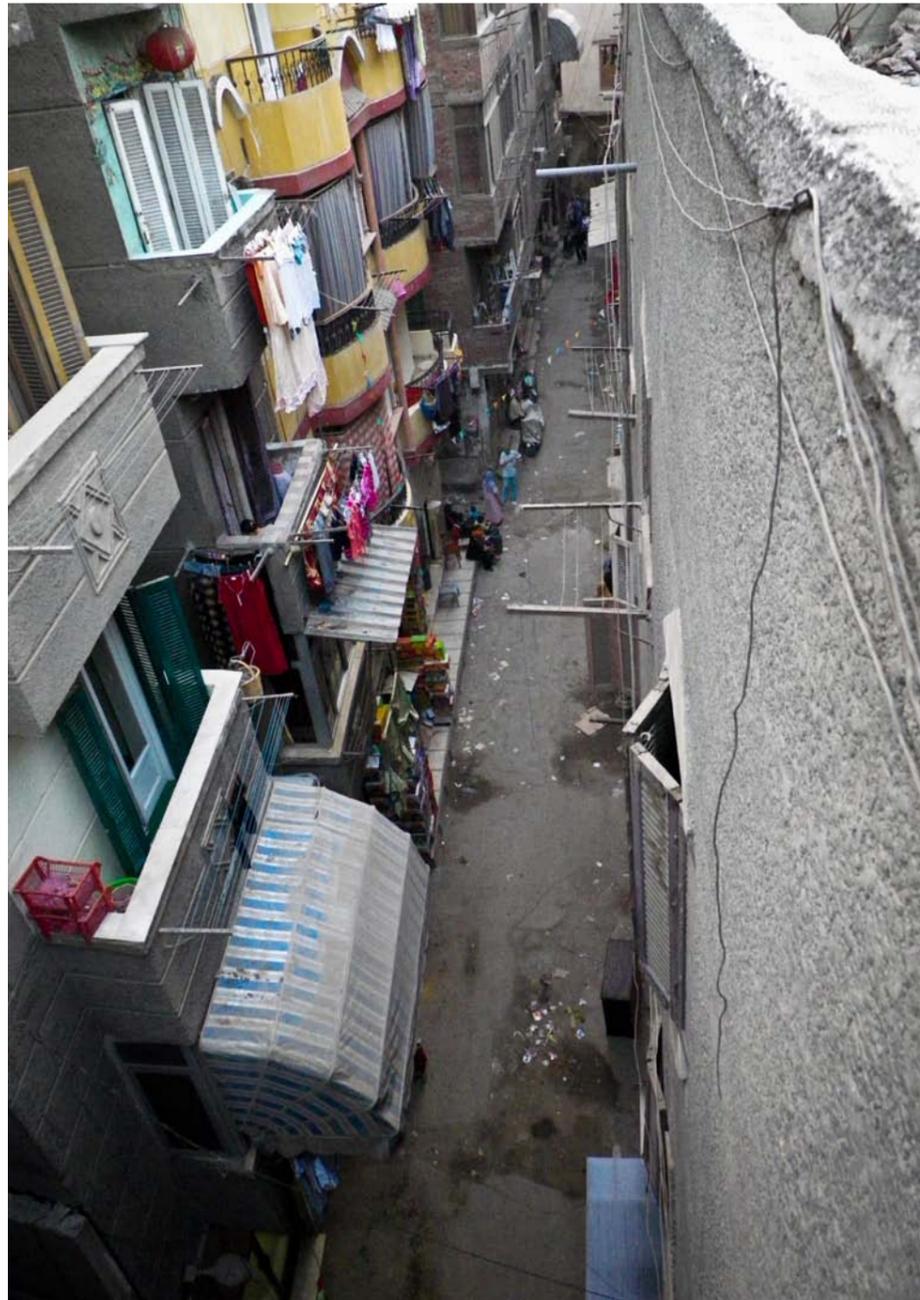


Zoqqaq Al-Gaabary

Case Study Area

2. CASE STUDY AREA: ZOQAQ AL-GAABARY

The case study area consists of a dead-end alley, 'Zoqaq Al-Gaabary,' branching from one of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar's thoroughfares "Haret Al-Mardany" that ties between two main streets in the district; Al-Kheyameya Street, the main pedestrian spine, or quassaba of the district, and Al-Darb Al-Ahmar/Al-Tabbana/Bab Al-Wazir Street which is the main vehicular artery of the district. Haret Al-Mardany is a neighbourhood residential/ commercial street, unknown to outsider visitors yet well frequented by the local community. The well-known Mardany mosque marks one end and a local bakery the other. The shops along Haret Al-Mardany emphasize its local character and include a grocery, a dairy shop, one selling detergents, an electrician, and a barber. The remaining ground floors are either workshops or residential. Haret Al-Mardany is not stagnant; it bears witness to local transformation over the decades and has less ruins and vacant plots than other less-connected alleys and thoroughfares. This meant the disappearance of heritage buildings (no. 3 is the last one and has a demolition decree issued in March 2012) and the continuous replacement by modern apartment buildings since the 1950s. Until 2010, these apartment buildings did not exceed G.F. + 4 floors (2 floors beyond the permit limit) - 8 Haret Al-Mardany. Post-January 2011, new apartment buildings rise to G.F.+ 7 floors - 6 Haret Al-Mardany.



Case Study Area Context

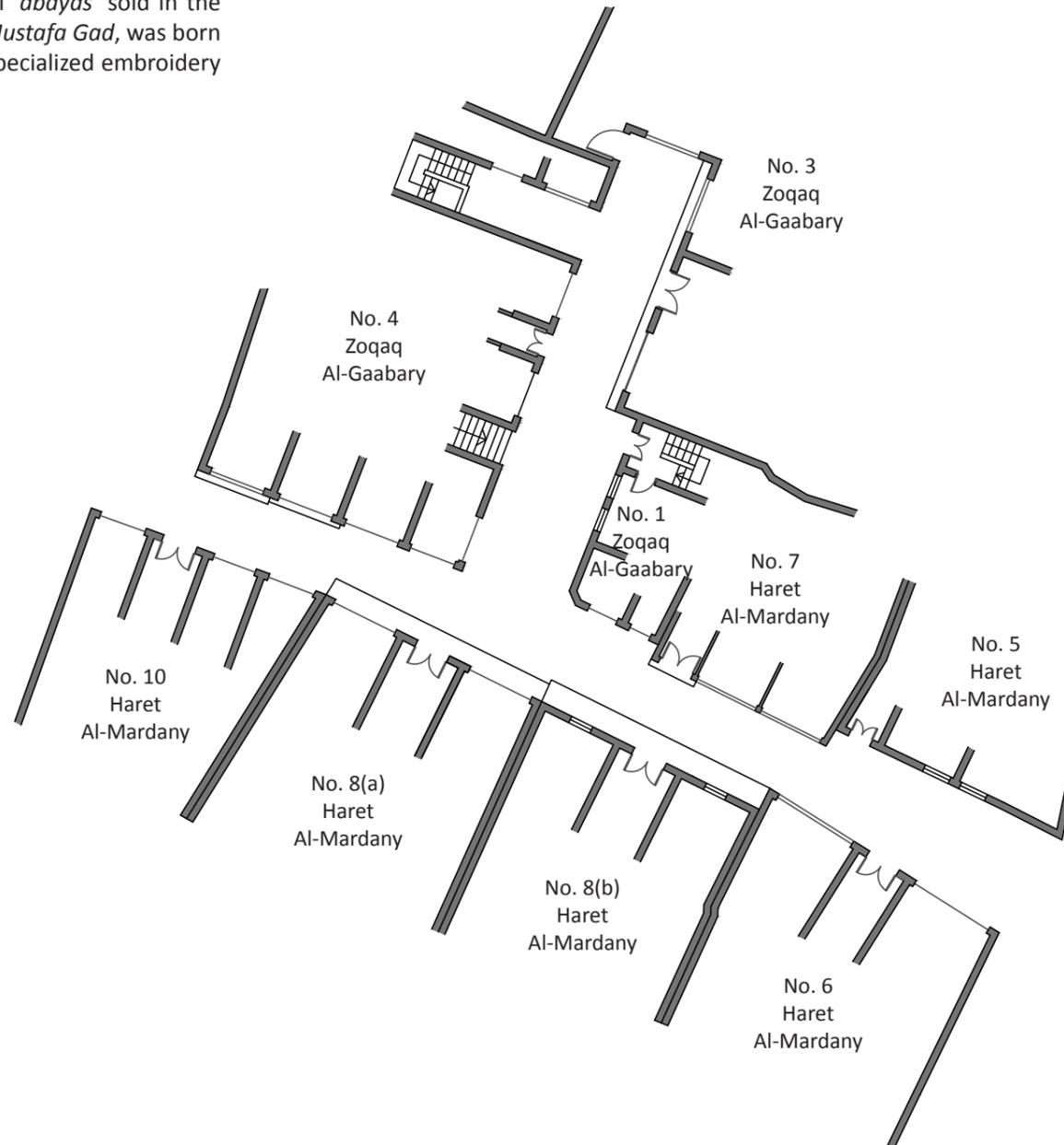


Haret Al-Mardany, however, sustains the first rule of balance between residential and productive activities and that is “no workshop along the street uses noise-producing power tools”; that is why the fretwork workshop that opened first at street level along *Haret Al-Mardany*, shyly moved to the basement of the same building after a few months. This was made possible by one of the new building types witnessed in HC in the late 1980s and 1990s - **4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary** has 2 residential floors and 3 floors to house workshops (basement, G.F. and first floor). Another new building type is the vertical factory that appeared in the 2000s, which confines productive activity to one plot minimizing the spatial distribution of the productive network and eliminating the social interrelation between work and dwelling so characteristic of the district - **3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary** houses 2 such factories. Residents of **1 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary** explain what influence these different types of productive activities (workshops and new factories) have on their daily lives.

The 5 in-depth cases presented in this section are workshops in **4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary**, at street level as well as in the basement. The factory businesses in **3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary** were not included as detailed cases because of the reluctance of their owners which emphasize their detachment from public space and community life; one of them even has CCTV cameras at its entrance and no food delivery or local café server is allowed to enter the premises! However, the two factories still have strong relations to the district; the shoemaking factory is tied to the leather work tradition of ADAA, owned by *Hassan Al-Armany* a shoemaker from the district. The other factory, manufactures women’s embroidered dresses; traditional ‘*abayas*’ sold in the traditional thematic market of *Al-Ghoureya*, and the owner, *Mustafa Gad*, was born in ADAA closer to *Al-Ghoureya* in *Al-Kahkiyeen*, his father, a specialized embroidery craftsman.



In-depth cases around Zoqaq Al-Gaabary



CASE STUDY: Upholstery - Owner: Ata Al-Mawla

Relation to ADAA:

Hagg Ata Al-Mawla is descendant of a family that resided and worked in ADAA for generations. Properties owned by his grandfathers are repeatedly found along Darb Shoughlan and Megharbeleen beside other places in ADAA. His grandfather had a 'kabab' restaurant but his father was a tailor and so his older brother and himself decided to be upholstery makers and join the furniture making specialization of ADAA.

He started his career in the carpentry and Upholstery crafts since his first years moving between working at someone's workshop and partnering in a private business until 1986 when he opened his private Upholstery workshop. Now, his clients include the elite members of the society.

His three sons and daughter moved out of ADAA upon marriage, but they all learned their father's craft. Now two of his sons have their own workshops in ADAA, as a side business besides their government job; also as upholstery makers.

Age (yrs)	Name	Work	Residence
	Ata's grandfather	ADAA	ADAA
	Ata's father	ADAA	ADAA
70	Ata Al-Mawla	ADAA	ADAA
50	Tharwat Ata Al-Mawla Ehab Ata Al-Mawla Ashraf Ata Al-Mawla	ADAA	



Product

There are two kinds of upholstery products: (1) The "entrée" style where couches and armchairs are all covered with fabric (invisible wooden frame), and (2) the "salon" / dining style, where wooden parts are visible and finished.

Materials

Materials (tape – springs – 'kheish' – nails) are bought from 'Al-Manasra'.
The filling, 'karina', (comes from palm trees and processed in Giza rural areas, and sold in ADAA's main street 'Al-Tabbanda'.
Fabrics from 'Hamzawy' or 'Foad' Street.

Waste material is disposed of periodically in large bags and is given to garbage collectors (not recycled or sold)

Market

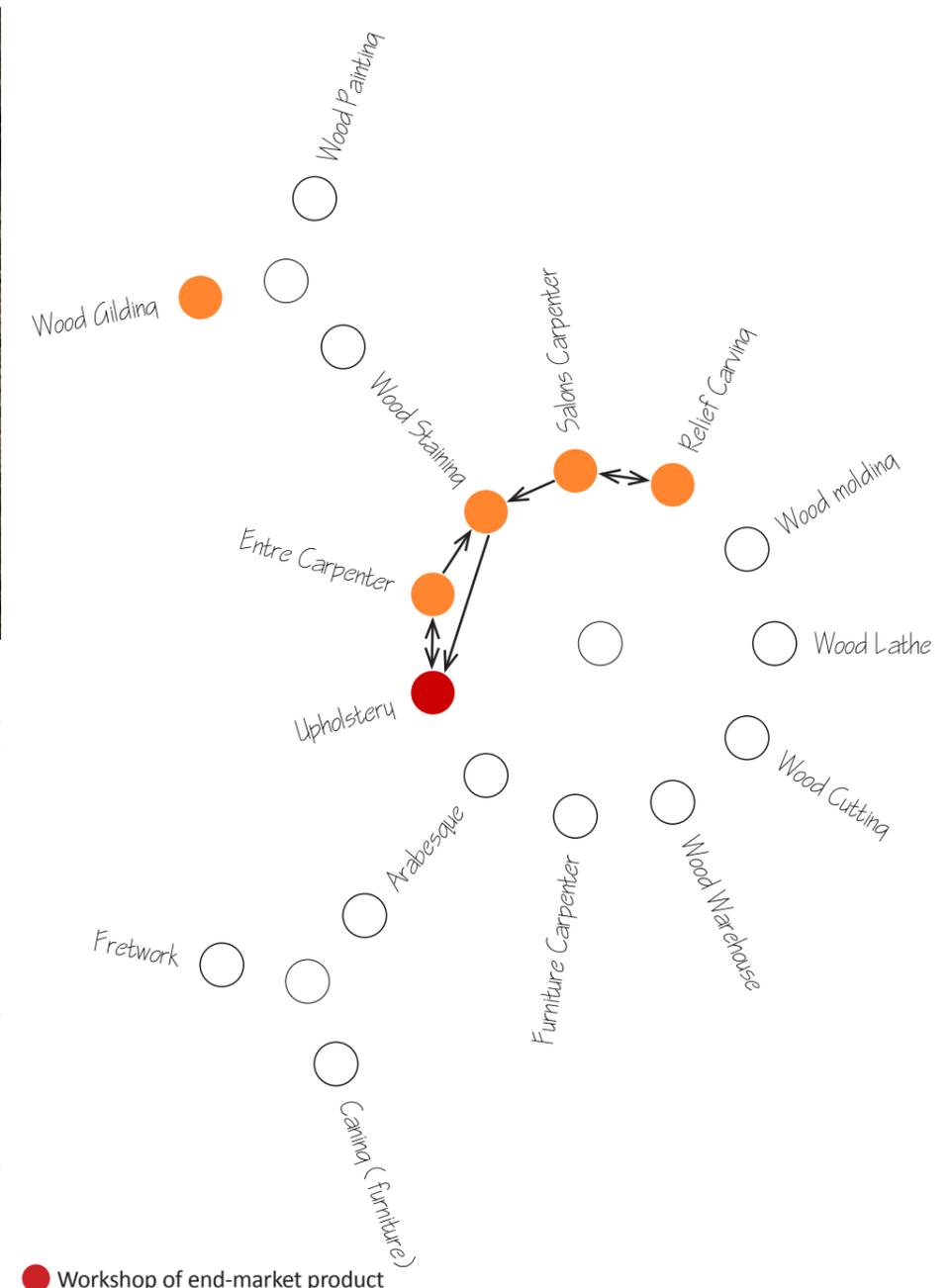
The product is manufactured by order.
Orders are placed either by end-user (consumer) or a commissioned interior designer.
Designs are usually chosen by client from a catalogue.

Transportation

Raw materials are either picked up personally (on foot) or ordered by phone and delivered by an 'aza' and payment occurs in the workshop.
Partial product is moved between workshops by Suzuki.
End product is delivered to end-consumer usually by pick-up truck.

Side businesses:

A few years back Hagg Ata rented out his former workshop space in 8 Haret Al-Mardany as a shop for prêt-a-porter men's clothing.



CASE STUDY: Upholstery - Owner: Ata Al-Mawla

Current Workshop (area 10m² – rented in 1998 for L.E. 250/month – old lease 59 years).

Storage (old rent since 1992 for L.E. 60/month – old lease 59 years)

Auxiliary Workshop 1 (area 10m² - bought in 1992 for L.E. 12,000) (bought by Ata for his son *Ihab*).

Auxiliary Workshop 2 (bought by *Ata* for his son *Tharwat*).

Shop (area 5m² – rented from 1986 – 2008 for L.E. 8/month raised to L.E. 30/month after 1996 – bought in 2008 for L.E. 15,000 – rented out as clothes shop, 5-years).

Network of complementary workshops:

Relief Carving and Salon Carpenter '*oymagy*' and '*naggar salonat*' Workshop 1

Carving and Salon Carpenter '*oymagy*' and '*naggar salonat*' Workshop 2

Entrée Carpenter Workshop '*korsagy*'.

Wood Staining '*ostorgy*' Workshop 1.

Wood Staining '*ostorgy*' Workshop 2.

Wood Staining '*ostorgy*' Workshop 3.

Gilding Workshop

Manasra: to buy raw materials (brass springs – filling '*karina*' – '*kheish*' – nails – straps '*shereet*').

Previous work

(1972 – 1986) Employee at Cooperative for Furniture Makers.

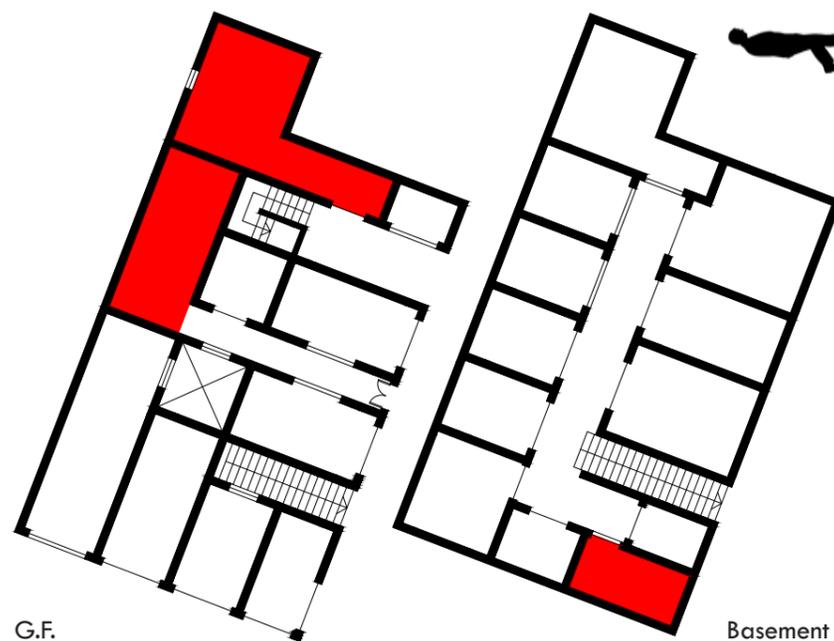
(1966 – 1972 outside ADAA) Employee at *Amer* Institute for Wood Industries – *Shubra Al-Kheimah*.

(1960-1966) First Workshop – partner with older brother.

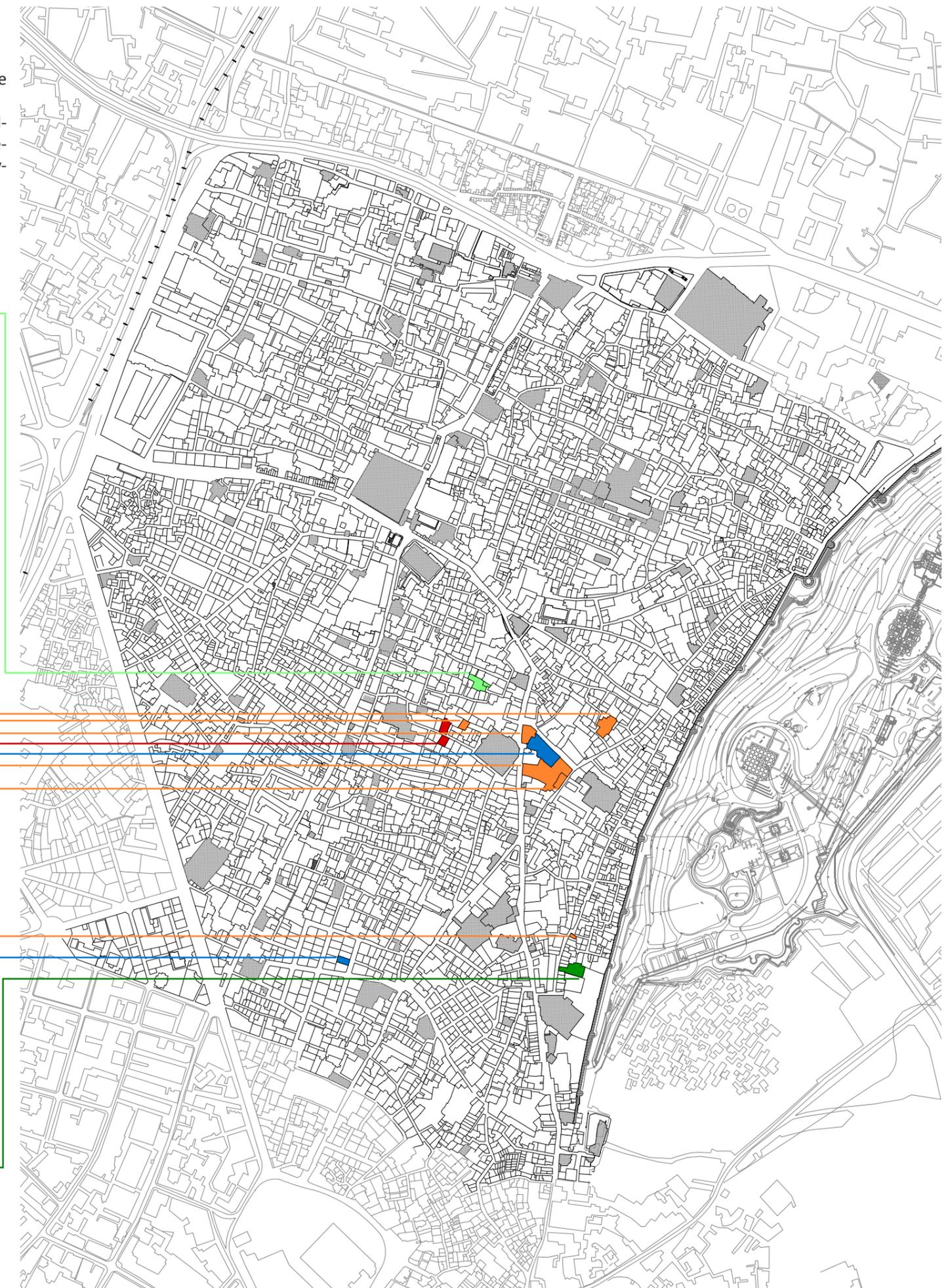
(1950s outside ADAA) Employee at upholstery workshop in *Dubr  Street* – Downtown.

"Home" (1951 – present) – with parents, then married in same building different floor, old rent L.E. 6.5/month.

"Family home" (born – 1951) – 50% owned by *Ata's* grandfather, demolished, land split into 2 buildings, one half re-developed with *Ata's* brothers and sisters owning and occupying different parts.



- Previous Home
- Entr e Carpenter
- Gilding Workshop
- Wood Staining
- Current Workshop
- Wood Staining
- Previous Workshop
- Relief Carving & Salon Carpenter
- Wood Staining
- Relief Carving & Salon Carpenter
- Previous Workshop
- Current Home



CASE STUDY: Salon Carpentry - Owner: Fathy Al-Eraqy

Relation to ADAA:

Fathy's grandfather is originally from 'Zefta'. His father came to Cairo and resided in ADAA while he joined the police force. During 1950's, he bought a house in ADAA to which the small family moved.

Fathy (unlike his brothers) was not interested in school, instead he learned crafts; car tires at first then carpentry. By 1984, Fathy opened his first workshop covering two specializations; "Salon Carpentry" and "Relief Carving". Fathy always lived and worked in ADAA. Like himself, his son Ahmed, was the only one of his children who inherited the craft and works with him. His other children also work in ADAA but none of them live there any more.

Age (yrs)	Name	Work	Residence
	Fathy's grandfather		
	Fathy's father		ADAA
70	Fathy Al-Eraqy	ADAA	ADAA
50	Ahmed Fathy Al-Eraqy	ADAA	
20	Ahmed's sons		



Product

The product of the "Salon Carpentry" workshop is a complete wooden sitting room unfinished and not filled (i.e. visible wood frame without upholstery or final finishing).

"Relief Carving" of wooden parts is widely applied to French-style furniture (e.g. beds, sofas, and chairs...). It can also be applied as decorative parts superimposed to complement various wooden furniture pieces (e.g. wardrobes) or to form a mould 'wooden ruler' used in other crafts (like for brass shapers).

Materials

Wood is the only material used in this business and is bought from Wood Warehouses in ADAA.

Two kinds of waste material are produced from this craft:

Waste material which is pieces of raw wood are collected in large bags and are sold to 'clip' manufacturers.

Market

Three marketing strategies are implemented by this workshop:

1. A gallery places an order (used to be the most common).
2. The workshop produces a number of products (without order) then loads a small Suzuki and takes a tour between furniture galleries to show the product. Galleries may or may not buy some of the products or order similar ones with variations (most recent).
3. The end-user (consumer) orders the product. Designs are usually chosen from a catalogue (most rare in this case).

Transportation

Suzuki is the used mean of transportation during all processes.

Side businesses:

Taxi cab: They own two taxi cabs. They rent the taxi to a driver in return of LE 100 per day.

Shoemaking workshop: *Ahmed Al-Eraqy* learned the shoemaking craft in addition to his original crafts. He bought all needed tools and opened a workshop in *Al-Tabbana* street from December 2010 till August 2011. He could not sustain the business when prices of raw materials raised ending in a 18,000 LE loss.



CASE STUDY: Salon Carpentry - Owner: Fathy Al-Eraqy

Main Workshop (area 6m² – sublet from tenant in 2012 for L.E. 225/month (without contract)).

Storage in father's property.

Previous workshop (1984 – 2000) (in ADAA – rented for L.E. 5/ month – old lease).

Previous workshop (2000 – 2001) (in ADAA – sublet from tenant for L.E. 200/month).

Previous workshop (2001 – 2004) (in ADAA – G.F. Apartment rented for L.E. 150/month – old lease).

Previous workshops (2004 – 2011) (outside ADAA – rented for L.E. 200/month – new lease for 10 years).

Network of complementary workshops:

Wood Warehouse 'maghla' ' Shop 1.

Wood Warehouse 'maghla' ' Shop 2.

Wood Warehouse 'maghla' ' Shop 3.

Wood Cutting 'makangy' Workshop 1.

Wood Cutting 'makangy' Workshop 2.

Wood Lathing 'kharra' Workshop 1.

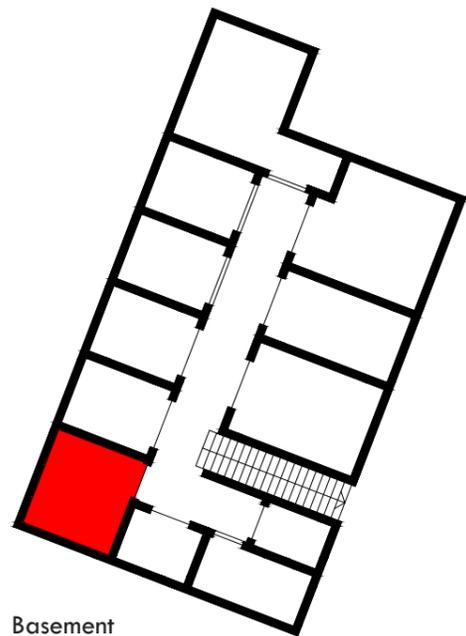
Wood Lathing 'kharra' Workshop 2.

Wood Moulding 'takhbeet owma' Workshop 1.

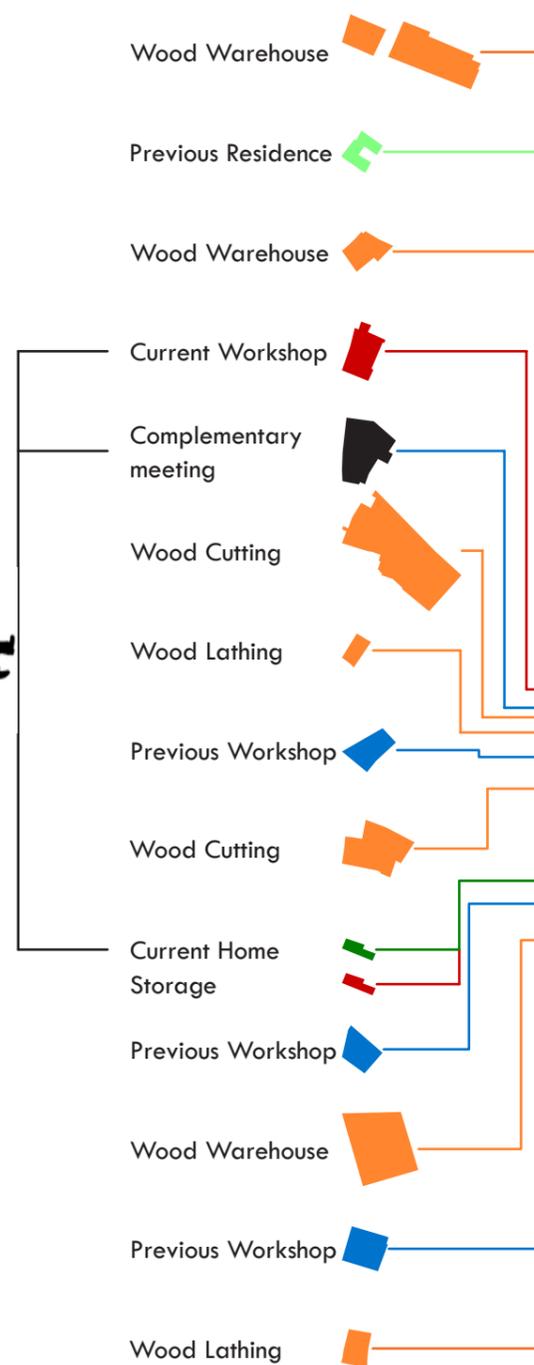
Manasra: to sell final product "salon".

"Family Home" (1950's – present) (in ADAA – with parents, then married in same building different floor).

Previous "home" (birth – 1950's) – (in ADAA).



Basement



CASE STUDY: Furniture Carpentry - Owner: Atef Ahmed Ali

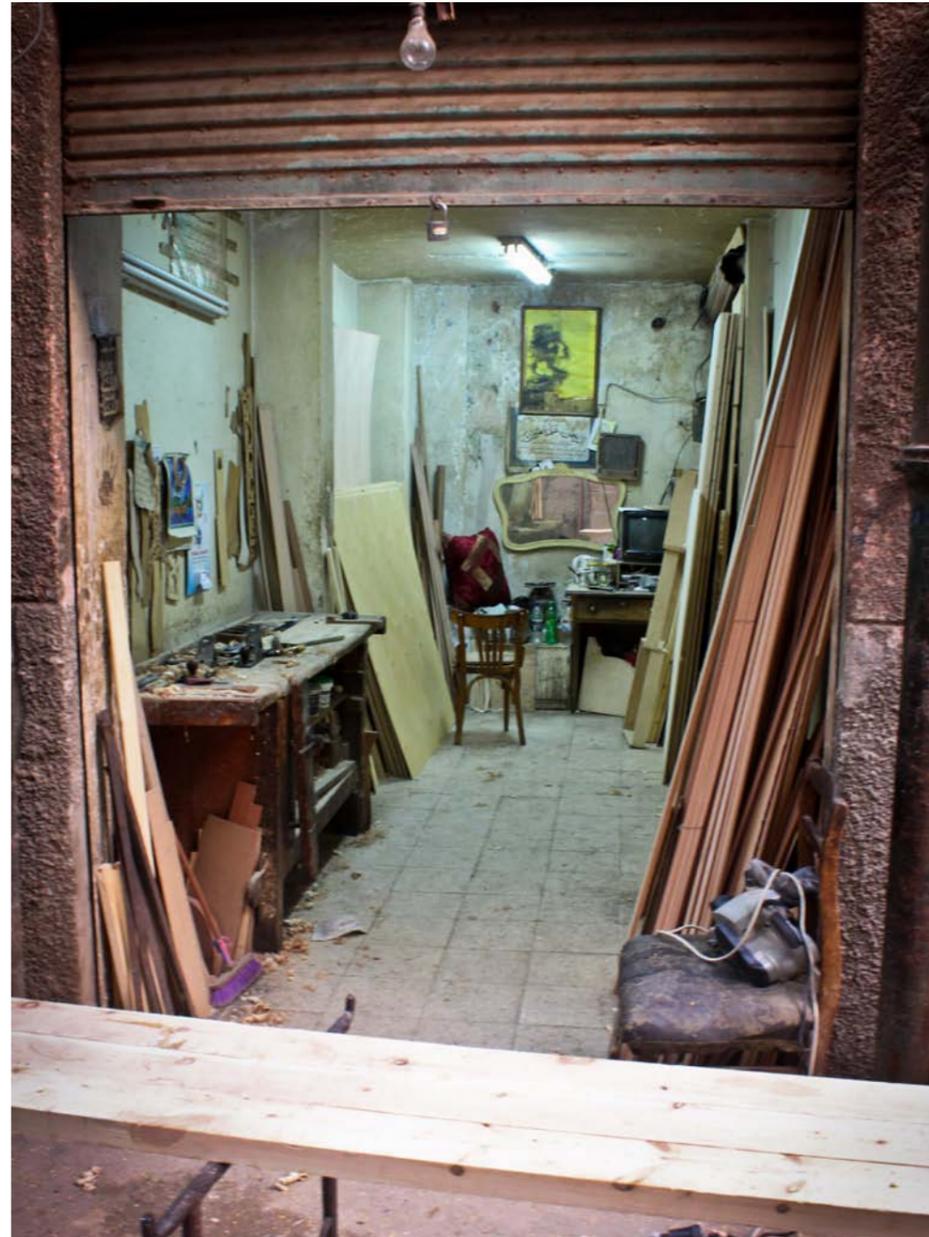
Relation to ADAA:

Atef's family is considered as one of the old families in ADAA. His grandfather's father owned a big home in Zoqaq Al Gaabary (No. 3). After his death, each generation inherit the big home and live in it as a family home down to Atef's father and his brothers who sold the big home.

Atef lived in ADAA in Suq Al-Silah in a rented home until 1979, then moved out to Al-Bassateen.

He inherited the craft from his father and grandfather who were Furniture carpenters. His work has always been in ADAA even when he opened his own workshop. Now his son "Ahmed" is working with him.

Age (yrs)	Name	Work	Residence
	Great Grandfather	ADAA	ADAA
	Atef's Grandfather	ADAA	ADAA
70	Atef's Father	ADAA	ADAA till 1979
50	Atef's	ADAA	ADAA till 1979
20	Atef's sons	ADAA	



Product

The product of the "Furniture Carpentry" workshop is a complete wooden product like a bedroom, dining room or kitchens. (Finalizing the product needs to deal with complementary workshops like wood staining, upholstery when needed,...).

Materials

Wood is the only material used in this business and is bought from Wood Warehouses in ADAA.

Furniture accessories like handles, .. are bought from 'Al-Rouei'y'.

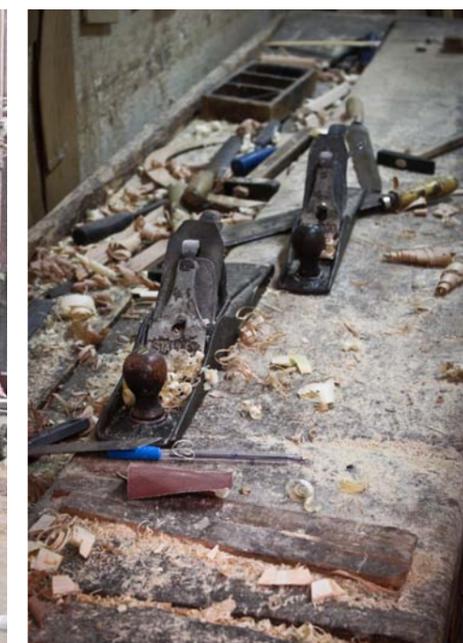
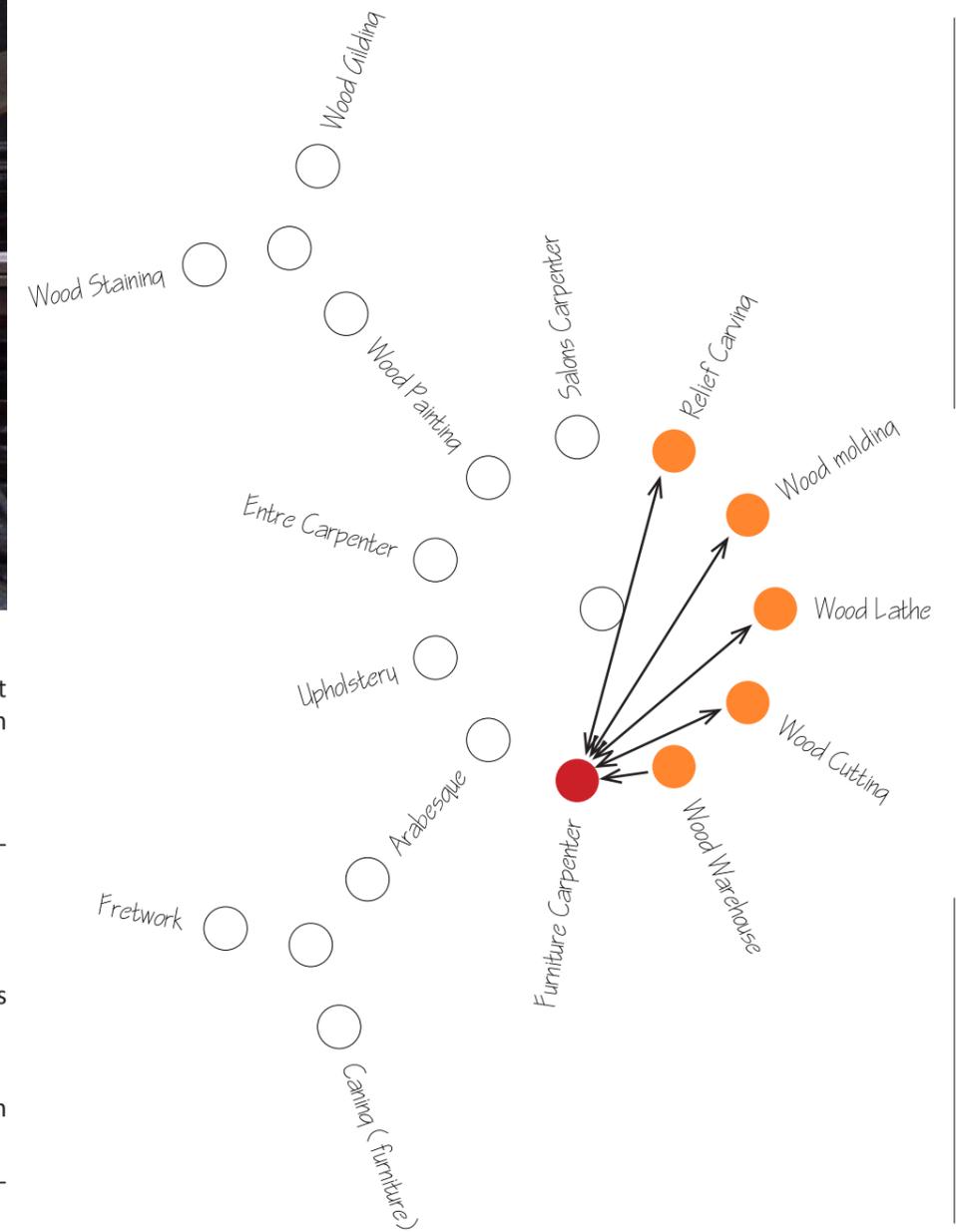
Market

The end-user (consumer) orders the product directly from the workshop. Designs are usually chosen from a catalogue..

Transportation

Vespa is used sometimes within ADAA to move small parts of furniture between complementary workshops.

Suzuki or pick-up truck is the used mean of transportation to bring wood from warehouses and to deliver the final product to consumers.



CASE STUDY: Furniture Carpentry - Owner: Atef Ahmed Ali

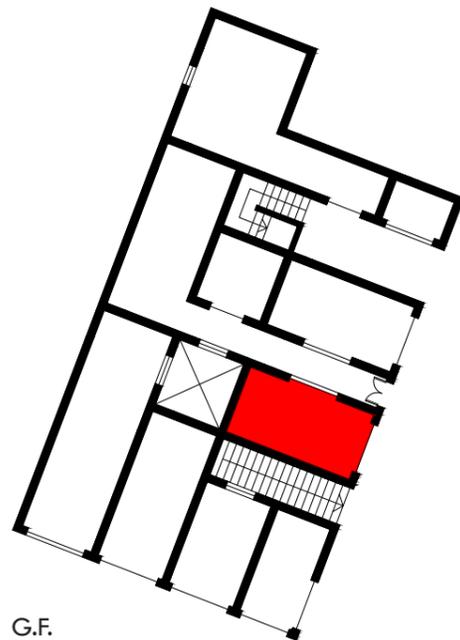
Current Workshop (in No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary - rented from 1997 until now for L.E. 150/month)

Previous workshop (1992 – 1997) (in ADAA in Abdullah Bek Street – rented for L.E. 15/month – old lease)

Previous "home" (1958 – 1979) – (in ADAA – in Haret Sa'adal-lah in "Suq Al-Silah")

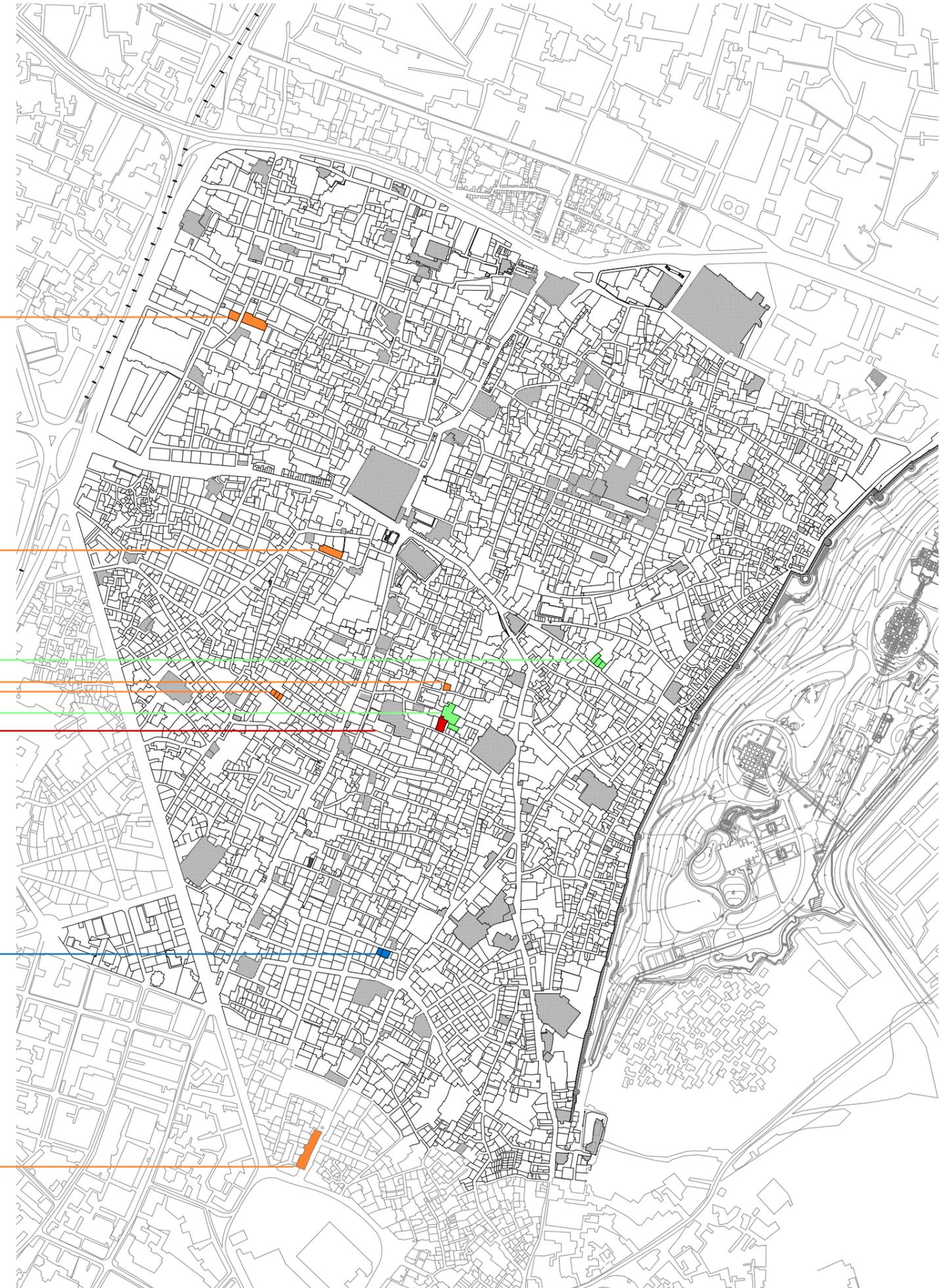
Network of complementary workshops:

- Wood Warehouse 'maghla' Shop 1
- Wood Warehouse 'maghla' Shop 2
- Wood Lathing 'kharat' Workshop 1
- Wood Cutting 'makangy' Workshop 1
- Relief Carving 'oymagy' Workshop 1
- Relief Carving 'oymagy' Workshop 2
- Wood Staining 'ostorgy' Workshop 1



G.F.

- Wood Warehouse
- Wood Lathing
- Previous Residence
- Wood Cutting
- Relief Carving
- Previous Home
- Current Workshop
- Wood Staining
- Previous Workshop
- Relief Carving



CASE STUDY: Fretwork - Owner - Ali Hemeda

Relation to ADAA:

Ali's family is originally from "Alexandria". The family worked there in "Fretwork" ('Arquette') and his father was working as an employee in "Relief Carving" in a well known institute.

Because of the war his father left "Alexandria" and came to "Cairo" in 1948, and resided in ADAA to start working in "Fretwork" and opened his own workshop in "Al-Megharbeleen".

He bought a house in "Zaraa Al-Nawa" and married from ADAA, then moved to another house in Sekket Al-Mardany for L.E. 3 / month (old lease) which now became L.E. 15 / month and two of Ali's brothers are still living in it.

Ali is the one who inherited the craft of his father and then opened his own "Fretwork" workshop in Al-Mardany Street.

After the demolition of the building in Al-Mardany Street he moved his workshop and rented 2 workshops in No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary, one in basement and one in ground floor along the façade on Haret Al-Mardany. He then moved this one also to the basement because of the complaints of residents about the noise produced by the machine.



Age (yrs)	Name	Work	Residence
	Ali's father	ADAA	ADAA
50	Ali Ahmed	ADAA	ADAA
	Ali's sons		ADAA

Product

Fretwork usually involves carved panels of wood that are later mounted to serve as filling in diverse pieces of furniture, or as vertical partitions, or wall and ceiling relief work. There are two kinds of "Fretwork" styles: (1) The "Arabic" style, and (2) the "French" style.

Materials

Wood materials are usually brought by clients (Carpentry workshops or interior designers).

Working tools (saws – oil -) are bought from 'Al-Roueiy' in 'Al-Ataba'.

Market

The product is manufactured by order.

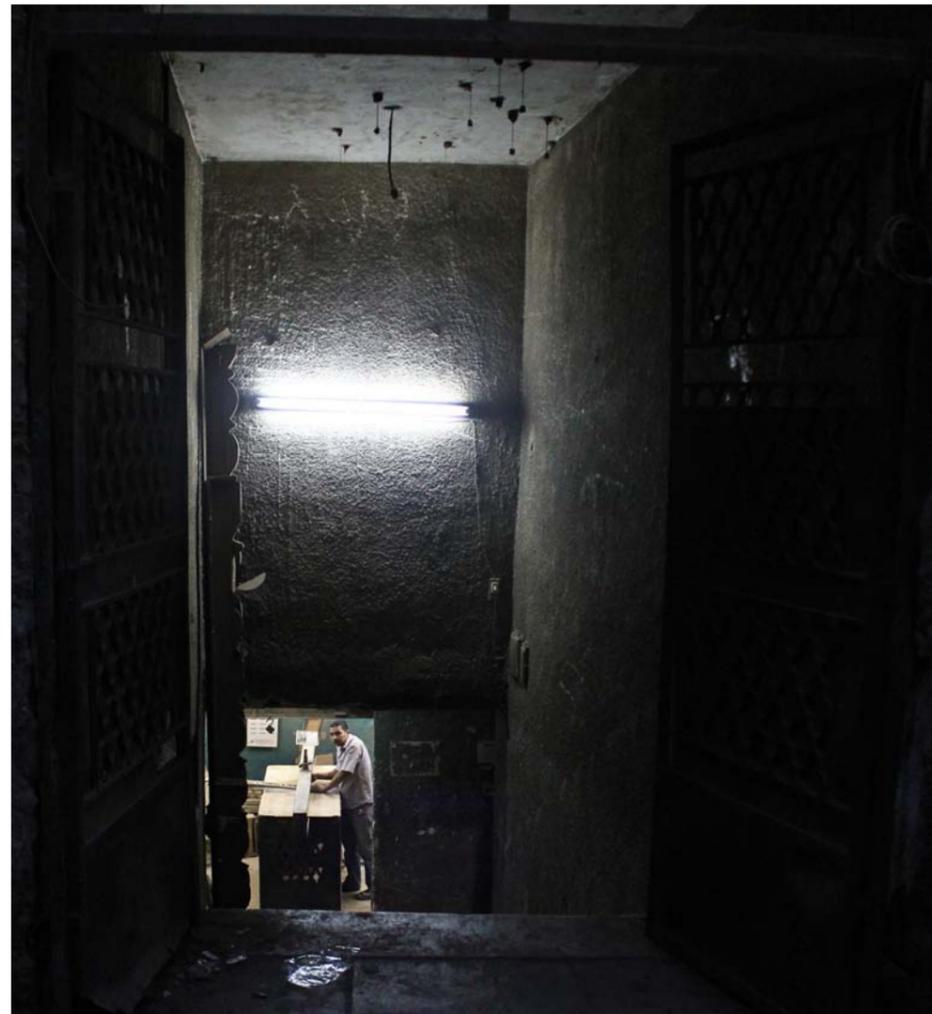
Orders are placed either by carpentry workshops or a commissioned interior designer.

Designs are usually chosen by client or interior designer from a catalogue or designed by interior designer or "Fretwork" workshop owner.

Interior designers place a lot of orders for clients in 'Sharm Al-Sheikh' and "Hurghada" in Egypt and for Arab countries.

Transportation

Raw materials and End products are moved to and from the workshop by Suzuki or pick-up truck brought / rented by clients (Carpentry workshops or interior designers).



CASE STUDY: Fretwork - Owner: Ali Hemeda

Main Workshop (in basement in No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary – rented in 1988 – old lease)

Auxiliary Workshop 1 (in basement in No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary – old lease)

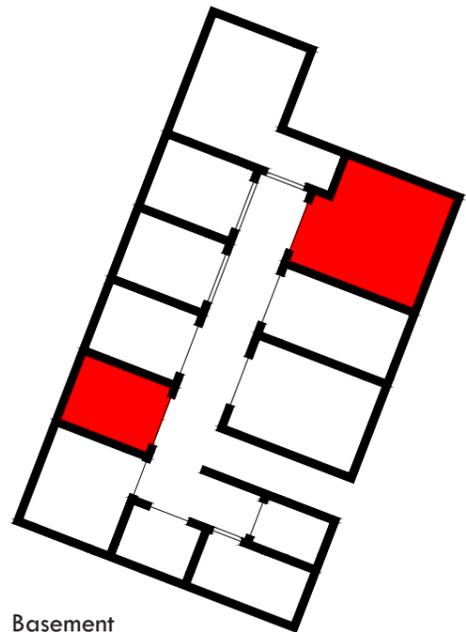
Main + Auxiliary 225 /month.

Previous workshop (Until 1988) – (in ADAA in Al-Mardany Street – old lease L.E. 5 /month).

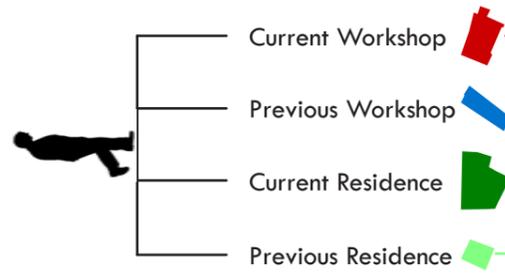
“Home” (present) – in ADAA in Al-Tabbana Street.

“Family home” (birth – present) – in ADAA in Sekket Al-Mardany – old lease since 1950 for L.E. 3 / month – currently L.E. 15 / month.

Previous “Family home” (1948 – 1950) – in ADAA in “Zaraa Al-Nawa” – bought in 1948 for L.E. 100.



Basement



CASE STUDY: Brass Workshop - Owner: Mohammad Maher

Relation to ADAA:

Mohammad's grandfather was a resident in ADAA, but did not work there.

His father grew up in ADAA and started working in brass workshops then opened his own business (brass workshops) but left ADAA as a resident when he got married 37 years ago.

Mohammad never lived in ADAA but he is working there; first with his father in his workshops, then after many problems he left him to start his independent workshop. Although the family came to ADAA as residents and not craftsmen, they ended up to be craftsmen but not residents.

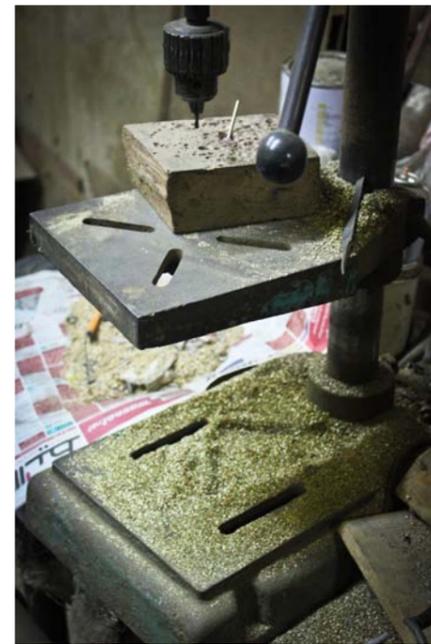
Mohammad does not prefer to live in ADAA because:

He prefers to work away from home to separate between the two and concentrate in work.

The workshop location in ADAA is ideal because handicraft workshops are concentrated there and one can find all his needs and complementary workshops for his work.

He does not prefer after marriage that his children grow-up in ADAA because of the concentration of workshops that have brought in outsiders as employees who are not necessarily polite resulting in a lot of bad language on the streets.

Age (yrs)	Name	Work	Residence
	Mohammad's grandfather		ADAA
50	Mohammad's father	ADAA	
30	Mohammad	ADAA	



Product

Work start with either have a ready-made brass product as a mock-up or with designing a new design.

When designing a new design, the brass craftsman draw it and give it to the wood carving workshop to realise it as a wooden mock-up.

The brass craftsman give the mock-up to the 'Masbak'. The 'Masbak' make a template with clay, then pour the melted brass into the template from a small hole.

The brass craftsman take the brass product from the 'Masbak' to work on it to make holes for nails, to eliminate extra particles, to smooth, oxidise, polish and finalize it.

Materials

The 'Masbak' is the one who buy the raw materials. 1 kilogram of brass as raw material is for 26 LE on average.

The brass craftsman pay for the 'Masbak' for the realized product 35 LE / 1 kilogram on average.

Extra particles from brass workshop are sold to a junk shop 'Khorda' for 15 - 17 LE / 1 kilogram.

Machines' accessories for brass workshop are bought from 'Al-Ataba'.

Market

The product is manufactured by order.

Orders are placed by retail stores when the brass craftsman realize samples of products to show them and if they like them they make a deal

Retail stores are outside ADAA in 'Al-Rouei'y', 'Masr Al-Gadida', 'New Cairo' and 'Madinet Nasr'.

Transportation

If the order is small transportation is by taxi, if it is a big order transportation is by renting a Suzuki or a pick-up truck.



Melting the brass Masbak Making the template with clay

CASE STUDY: Brass Workshop - Owner: Mohammad Maher

Current Workshop in basement floor in No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary (Rented in 2010 for L.E. 150 / month).

Previous Work in 8a Haret Al-Mardany (Rented for only 2 months during 2009 for 250 L.E. / Month).

Network of complementary workshops

Carving and Carpenter "Seating" 'oymagy' and 'naggarsalonat'- Workshop 1, (In basement floor - No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary).

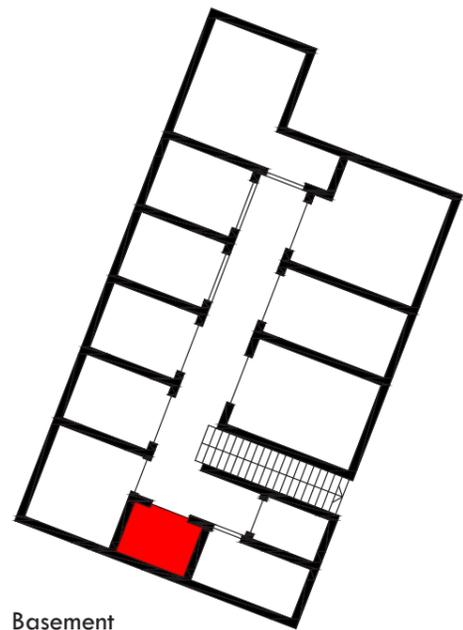
'Masbak' - Workshop 2 (One in ADAA - 28 Haret Al-Hamzeya Al-Kabira - The other one is outside ADAA in Al-Imam Al-Shafe'i).

Father's Network

4 Brass Workshops - all in Suq Al-Silah (1 in Atfet Al-Ghandour - 1 in Haret Selim Basha - 2 in Haret Al-Yakaneya).

1 Storage - in Suq Al-Silah (in Atfet Al-Ghandour).

Grandfather's old Home in Suq Al-Silah street - demolished



Basement



- Masbak
- Current Workshop
- Relief Carving
- Previous Workshop
- Grandfather's old Home
- Father's 2 Workshops
- Father's Workshop
- Father's Storage
- Father's Workshop





Analysis

3. WORKING AND LIVING IN HISTORIC CAIRO

This section will discuss the findings of the in-depth study conducted in the case study area around Zoqaq Al-Gaabary with a focus on the productive activities as an entry point to understanding the particularities of their existence in HC; the social and physical dimensions of their operation, the relation between working and dwelling networks, and the future trends that could affect this dynamic interrelation between people and place. The section then concludes with a question and a major finding. The question is whether HC draws its productive and commercial character from sustaining the activities, or the group of people who perform them, the versatile craftsmen. The finding concerns the particular lifestyle valued by the population who works and lives in HC, and how it may differ from other popular districts, both formal and informal.

3. a. Productive Activity Networks

The complementary nature of workshops in the manufacturing of a single product is explored to reveal the social and physical dimensions of this spatial distribution; what makes it possible and how it works. Which leads to the discussion of mobility and appropriation of public space; what the place affords as people, as space and the rules that govern the dynamics between them. Productive activity networks are mapped to externalize underlying patterns and associated issues. Variations by product are discussed with a focus on end-markets and the implications for mobility and distribution of networks. Trends in the transformation of productive activities and visions of the future shed light on the awareness of the working community towards challenges and risks that face this tradition.

COMPLEMENTARY NATURE

The workshops in the case study area reflect the prevalent sectors of production in ADAA; woodwork and leather work; tent-making being the third product that characterises ADAA, but is known to be spatially localized in *Al-Kheyameya*. Brass work is more native to *Al-Gammaleya* district and embroidery is more a complement to the thematic market of *Al-Ghoureya*. The sample of workshops studied shows how widely spread and specialized is the productive network of wood products.

The circular diagram to the right, shows the different specialized workshops that are involved in the production of a piece of furniture. The workshops in the main circle include:

- Wood warehouse, known as '*maghla*' , where imported wood is brought in wholesale from distributors in port cities and sold in smaller quantities (by volume) to local carpenters as needed.
- Wood cutting workshop, known as '*warshet ta'teea*' also referred to as '*makangy*' with reference to the large machinery this workshop uses.
- Wood **lathe** workshop, known as '*warshet kherata*' where wood is carved in cylindrical forms by means of machines.
- **Furniture carpenter**, known as '*nagger mobilia*' specializes in all wood furniture such as kitchen cabinets, cupboards, beds and chest of drawers.
- Guest Room or "**salon**" **carpenter**, known as '*nagger salonat*' specializes in sitting and dining room furniture mainly involving armchairs, tables and chairs.
- **Relief carving** workshop, known as '*oymagy*' is where a part of a wooden furniture item is manually carved into relief motifs.
- **Upholstery** workshop, known as '*menagged*' specializes in any fabric-covered piece of furniture.
- **Entrée carpenter**, known as '*nagger entreat*' specializes in upholstery-covered sofas and armchairs where he cuts and assembles the inner crude wooden frame according to the designs given to him by the upholstery maker.
- Wood **moulding** workshop, known as '*helyagy*' where wood parts specially frames or carved sides, are shaped to ornament the product.

Furniture items may be entirely made of wood, such as cupboards; the wood could be carved or ornamented with smaller pieces of wood. Other items may be entirely or partially covered by upholstery such as sofas. Certain pieces of furniture such as tables, chairs and beds, involve non-structural parts, or fillings, of different kinds such as **fretwork** known as '*arquette*', traditional **arabesque**, or **caning** pronounced '*canné*'. These alternatives show in the diagram as an auxiliary smaller circle of choice. All wood-related furniture would apply some kind of finishing material such as wood **staining** '*ostor*', **painting** referred to as '*lacquer*' or **gilding** known as '*modhab*' which constitutes the other auxiliary circle of alternatives.



Entrée carpenter

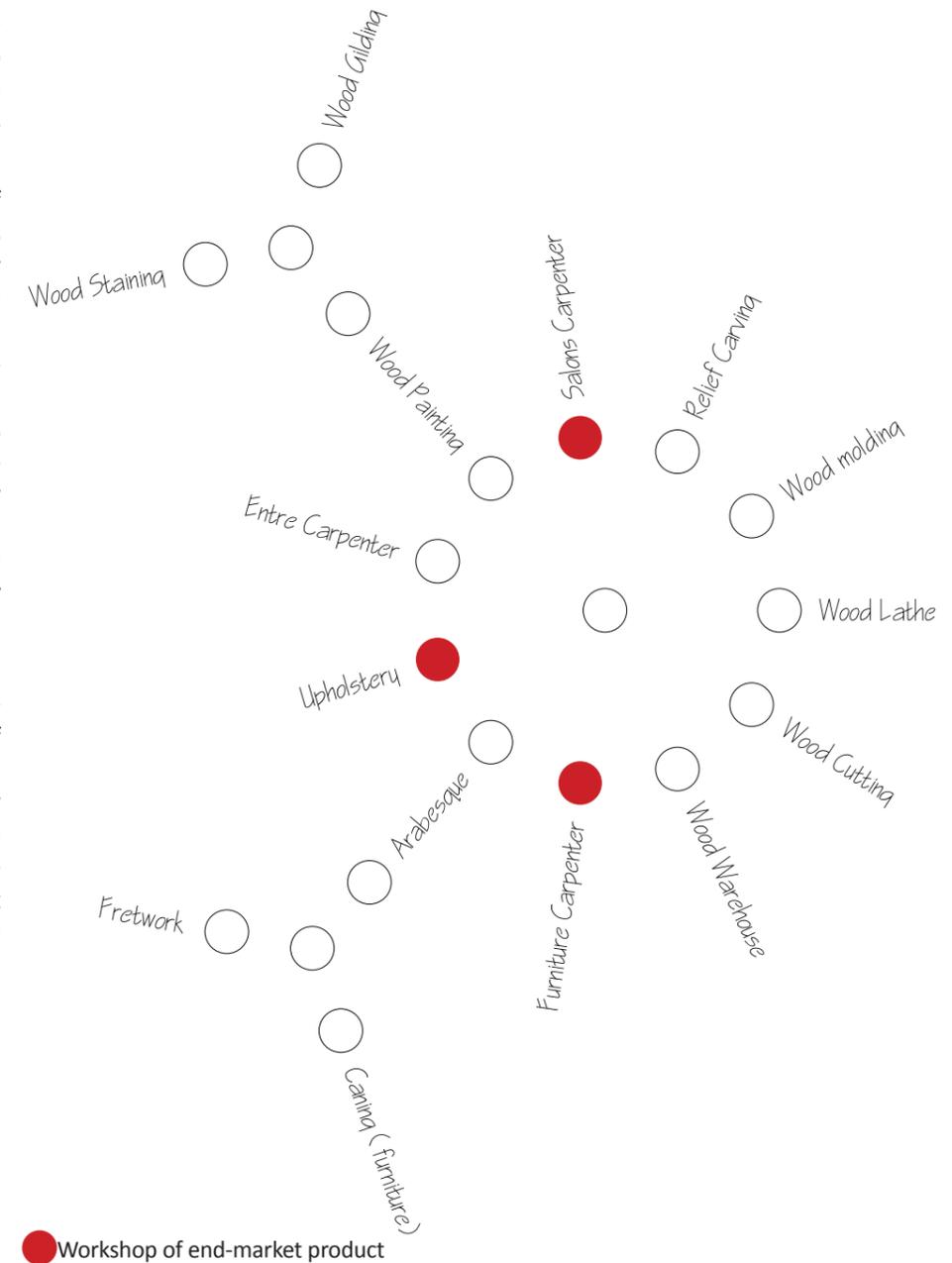


Wood lathe workshop

In some cases one workshop can include more than one activity, for example large wood cutting workshops would often also have wood lathing machines. Also, there are several cases where an '*oymagy*' is also a "salon" carpenter.

Not all workshops are the initiators of the production cycle; only the workshops that receive orders for production, or orchestrate, on their own initiative, the production of a final product to market. These workshops would include the furniture carpenter, the "salon" carpenter, and the upholstery maker. The others are complementary workshops yet indispensable. It should be noted that, for most traditional sectors of production, raw materials are sold in the immediate vicinity of the district, like in Manasra, or Bab Al-She'reya, and in many cases, the market for the final product is as well.

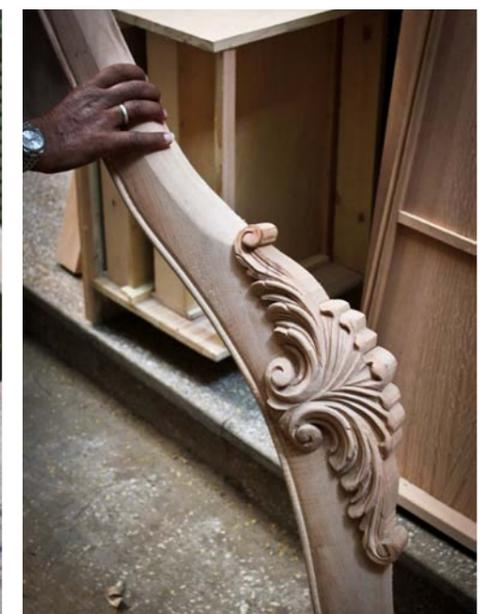
The absence of any workshop in a production cycle from the spatial boundaries of the one district would disrupt production and threaten the economic sustainability of the entire network of workshops. The availability of diverse means of transportation at hand is equally important to enable the movement between the different destinations.



Wood gilding



Wood staining



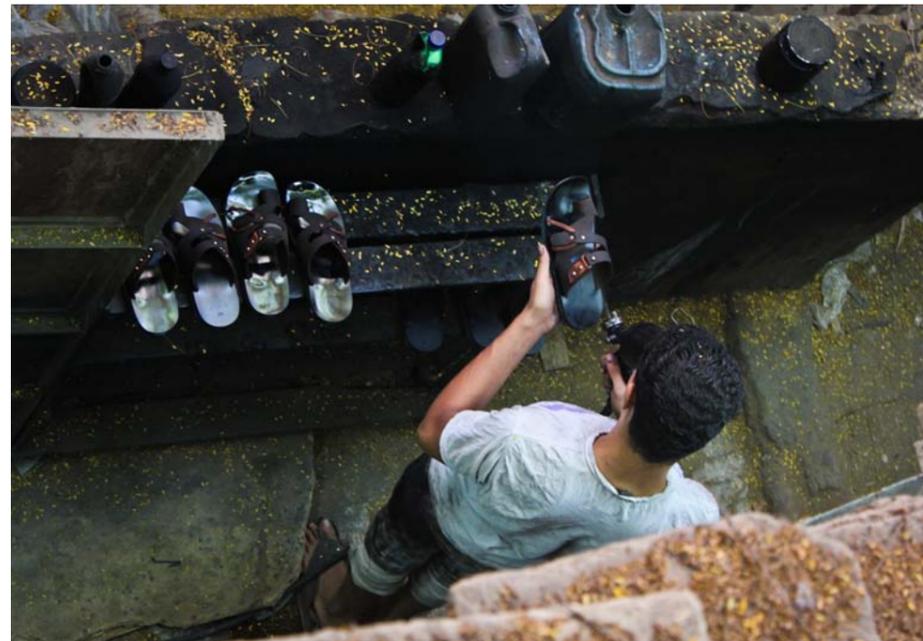
Relief carving workshop

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

At first glance, the spatial distribution of the different workshops seems to cover the entire district with little regard to specializations. However, the findings of the precedent sector study (Shehayeb, 2011), indicated that the degree of “publicness” of the adjacent RoW was an associated factor to the type of productive activity.

Ease of access for the movement of products and raw materials, as well as the desired exposure to passersby as a means of **marketing** ones skills are two factors that vary from one product to another in the choice of location. Warehouses, for example, that sell wood are clustered in relatively shallow locations close to the main streets surrounding the district, yet they do not need exposure to passersby. In ADAA there are but a few well-known families who specialize in that trade and are all located in Darb Saada. The importance of workshop location differs whether its product is custom-made in small numbers, or mass produced. It also differs by marketing strategy; that is whether their clients are individuals or merchants, inside the district or outside it. Variations across workshops can be summarized as follows:

- Workshops where the partial product, or service, is sought out deliberately by other workshop owners do not require much exposure to passersby. Some provide a particular step in the production cycle; these workshops are sought out deliberately by other workshop owners and depend on social networks rather than location.
- Workshops that utilize large machinery such as wood cutting and wood lathing workshops. These usually seek large plots of land, do not locate in upper floors and try to and go farthest possible from residential surroundings because they produce high levels of noise. In one case, the workshop owner is renting the frigidarium or ‘*maslakh*’ of a traditional hammam from the Awqaf because it affords the appropriate space.
- Workshops that mass produce shoes, for example, sold locally in Al-Ghoureya or in provincial cities, may be located in the deepest residential alleys since exposure to the customer is not necessary and the machinery used if any is not so noisy.
- Workshops that specialize in products that are custom-made and produced in small quantities have 2 variations. There are those who have a secured network of clients outside the district and therefore do not seek local exposure, as is the case with the fretwork workshop and the upscale upholstery workshop in the case study area. And there are those whose products may have a market within the district and therefore prefer to occupy locations where their products can be seen by potential clients.
- In general, those specializations that are custom-made and involve skilled manual craftsmanship like wood carving, or iron welding are keener to show their products than a wood moulding or inner springs workshop.
- Another generalization is that handicrafts workshops are more flexible and can be accommodated in upper or lower levels; that is away from the GF, provided their input and output products are easily portable.



CASE STUDY: CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING WORKSHOP LOCATION

Fathy Al-Eraqy ('Salon' Carpenter and Relief Carving workshop)

Al-Eraqy was evicted from his location in Fatma Al-Nabaweya because of a government project in the late 1990s by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and the Ministry of Awqaf. The analysis of the different workshop locations he occupied since revealed certain criteria which he later verified as, as his priorities in choosing a location for his workshop. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Economic: there is always an upper limit to the monthly expenses that would be economically worth it to continue operating as a workshop. It is the first criteria that sets limitations to the choice of location. Currently, Fathy would not pay more than L.E. 250/month.
2. Accessibility: Fathy's previous workshop locations reflect his priority to be on a vital mobility route with relatively high pedestrian and vehicular activity, accessible to all means of transportation used inside ADAA... To his type of product, this is the function he needs.
3. Proximity: proximity to complimentary production activity network and proximity to home.

Previous Workshop
1984 - 2000

Old lease - L.E. 5/month
Reasons to leave: demolition (Ministry of Housing project to enlarge Fatma Al-Nabaweya Mosque and the open space around it)
Advantages: Accessibility and exposure; located at a famous landmark in ADAA at the intersection of connecting routes.
Disadvantages: none

Previous Workshop
2000 - 2001

Sublet from tenant - L.E. 200/month
Reasons to leave: tenant's desire to regain the shop
Advantages: Accessibility and exposure; located on a main vehicular and pedestrian route Suq Al-Silah that cuts across ADAA from Al-Qal'a Square to Al-Tabbana Street. The density of passers-by encouraged addition of an exhibition section along the street front leaving the workshop in the back.
Disadvantages: none

Previous Workshop
2001 - 2004

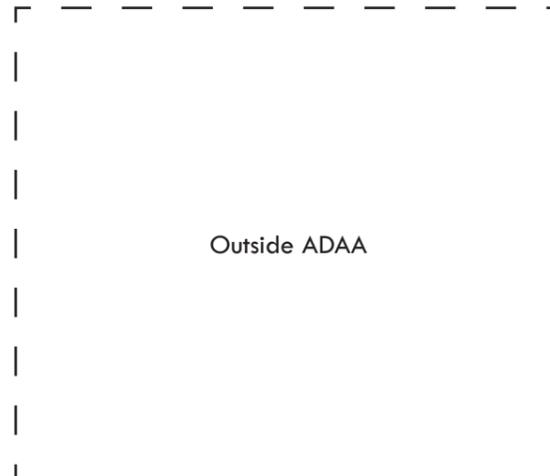
Old lease - L.E. 150/month
Reasons to leave: better workshop
Advantages: Accessibility; location on a highly vehicular route along the Southern periphery of ADAA.
Disadvantages: G.F. apartment - lacked desired exposure

Previous Workshop
2004 - 2011

New lease for 10 years - L.E. 200/month
Reasons to leave: Conflict with owner
Advantages: Accessibility and exposure
Disadvantages: outside ADAA and therefore poor market for the craft

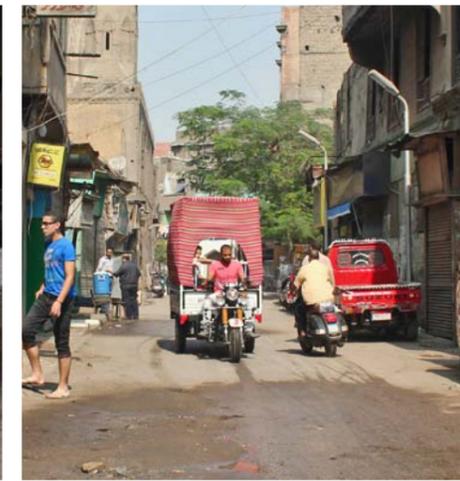
Current Workshop
2012

Sublet from tenant - L.E. 225/month
Advantages: Accessibility; location close to Haret Al-Mardany a major connector of the two vital axes in ADAA, Al-Megharbeleen and Al-Tabbana/ Suq Al-Silah Streets.
Disadvantages: no exposure (in basement) seeking yet another location to satisfy his criteria.



MOBILITY

In HC, the distinction between mobility within a district and mobility between districts is greater than in the modern parts of the city. Like most pre-industrial urban fabrics, the morphology of HC districts lends itself to non-motorized means of transportation. However, the concentration of commercial and productive activities within it, increases the need for mobility of diverse nature. With only one street dedicated to vehicular traffic, the district develops its own creative means of transportation to move people and goods within it.

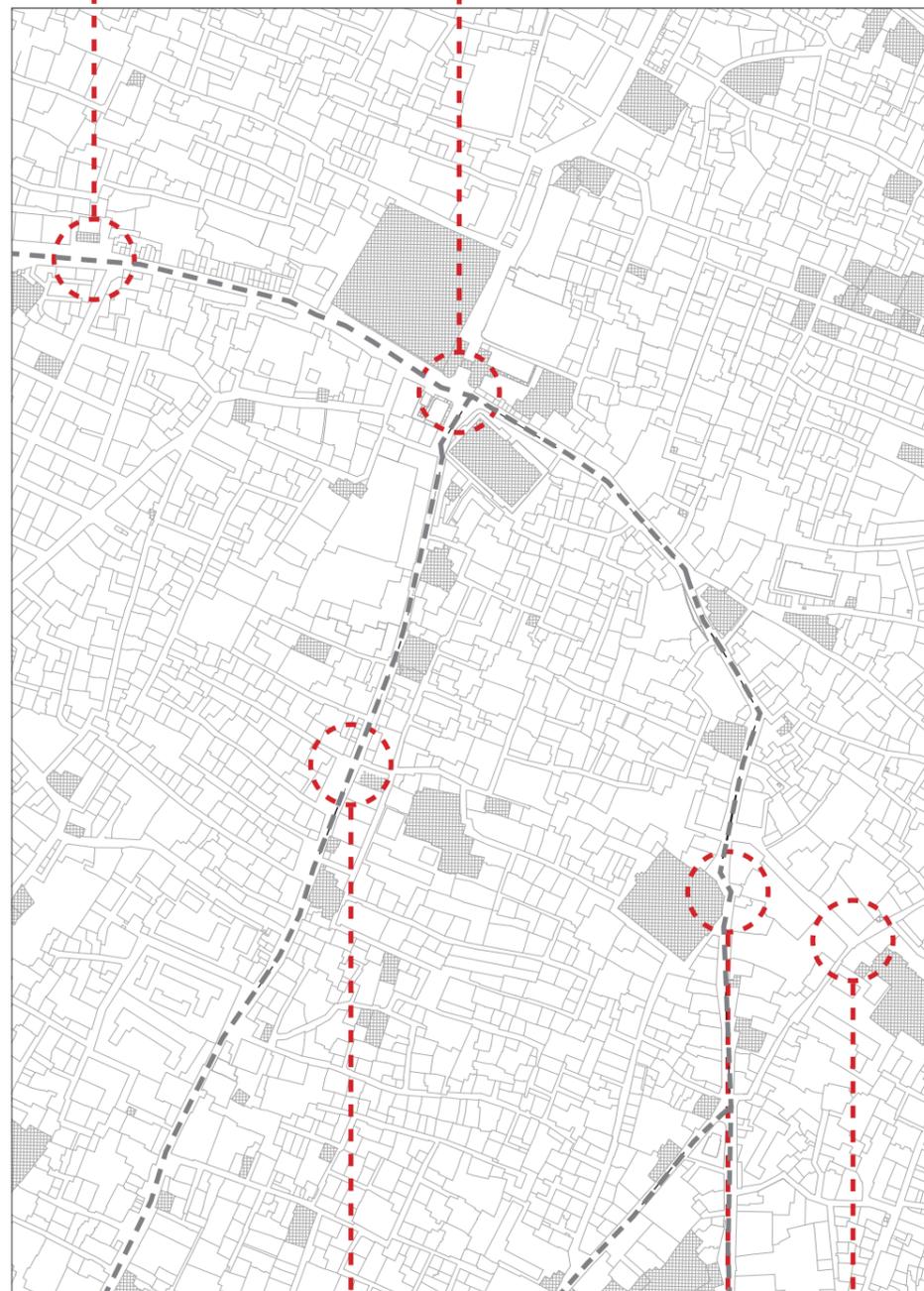


Whenever space is afforded along a public boundary such as a mosque, a monument or public garden (case of Al-Nabaweya) AND is well connected to the mobility network of the district, the claim for parking arises. Its fulfilment depends on the negotiation around the need for parking and the need for other activities (storage of goods or raw materials).



Parking spot near Bab Zuweila

Parking spot in Bab Zuweila (Bawabet Al-Metwally)



Parking spot in Al-Megharbeleen

Parking spot in Mardany/
Tabbana street

○ Suzuki parking spots around study area

■ Mobility routes around study area

Parking spot in Fatma Al-Nabaweya

Moving people: Beyond the main arterial street, all modes of collective transportation for people do not venture. Walking is still the most utilized means of transportation within the district. Vespas and motorcycles are the next most popular means and are used by residents, shops and workshops to move people as well as small items of goods. The local community expressed concern regarding the increase of motorcycle traffic in interior streets and alleys and added speed controlling bumpers on some thoroughfares.

Moving goods: The movement of partial products back and forth between the different workshops makes up for a large portion of traffic within the district, yet it does not all occur through motorized means of transportation. Proximity of destinations and street morphology still encourage the use of less polluting means such as the man-powered 'aza' and tricycle to move goods. The Suzuki mini-trucks offer the most convenient means to move larger goods.



In ADAA, the length of Ahmed Maher/Al-Darb Al-Ahmar/Al-Tabbanah/Bab Al-Wazir Street is where public bus no. It is also where private school buses pick up children of the highest income groups to further districts. The rest of the traffic going in and out of the district is accommodated by the microbus and the newly added motorized tricycle.



Parking in Fatma Al-Nabaweya, for diverse vehicles, even horses.

Parking space is a need in high demand and there are no dedicated spaces for the parking of the much needed Suzuki mini trucks. The sample of current parking spots, show that wherever space arises and is not claimed by users of its immediate boundary, it is claimed by Suzuki drivers. The Suzuki business is operated on individual basis, most often by the driver of the vehicle himself, who is likely to be from the district. In some cases the Suzuki business is operated by an owner who owns several vehicles and employs drivers for them. All drivers and business-owners are from ADAA, whether they are current residents of the district, or used to live in it and have moved out to other districts like 'Bassateen'. This social connection to the district is the reason why they don't need to pay anyone in exchange for secure parking; it gives them leverage for negotiation. Vehicles stay parked overnight in their daily spots and retrieved by mobile phone calls when needed.



Parking spot in Bab Zuweila.

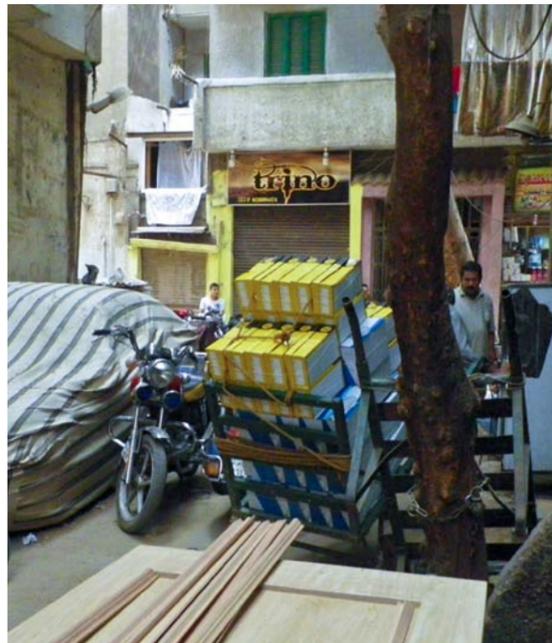
Mobility and the Production Activity network

Means of transportation

Vespa (person-owned)



Aza' (business-owned – hired)



Motorized tricycle



Suzuki (hired)



Pick-up truck (hired)



Partial products, Raw materials, Final products (boxed)

Final products

Mobility of goods is essential to enable the spatial distribution of the production activity network within the district.

Loading and Unloading

It takes 10 minutes, on average, of blocking the RoW of vehicles to load / unload goods on a Suzuki.



Atef (carpenter) and his son assisted by Suzuki driver load the cupboard destined to another workshop to be finished (painted or stained).

APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Although there is a high need for SPACE in general in HC, the appropriation of public space by workshops and shop owners is only partially explained by a shortage of space in the private domain. Shops have a tradition of displaying most goods in the front of the store sometimes leaving the inside almost empty and workshop owners simply enjoy the natural light and companionship of life-long acquaintances while working whenever possible.

Appropriation of public space by means of workshops takes several forms:

- Storage of raw materials
- Storage of partial or complete products
- Working space
- Parking of means to transport goods
- Loading and unloading of goods

Perceived Losses: The spill-out of domestic activities for women and children in public space is gradually disappearing. Between the disappearance of the traditional building type with open yards and stairwells, and the appropriation of public space by productive and commercial activities, children that used to play daily in the dead-end alleys and the yards of old houses, are now playing at home and very few at the sports clubs in the district.

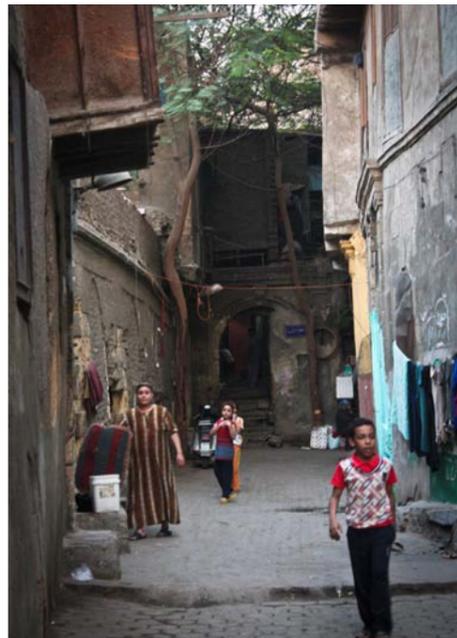
Perceived Gains: According to the residents, the presence of workshop and shop owners in the public domain affords surveillance and social control on behaviour in the public realm which leads to much appreciated **safety** and a sense of familiarity that is welcome by most population groups. Some young women and girls find those practices restrictive to their freedom; complaining that people from the neighbourhood may meddle in their private affairs and word gets around to their immediate families. Yet, at the same time, they expressed their appreciation of the resulting safety they feel walking in their district compared to anywhere else in the city (AK-DN-CDC, 2011).

This rising need for social surveillance as a means to control behaviour in the public realm and to **nurture social networks** and social solidarity may be associated to the social transformation witnessed in ADAA in the recent decades; namely the densification of residential population and the increase of imported labour from rural areas and other districts. It is also plausible to generalize that the appropriation of public space by business owners who are members of the resident population actually strengthens the **social integration** between resident and working populations since family members pass by their fathers and opportunity to see and be seen often lead to marriage ties and reinforce kinship.

Irregular street pattern and appropriation of public space practices by workshops and shops is still the most effective counter-measure that reduces accident risk from motorized means of mobility.



Day off (Sunday) in Haret Al-Mardany

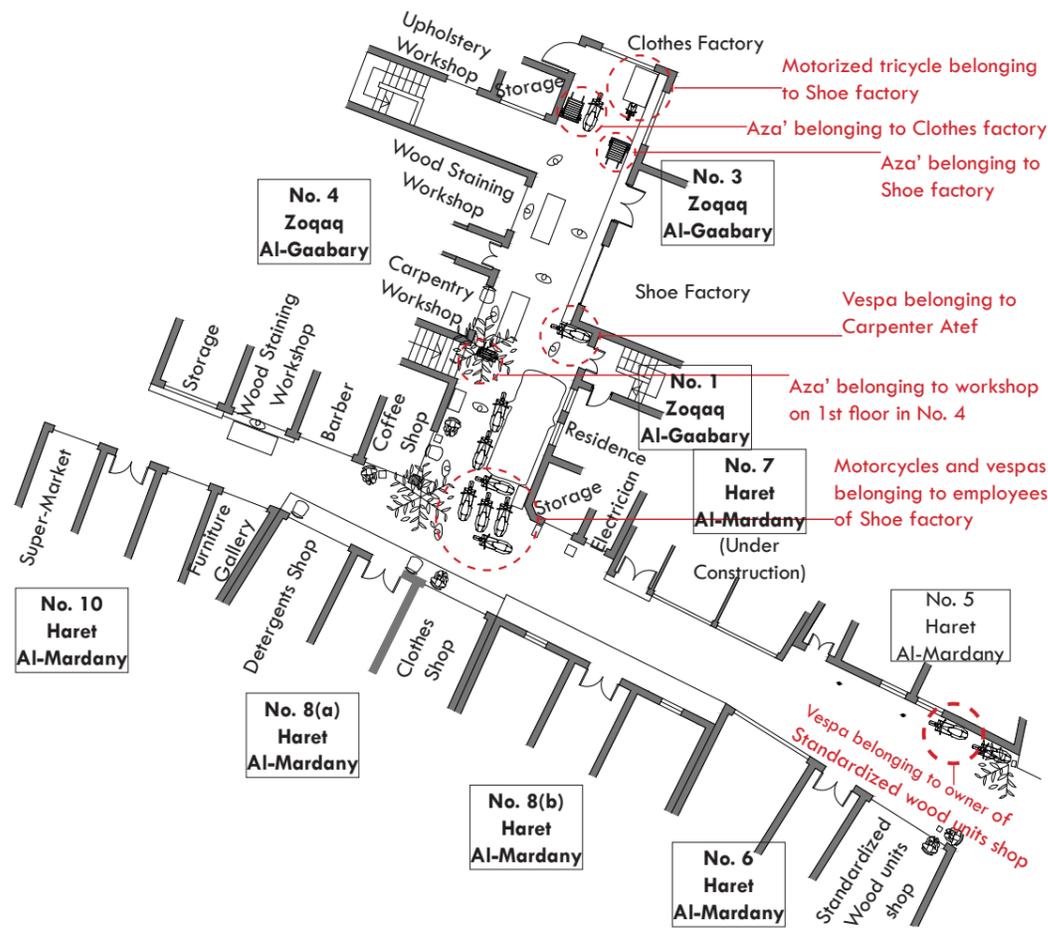


Only in the deepest pockets of the urban fabric where still connectivity remains low and traditional houses survive do children still play and women sit in front of their homes.

The need for storage of goods and parking vehicles drives appropriation of public space in temporarily vacant plots.



CASE STUDY: MOBILITY AND APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN ZOQAQ AL-GAABARY



G.F. workshop owners set up their working tables, or “bank”, in the public space in front of their workshops. Those who work by their hands, like Atef, have little time to socialize, except occasionally on a cup of tea or on the way to the mosque.



Atef and his son working in front of No. 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary.

Post-January 2011, the dimension of safety afforded by the appropriation of public space by shops and workshops gained in importance “on Sundays when the workshops are closed, we lock our doors. We feel safer when the street is inhabited by our friends and neighbours, the workshop owners that we know since childhood” said Wedad a young women who lives in 1 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary.



Right: Motorized tricycle and Aza' belonging to factories



Workshops BEFORE opening:



Public space BEFORE break time



Lunch delivered to female workers



Public space DURING break time



Shopping time



Back from school



An earlier survey showed that more than 50% of the resident population in ADAA walk to work; work being within the district itself or across its boundary in the neighbouring districts of HC (Shehaye, 2000). Daily shopping and trips to school are all on foot. Even the youngest children walk safely back and forth to schools within the district often unattended by adults.

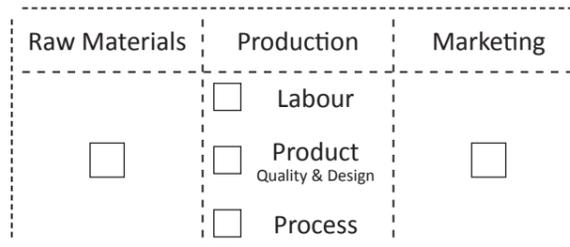


Loading / Unloading



TRENDS AND FUTURE VISIONS

The in-depth workshop cases presented in the beginning of the section reveal how precarious the economic vitality of the workshops really is; depending heavily on social networks and spatial proximity. Yet it also reveals how resilient and resourceful these craftsmen can be; modifying and seeking alternatives to sustain their business. Especially with the economic stagnation facing Egypt, workshop owners are more concerned about the future and put their effort into bringing about changes whether in raw materials, type of labour, product design or even the process of production. There are also trends in the marketing strategies followed by workshop owners. The following is a brief description of those trends drawing upon the in-depth workshop cases of Zoqaq Al-Gaaabary area as well as cases that were covered in the wider circle of the study in ADAA. Each case is an example of a trend that is followed by many workshop owners in HC across the three main domains of any workshop's vitality: Raw materials; production (product design – labour – process); and marketing.



Automation

Most workshops that are facing economic challenges are trying to minimize production cost and improve marketing. One way is by seeking to introduce more automation into their production process thinking this would enable them to be more competitive in product design and cost. In the case study area, Ahmed Al-Eraqy, spends 14 working days to manually produce a relief carved bed frame to sell it for L.E. 4,000 to the other workshop that is commissioned the entire bedroom.



Subtracting the cost of raw materials, other complementary workshops, rent and utilities of those 14 days, he ends up with a daily income of barely L.E. 130 for 6 hours of skilled carving. Recently he diminishes his effort/time through partial automation of the production process where a machine produces crude relief carving 'takhbeet' to be finalized by hand. Much of the relief carving that is superimposed on furniture is currently mechanically produced and the latest trend is the application of computer-aided carving that seems to save time and money. The carpenters work manually because they do not have the financial means to buy machines that replace human effort and not because they feel that the market gives higher value to handmade products. In highly specialized traditional products, craftsmen still feel that manual work may yield exclusiveness in quality and design, but when the market does not reflect appreciation of these skills, this value is also abandoned. In general, there is a tendency towards relying more on machines and standardized parts which jeopardizes the quality of the product and contributes to pollution within the district.

Quality products / Exclusive markets

For long the main product marketing strategy was to show the product to merchants in nearby thematic markets such as Khan Al-Khalily or Al-Manasra, as well as more distant CBDs such as Downtown and Nasr City. This strategy would lead to getting orders from those retailers. Those who are still following this strategy are suffering competition from mass-produced and imported equivalents. Although small businesses who produce small items such as leather handbags and brass accessories are still carrying on this way, those whose products are larger and more expensive have to find alternative strategies; salon carpenters like Al-Eraqy, for example, are burdened with the capital required to invest in showcase products.



Those workshops that have direct contact with the end-clients or the interior designer that represents them, are surviving better because their product is still in **demand** and it is usually **custom-made**. Those workshops are doing well economically and most of their markets are outside HC. Those workshops get their orders piecemeal usually with a product design that is chosen from a catalogue or designed by a professional interior designer. Their success depends on **sustaining product quality**.

The Fretwork workshop of Ali Hemeda and Hagg Ata's upholstery workshop in the case study are such cases. Hagg Ata insists on maintaining high standards concerning **raw materials**; he still uses brass spring inside, iron nails instead of a stapler, and teal tape instead of plastic bags to hold up the filling. By sustaining the high quality of the product, he is sustaining his market. The only modification he agreed to was to broaden the spectrum of designs he would implement to keep up with the evolution of contemporary designs. This change was initiated by his son who has direct contact with the end-client of high taste and economic means. This applies to other highly customised products, such as forged iron workshops and wooden windows and shutters workshops in Suq Al-Silah. Product design is not their domain of intervention.

Traditional crafts such as Arabesque and brass engraving can still produce at a high quality by the descendants of those specialized craftsmen families like Al-Khawanky in brass engraving. Their problem is that their product is expensive and **is no longer in demand** in the exclusive local market, they have been depending more and more on mediators who enable them to market abroad. Those mediators are the ones making the profits and they are struggling to survive as a craft. Some of them has reverted to commerce and given up production and others are attempting innovation in product design.

Innovation in product design

There are those traditional craftsmen who have been seeking innovation as a means of saving the craft and the business. Ahmed Al-Baqary comes from a lineage of Arabesque furniture carpenters and is depending solely on sporadic orders from Lebanese middle-men who market his products in the Arab Gulf countries. He has attempted innovation by seeking the input from academics specialized in product design but the result has been an eclectic hybrid product that did not succeed in the market. There is confusion between inventing a contemporary product to which the craft's classic geometry and workmanship may be applied, and between **polluting traditional designs** by violating their geometries and the design principles behind them.

The workshop owners and craftsmen of Al-Kheyameya fell into this trap. When they had direct contact with the end-client, the evolution in their product (type of product and colours) was directed by the taste of those clients who were mainly tourists; in the early 2000s, they were the most economically thriving sector among ADAA crafts (AKCS-E, 2003). Gradually, with the decline of tourism in HC, there are hardly any clients passing their shops, and innovation started to invade the design patterns themselves (see Case below). Craftsmen became the initiators of the innovation in design. In some cases this has yielded acceptable outputs such as in the case of Am Fekry who has his own style of neoclassical Arabesque. The success may depend on the exposure of the craftsman to quality design.



Innovative product needing NEW markets

The mirror carving brothers Mohammad and Khaled are struggling to introduce a new product to the market. Their mirror carving was a non-traditional addition to the specializations of ADAA. They are working on innovation in the production process and the quality is relatively high. Their product design can be improved but holds great potential considering that they are of rural origin and have very little exposure to clients. They only photograph their products with a mobile, they do not use the internet, and they operate in their father's mirror and glass carving workshops in the hidden mazes inside Radwan Bey's complex completely out of site of passersby. The real challenge facing them is to reach a market that can afford a profitable price for their products.



CASE STUDY: INNOVATION IN TRADITIONAL PRODUCT DESIGN

Ahmed has a tent-making shop in Al-Kheyameya since 2002; he is not a craftsman but a businessman. His mother had a poultry shop in the same location. His father came as a child from Beni Souef, worked as an employee in a grocery store, and built his own house in ADAA in the 1980s where Ahmed currently lives. Al-Kheyameya shops depend on selling retail to passing by tourists and local clients. Sometimes local clients made larger orders (for hotel interiors for example). Ahmed pays a monthly rent of L.E. 25 directly to the Awqaf; other shops in the quassaba who are subletting pay L.E. 1200 / month. The regular decline in the number of tourists who pass by HC has motivated him to seek other strategies.

MARKETING: Ahmed was assisted by the Aga Khan- funded project in ADAA and has acquired marketing skills including seeking funding that can enable him to market his products in prestigious local exhibitions and abroad. Ahmed applies to the Industrial Modernization Centre (IMC) that recommends him to ExpoLink to choose him among traditional crafts workshops that get a heavy discount to participate in major local exhibitions such as LeMarche, LaCasa, and Furnex. This is still mediated by the CDC founded by the Aga Khan Project in ADAA. In the latest Furnex exhibition, Ahmed and 3 other ADAA workshops participated paying only 10% of the regular rental price (a total of L.E. 4,800 instead of L.E. 48,000 for a 15m² booth for 4 days); the 4 workshops shared one booth for 4 days, each workshop paying L.E. 150 / day). The sales during the exhibition days were satisfactory but there were hardly any follow-up sales; occasional inquiries or orders by phone may follow, but clients find it very difficult to reach the shop. Ahmed says it is because of the poor mobility conditions and the lack of amenities in HC; meaning a place to sit, eat or go to a clean toilet.

PRODUCT - Labour: Al-Osta Nany, like many other old-timer craftsmen of Al-Kheyameya is the source of the design and the skill of tent-making. Like many other original residents of ADAA, he and his family have moved to live in a nearby informal area (Al-Bassateen). Until 2011, Nany's son Waleed, would be seen working in Ahmed's shop, stitching the patchwork his father had drawn on the crude cloth. Each Kheyameya shop owner usually deals with several craftsmen yet each finished piece is traced to its maker. With the decrease in the number of passersby, craftsmen increasingly are working at home now. Classic craftsmen from ADAA, like Osta Nany and his son, are becoming an expense shop owners are trying to reduce. The trend now is to substitute those classic keepers of the craft with younger less expensive labour; young men who come from Fayoum and Beni Souef are invading the market which led to alterations in product quality and design.

PRODUCT - Design: Innovation in product design stems partly from the shop owner's desperate drive to compete with neighbouring shops in a starving market, and partly from the cheaper labour he hires. Some shop owners, like Ahmed, judge designs by the number of sales, and Ahmed explained that the eclectic combination of Pharaonic lotus flowers embedded in classic Turkish curvilinear patterns is the design selling most nowadays. Other shop owners are experimenting even further, allowing experimentation in new designs and colours introduced by the cheaper labour force trained in vocational high school for sewing or graphic design not realizing that the client of this type of product seeks a heritage value that is totally abolished.



Raw Materials	Production	Marketing
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Labour	
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Product Quality & Design	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/> Process	



3. b. Interrelations between Working and Dwelling

Previous studies indicate that a significant percentage of residents of HC also work in the district. This phenomenon is not new and has its roots in the history of the city (Raymond, 2007) It is also not unique to HC; studies in informal areas around Cairo show similar socio-spatial patterns. However, what is characteristic to HC is the type of work; the thematic productive and commercial activities that have their roots in history, and that have survived despite centuries of transformation. This section explores the relation between the productive and commercial activities in ADAA and the resident population; who comes to live there and what do they do for a living, do residents become craftsmen or craftsmen come and become residents, how do neighbourly relations intersect with work relations and vice versa, and ultimately how to capitalize on these working - dwelling interrelations in order to sustain both the activities and the residential population.



Khaled and Mohammad's family home in Al-Ganabkeya still maintaining features of rural building type.

DWELLING AS ENTRY POINT

Not all who work in ADAA are currently residents of ADAA, but the results of the in-depth study reveal that almost all who work there have been residents at one point in time, or at least are relatives of residents there. From the initial case study area in Zoqaq Al-Gaabary, to the wider social network, it is evident that this is not a community easily infiltrated by outsiders. Yet there were periods in history that witnessed an influx from rural areas. Those immigrants seem to have come individually, gradually, always based on a relation to someone from inside the community. Below are the most prominent patterns among the working community in ADAA.

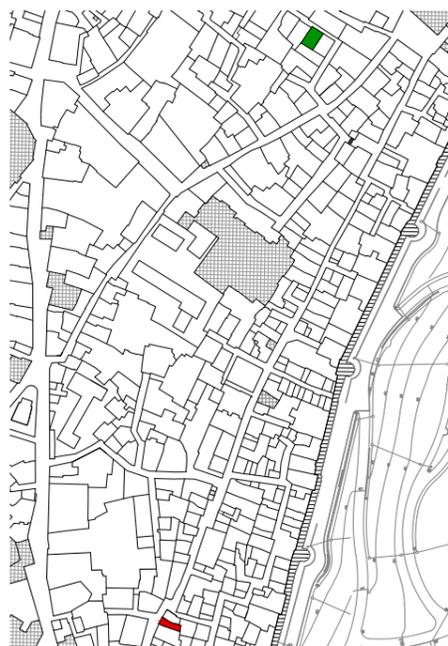
- **Craftsmen rooted in vocation and location:** Those are families known to be associated to a particular vocation for generations who are also dwellers of HC for centuries. They usually have multiple properties in the district and may be related to several waqf properties that could even be assigned as monuments. Members of the family usually sustain the family vocation by working in productive or commercial activities across the productive activity network of the craft. For example, the case of Al-Khawanky family, traditional brass carvers from Gam-maleya, who still maintains the workshop, but is making a living as a merchant owning antique shops within HC. Many of those families had to move out of the district when it was not affordable to acquire desired housing within it for their younger generations. Atef's family from 4 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary is another example of a family of carpenters with strong attachment to both place and vocation, despite their current dwelling in new informal areas since the 1980s.
- **Immigrants who adopted the productive vocation:** Those are mainly the rural immigrants who came to dwell in ADAA during the first half of the 20th Century, many of them having the versatility of changing vocation to productive specializations of the district changed vocation towards the productive. Today, the local community does not distinguish those rural immigrants from older community members. Evidence shows that some of the forefathers came as butchers or grocers. Yet, there is always one son at least who was born in ADAA that changes vocation and takes up a productive craft, such as shoe-making, upholstery making, or carpentry.
- **Immigrants who had the vocation and came to the location:** Those are people whose vocation was related to the productive specializations of ADAA and so they came to live and work in a location that affords the physical and social infrastructure needed to add value to their work; the complementary production activity networks available. For example those who worked in textile productive activities in governorates that have this specialization came and dwelled in HC, evolving from embroidery to prêt-a-porter manufacturing as is the case of Mustafa Gad from 3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary. Another example is the Hemeda brothers' father who came from Alexandria targeting to live and work in ADAA because his fretwork would be a distinguished productive specialization to add to the local markets of traditional arabesque work more native to HC.

Not unnoticed is the increasing trend of those who work in ADAA, but have never lived there. This category involves a younger generation of labourers (less than 35 years of age) who work for others in the productive activities. Those of rural origin find transient dwelling in ADAA or spend the nights in their work place; very few commute from poorer popular areas. Their ties to the district and its transformation is much less than others.

Available dwelling space, however, is not advertised but marketed by word of mouth through social networks of local community members. Similarly, no one can start a business in the district without having a relative or a trusted friend who resides or works there in order to assist him establish credibility to start a business. The new residential population in the post-2011 buildings are therefore not total strangers and the local community welcomes them as a source of social upgrade to the district. They prefer to see those residents on the streets than the hired labour with their bad conduct.

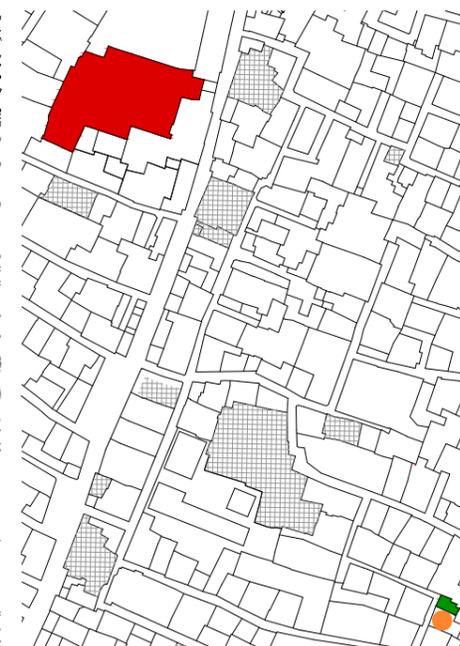
There is always a social tie that allows entry into the district, either as residents or as business owners.

Reda



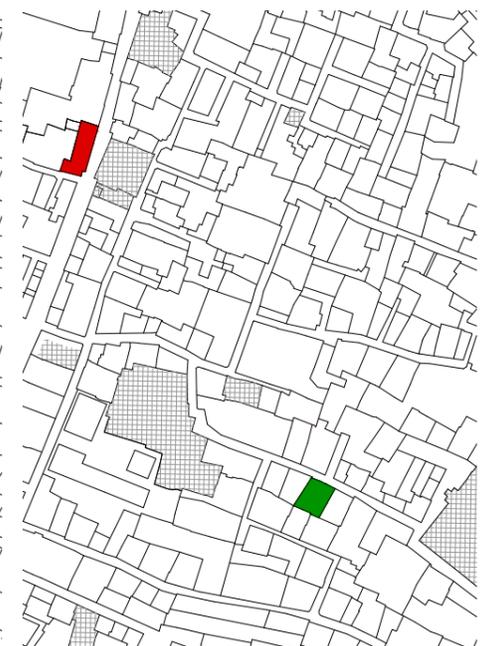
Reda born in Bab Al-Wazir in ADAA moved to a new apartment building in 1979 when he got married (Zaraa Al-Nawa Al-Kabeer). His Relief Carving workshop is in Darb Shoghlan in one of the family's properties.

Khaled and Mohammad



Khaled and Mohammad's grandfather came to reside in ADAA as a butcher. Their father started to work in mirrors and glass carving. They opened their own workshop together inside Radwan Bey's complex and continue living in their family property in Al-Ganabkeya.

Mohammad Raafat



Mohammad was born and lives in 8 Haret Al-Mardany. He inherited his mother's family business one of the oldest Kheyameya fabric shop in the Quassaba. His grandfather Al-Wardany resided and worked in Al-Ghoureya in ADAA.

NEIGHBOURS, COLLEAGUES, PARTNERS

The complementary nature of productive activities in HC is accompanied by a social network of workshops. Typically, each production-initiator workshop owner (workshops that receive the order for the final product), has at least 3 alternative workshops that he deals with for each step in the production cycle. If the upholstery maker needs a wood staining workshop to finish some armchairs, he would pass by his first choice, and if he is busy, he would pass by his second choice, and so on.

Also, most workshops are relatively small businesses, so when one workshop gets a large order, they can either decline it or share it with other similar workshops. This necessitates even stronger social relations of trust; it therefore happens either among brothers and cousins sharing complimentary vocations or among workshop owners who consider themselves family. There are rational criteria to choose which workshop to work with, such as punctuality, price and quality, yet the study reveals other reasons, both social and spatial:

Social reasons include kinship, friendship, or being colleagues in a former employment.

Spatial reasons include proximity of workshops or being neighbours at home.

These reasons intertwine; there are cases where a neighbour becomes an in-law then opens a business and enters the production network of his former neighbour. Or someone builds a property so his former colleague at work moves his workshop or his home to that new property and they become neighbours... and so on.

The case of Hagg Ata presented above shows that the network of complimentary workshops he deals with is located entirely along the route from his home to his workshop. The location of his and his sons' current workshops in Zoqaq Al-Gaabary and Haret Al-Mardany started with him renting a workshop in 8 Haret Al-Mardany; the newly developed building owned by his former colleague (Al-Ghamrawy) who used to work with Hagg Ata in 4 Darb Al-Soyyagh (the cooperative). Also the first choice relief carving and 'salon' carpenter that Hagg Ata deals with, Reda, is the son of an old friend and neighbour in Darb Shoghlan.

Atef's carpenter family is also a case (see below) that shows how dwelling relations intertwine with work relations. The family used to live and work in 3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary and despite selling the property and moving out as residents, their attachment to both vocation and location lives on. Their web of workshops and galleries all around the old house grants them economic advantage of sharing and complimenting each other in work. Their place attachment is strengthened by their social networks such as Atef's marriage to a former neighbour across the street, or hiring extra labour who also reside nearby.

The economics of working and dwelling within a 500 meter diameter are multi-fold:

- Social relations ensure compliance in work relations and vice versa.
- Social networks are sometimes the only way a small workshop can fulfil its work obligation.
- Proximity of work to home increases a working person's comfort during working hours,
- Proximity of work to home reassures family members over each other's well being throughout the day.

These economics are not afforded in alternative areas such as the informal areas that house the spill-over of HC's population. The social and physical morphology of HC affords an advantage woven over time and sustained by protective measures, both natural and enforced that make it such a unique place. The quality of life, not only of dwelling, but also of working, that is experienced in parts of HC is still appreciated by many who could afford moving to seemingly better places. It is important for experts to understand this so as to draft regulations that reinforce this quality of life, and simultaneously show the local community how easily they may lose it if they don't understand the role played by the physical environment in sustaining these interdependent networks.



?

Is it a case of FIXED RESIDENT POPULATION and changing activity pattern: The threat is that craftsmen give up their handicrafts, if economically not viable, and change to commercial activity for better income generation (clothing shop - taxi business - repair shops (mobile - satellite receiver - vespa...)). The result may be a social transformation of occupation leading to a transformation of activity patterns.

OR

is it a case of FIXED ACTIVITY PATTERN and changing population: hasn't HC witnessed several waves of immigration from rural areas? Haven't many of them transform over time to become craftsmen who set up businesses in HC. To what extent are residents of the new housing also craft related ?

Saber, who originally comes from a family of grocers near Tablita market, moves as a boy to 8 Haret Al-Mardany right across Zoqaq Al-Gaabary. Atef who grew up in 3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary marries Saber's sister. Saber marries a woman who was born in 4 Zoqaq Al-Mardany (just around the corner). As a family, Saber, his wife and children still live in her father's property. Saber follows by a prêt-a-porter manufacturing career in Al-Kahkiyeen in ADAA, but changes vocation lately and, encouraged by his in-laws and neighbours/friends, sets up shop in 6 Haret Al-Mardany, where he joins the wood furniture production activity by selling standardized wood parts that are used by furniture carpenters.



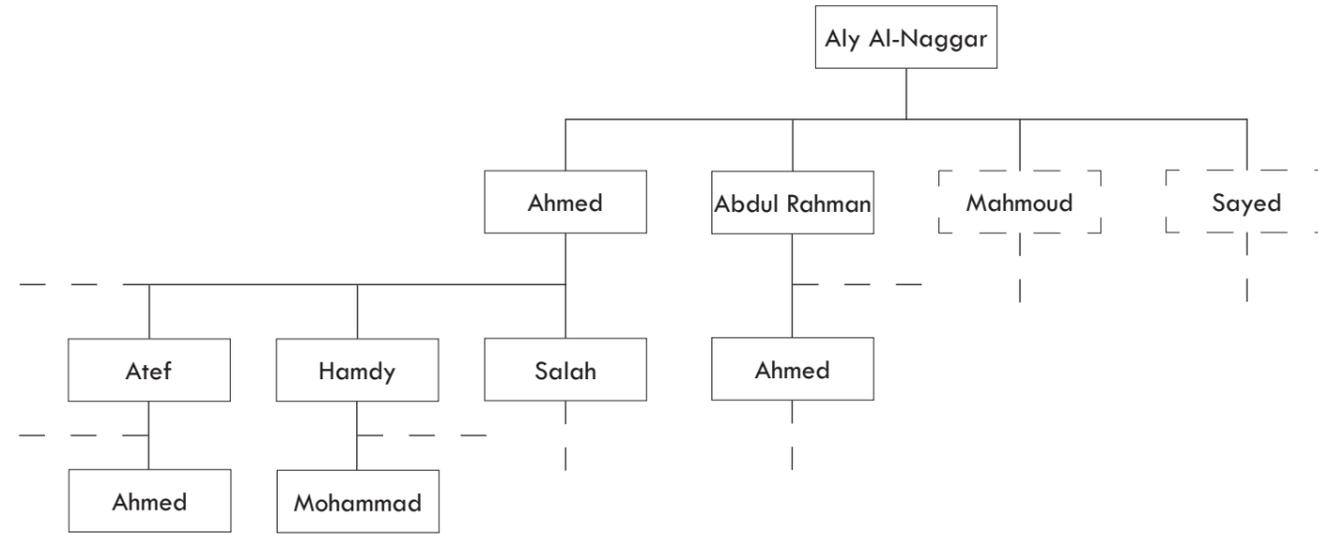
Mohammad, a former employee of Atef's family of carpenters introduces himself as their cousin. Mohammad now has his own workshop and gallery also along Haret Al-Mardany. He too had moved to live in Bassateen when he got married, but after the January 2011 revolution he rented an apartment in the same building he has his workshop, saying "it is safer here, I can see my children coming back from school every day in front of my eyes." Even for Mohammad who came from the countryside near Tanta as a child to work for Atef's family, place attachment to ADAA and to the family remains strong.



CASE STUDY: WORKING AS A FAMILY

Atef Al-Naggar's family is an example of a family with strong place attachment to both vocation and location; a family who claims to be related to Zeinab Khatoun and to own many waqf properties in the area. Since they moved to 3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary in 1910 and their family is known as the carpenters. Their attachment shows in their persistence in the vocation; Atef and his elder brother Salah are carpenters like their father Ahmed, and their middle brother Hamdy is a wood stainer. Atef's son Ahmed, also works with his father after finishing vocational high school. Hamdy's son Mohammad works with his father as well. While each of the three brothers has his own workshop, two of them in the same building and one round the corner, they all share the use of the 2 galleries, one owned by their father and one owned by Hamdy. Their uncle Abdul Rahman and his son Ahmed are also carpenters and have their workshop a few hundred metres away. Unlike other workshop owners, all family members do not have a second business.

Although they all currently live in Bassateen after selling their family home in 3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary, they still commute daily to ADAA to spend the day. They know everyone in the vicinity and everyone knows them; it is where they grew up and lived all their lives.



Working as a family, sharing their spatial and social assets in ADAA where they have their roots is seen as a valuable advantage that cannot be replaced by working space in another area.



VALUED “WORKING AND LIVING” LIFESTYLE

The proximity to relatives, acquaintances, and childhood friends, the safety afforded by the urban pattern that is impregnable by strangers, the proximity to markets and services, the walkability and opportunity to appropriate public space and the consequential strength of social ties among residents are all gains of living and working in HC. These advantages offered by the morphology of HC translates into free child care, better opportunity for girls education, better nutrition for the poorer households...etc.; they are appreciated by the residents of HC but without much awareness as to the role of the heritage fabric in sustaining them.

Bright, yet shaded from the sun are the streets and alleys of HC where residents and shop owners sit in their daily leisure hours. The landlady, who sat in the doorway of a non-operating shop, explained how her sons told her not to rent their father’s grocery shop but rather keep it as a breathing space for herself in her old age. They use it to park their vespas and store odds and ends, but for her it is the only place she can spend time when she has finished her house chores. Her balcony is only two floors up, but she said she cannot see people passing by while sitting, and she could not stand in the balcony all this time. The benefits of the low-rise buildings that provide these pleasant public spaces are not recognized.

The study showed how social relations among workshop owners intersect with neighbourly relations among residents. Workshop owners like Hagg Ata, or the Hemeda brothers who have employees are seen daily sitting together along the main street, sharing food or drinks, or simply talking with friends from neighbouring shops and workshops. This integrative ‘work’ culture where craftsmen go back and forth from home to workshop and work and partner childhood friends does not exist in other popular areas. Informal areas such as Bassateen have a much less integrative lifestyle and ‘work’ culture. Dwelling activities remain behind closed doors, there are curtains on balconies that protect the privacy of households from their neighbours, and the women in public space do not speak so freely with men from the neighbourhood. The workshop scale is also larger; more machine-oriented and business finances are less exposed than in HC working community. Once again the role of the physical environment in sustaining such patterns of work is not at the forefront of people’s minds.

NOT perceived by the community is the role of the urban morphology in strengthening the social networks and affording the valued local “integrative” lifestyle.

NOT perceived by the community is the impact of residential densification on social networks and the use of public space.

Quality of life measures are still related to the experience in public space. However current morphological transformation is improving Quality of Life of private space while threatening the Quality of Life in public space.



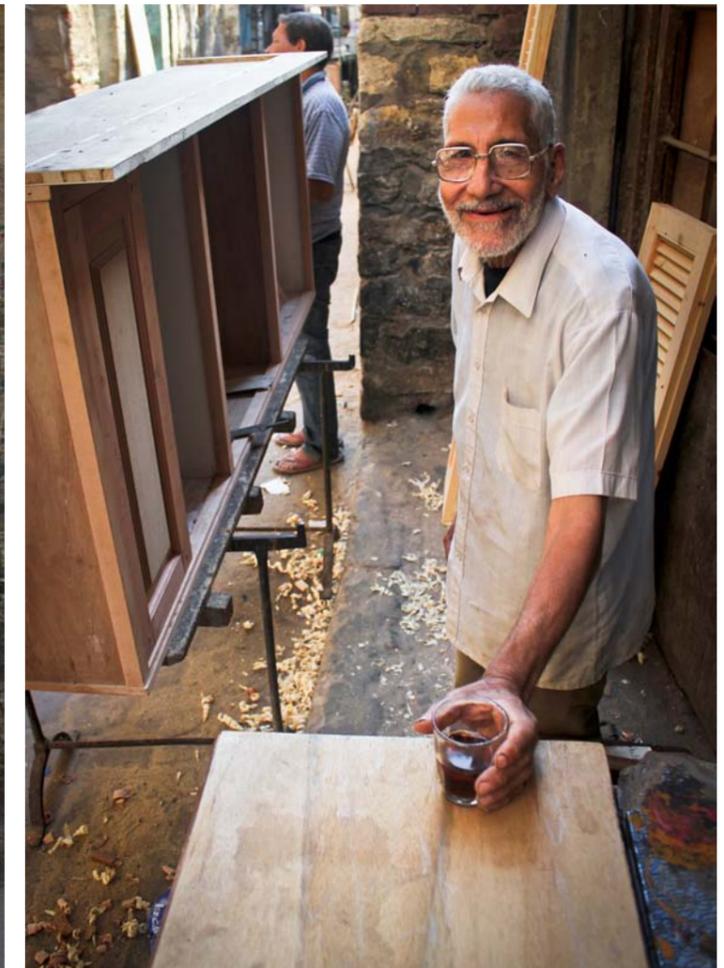
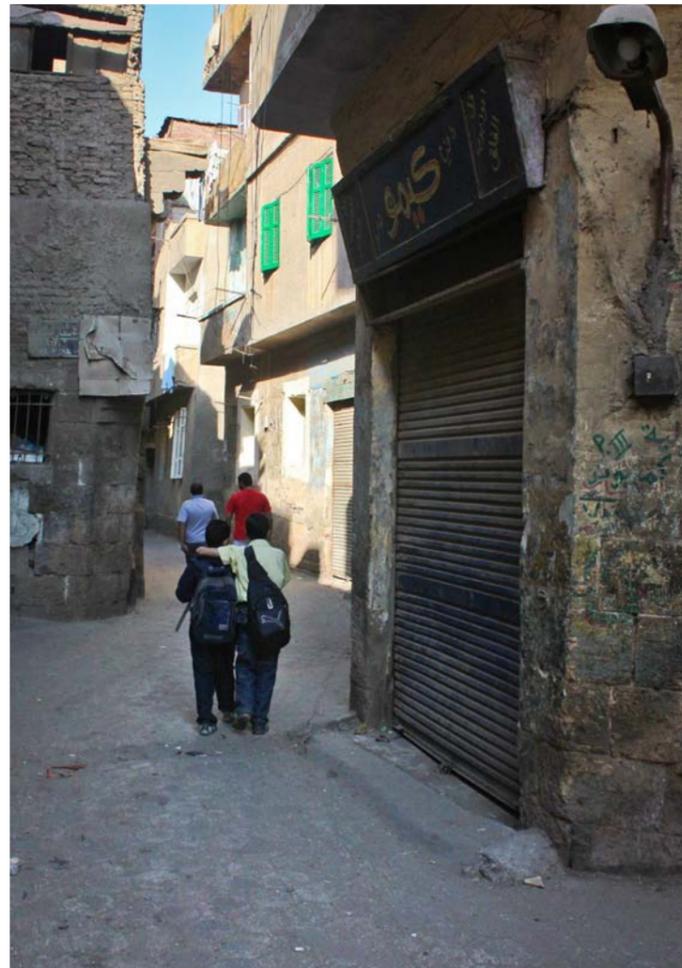
Values Perceived by the Community

Intangible Values:

- Place attachment - longevity in location - family occupation tradition
- Strong social networks that are perceived to be reinforced by:
 - o Appropriation of public space
 - o Resident occupation is often complementary in nature
 - o Inter-marriage within district
- Local “integrative” lifestyle
 - o Dwelling spill out and neighbourly relations, marrying the neighbours’ son
 - o Co-operative ‘work’ culture (borrowing tools, pooling transport, open-door policy...)

Tangible Values:

- Proximity and exposure to significant (monument) religious places
- Proximity and exposure to fine art (heritage buildings and handicraft produced)
- High-level of privacy from outsiders, and from authorities...



CASE STUDY: DAILY ROUTINE OF HAGG ATA AL-MAWLA - UPHOLSTERY MAKER

The convenience of working and living in HC is exemplified in Hagg Ata's daily routine. He walks home to have his warm lunch with his wife. His 3 sons often join him in this daily routine, for although they live and work outside ADAA, they also sustain their upholstery workshops in ADAA (each son sustains 2 jobs).



9:30 am

From HOME to WORKSHOP.

Sitting around workshop along main thoroughfare Haret Al-Mardany.

Dhohr

Prayer at Al-Mardany Mosque

Tending to work needs... sitting inside and/or around workshop.

Occasional buying of home items (mostly food...) – may send items home with a son.

Asr

Asr prayer in Al-Mardany Mosque

From WORKSHOP to HOME to eat – pass by any of the complementary production network workshops on the way.

From HOME to WORKSHOP (around 4:30 pm)

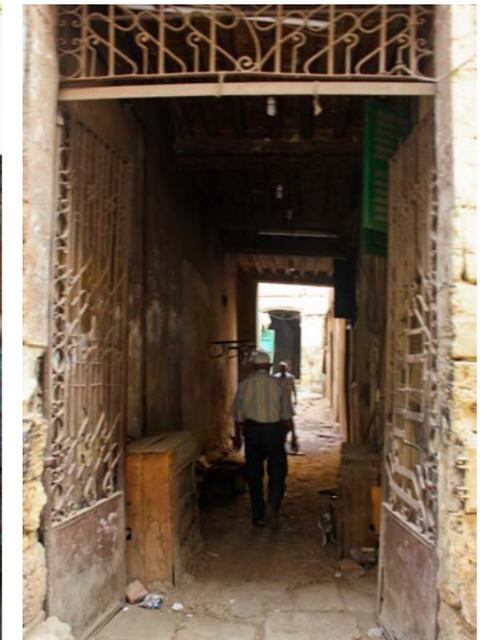
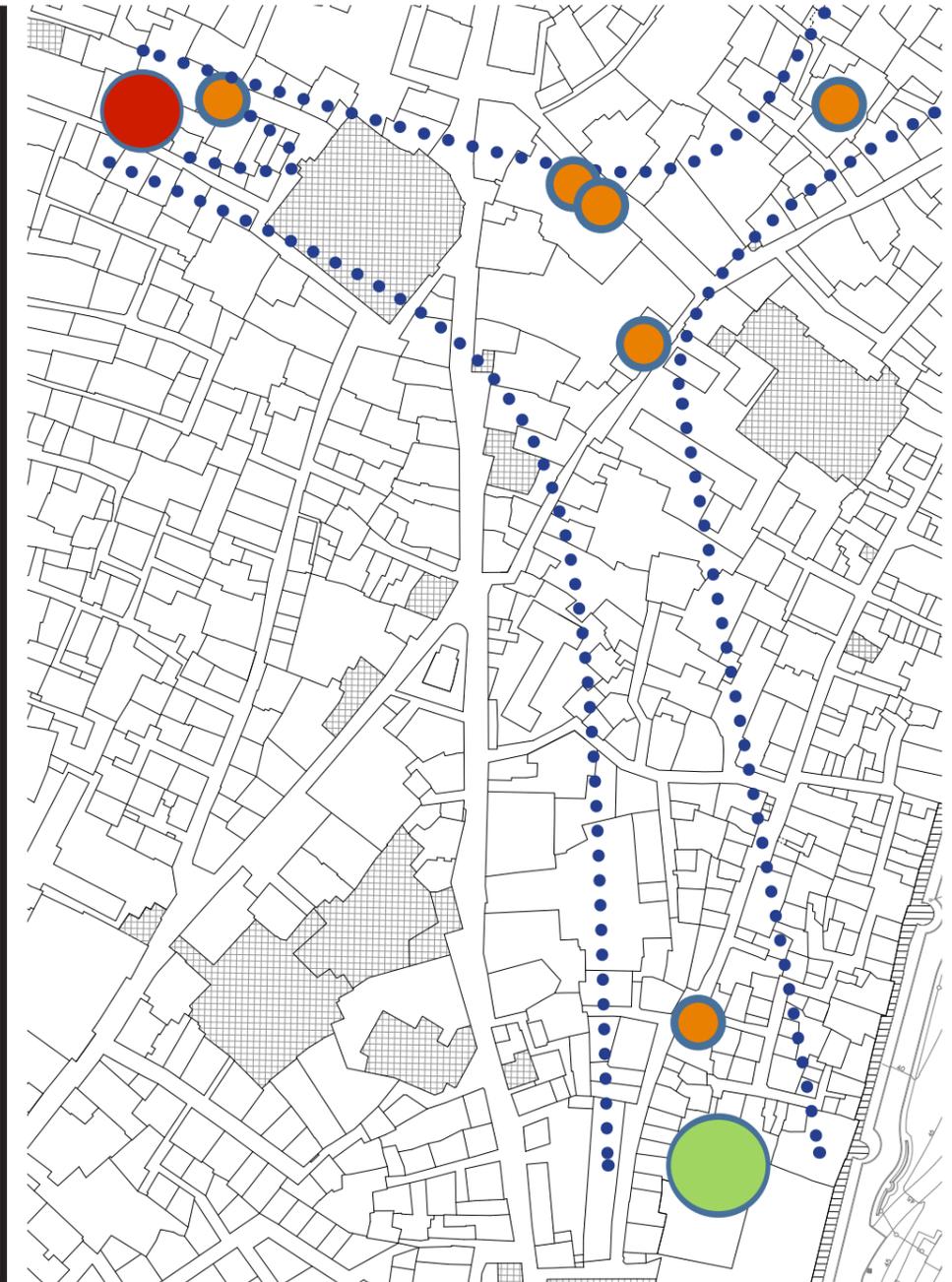
Maghreb

Maghreb prayer in Al-Mardany Mosque

Esha

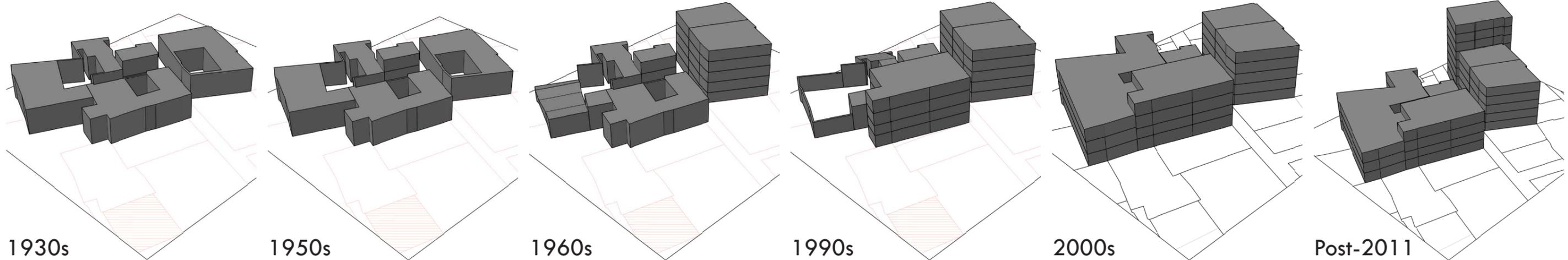
Esha prayer in Al-Mardany Mosque

From WORKSHOP to HOME (½ hour after Esha)



4. MORPHOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION AND DYNAMICS

The population of ADAA and other districts of HC peaked in the 1966 Census, as a result of the massive rural-urban migration after 1952 and the shift towards the industrialization of Egypt. Not until the 2006 Census does ADAA witness an increase in population. This was attributed to many reasons including the transformation of land uses from residential to productive activities, the decay of the housing stock due to compounded reasons, and the periodic freeze on demolition and construction which ran through the 1980s and 1990s making access to new housing in ADAA nearly impossible (apartments in the few violating buildings were sold as condominiums hardly affordable to most). The only choice for newly-weds from the district was to move into the closest Informal Area. Not until new Rental Law of 1996 did the housing market mobilize again. Currently and with the savage drive to build in violation to the height control in HC, some of the former ADAA families who have moved out to informal areas are returning.



1930s

1950s

1960s

1990s

2000s

Post-2011

Large houses were common to house multiple tenant families in addition to extended owner families. Already at the turn of the century many of the inhabitants and tenants were craftsmen (judging by their family names that revealed their vocation). Soon lower levels were used as workshops in addition to the stables for animal-driven carts that were still in use. The gradual demolition of such houses was associated with tenants getting compensated either by new owners, or by the government depending on resources.

Deterioration of existing housing stock peaks and access to public housing in modern districts was offered to those who lost their homes due to total collapse; a reason which encouraged the gradual demolition of larger houses. Awqaf properties are mobilized, some are ended by the heirs and some are sold in public auction by the Awqaf which led to the subdivision of larger plots. Partial demolition and replacement of upper floors with modern structures led to some improvement in living conditions. New comers into the modern apartment buildings were often employed by the state but as craftsmen; that is, they had a vocational job rather than a desk job.

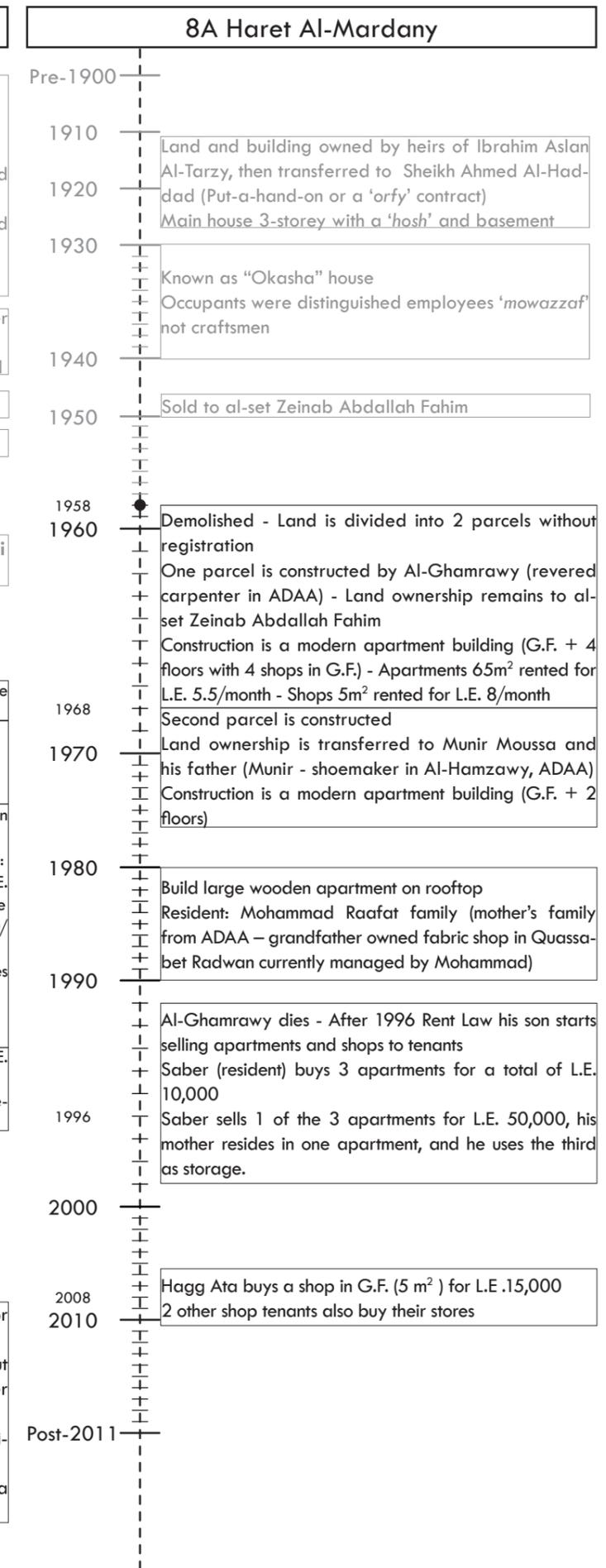
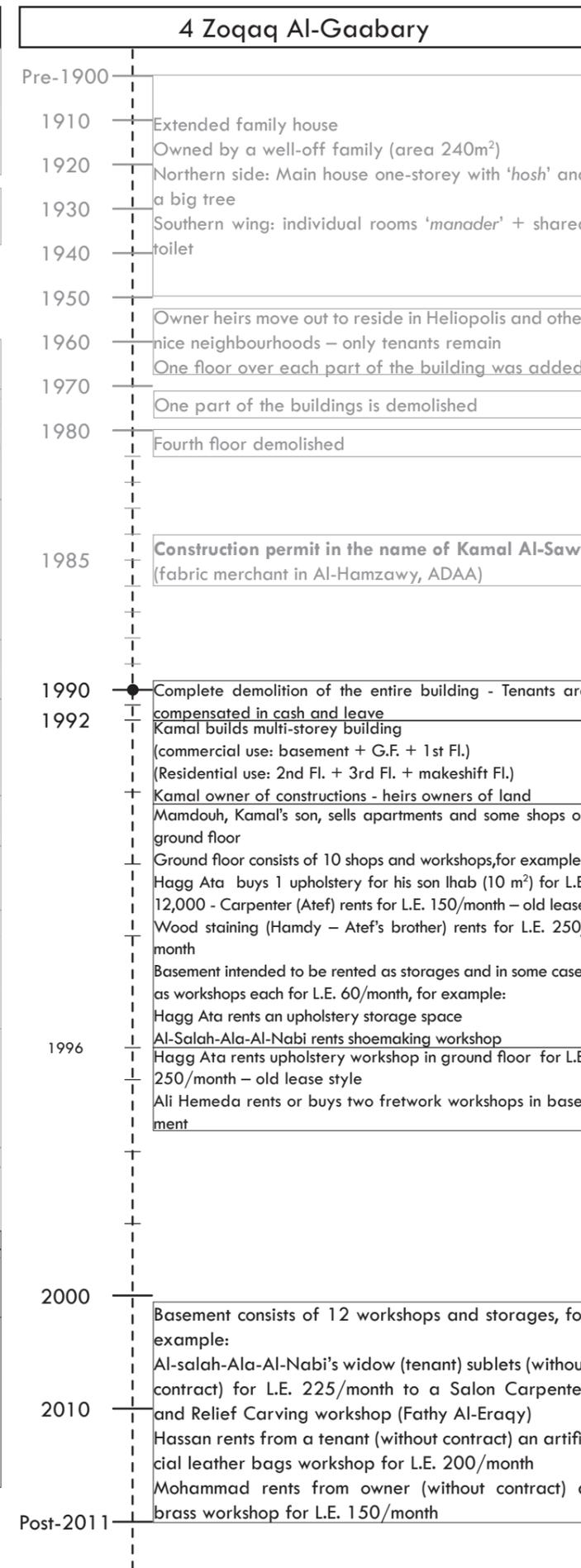
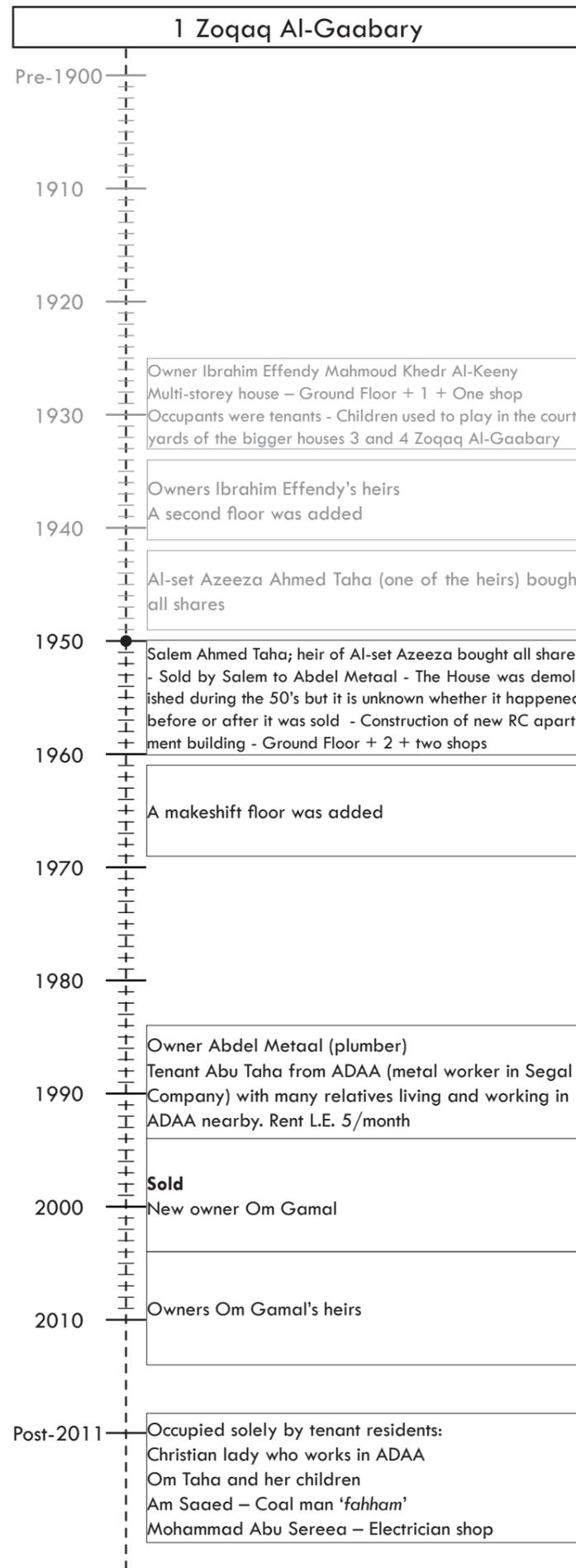
The demolition of deteriorated structures begins to give rise to modern apartment buildings with affordable unit sizes and rents (65–75 m² units for L.E. 5-10 / month rents). Owners' family members would reside in a few apartments and remaining units are leased to tenants from the district; coming through the social network of the owner. This did not result necessarily in an increase in residential density but mainly in a significant improvement in living conditions since the large houses of pre-1937 were in a deteriorated state and often included a number of tenant families in one-room dwellings with a shared bathroom.

The 1992 earthquake leaves 20% of the plots in ruins or in a state inviting demolition. Before the new Rent Law of 1996, with the increase in construction costs and the persistent height restriction of G.F. + 2 fl., it was not too tempting to build for housing. The few new constructions were often entirely occupied by workshops, sometimes as one integrated factory; shoe making was the most adaptable activity to different spaces. Productive activities start invading residential alleys and dead-ends, both at G.F. level and in upper floors. Residential activity spill-out into the semi-private public spaces starts to disappear. After the new Rent Law, youth from the area who would have moved to Bassateen or Mokattam to get married, would stay in ADAA in rentals for L.E. 50-150/month with one and two-year new leases.

Cheap labour from rural areas and poorer parts of Cairo populate the larger productive activities such as the new industrial type; 'vertical factory.' Some of them sleep in their work premises and some rent rooms or beds in the vicinity. This youth population is frowned upon and their conduct mistrusted by HC residents and business owners. Their employers exercise strict control on their behaviour and movement during working hours. They are also subject to social control from workshop owners along the street; the presence of the watchful old-timers does not allow the intruders to disrupt the public space, especially for resident females.

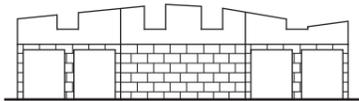
Owners of the post-2011 residential buildings are, in many cases, the same owner(s) of the old building. The local developer/contractor finances the construction and owns a share of the property; there are only two or three well known developers who are active in the entire ADAA district. Residents are usually extended family members of the owner(s) as well as others from the district. Apartments are still advertised the old way, by word of mouth through relatives, neighbours, friends and acquaintances; across the social networks of owners and neighbours.

CASE STUDY: THE STORY OF 4 HOUSES

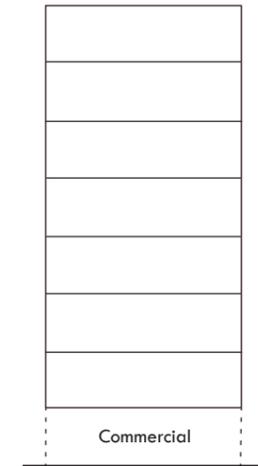
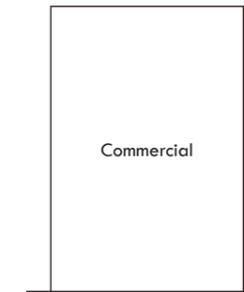
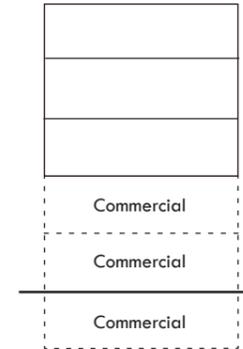
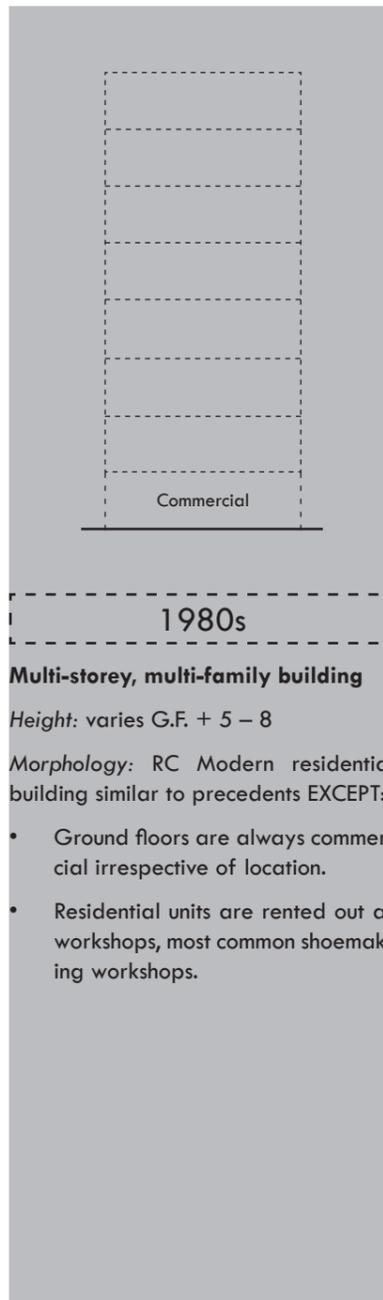
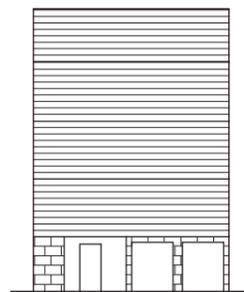
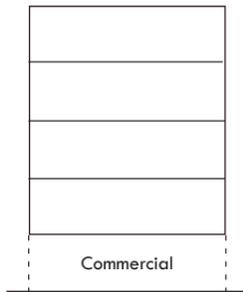
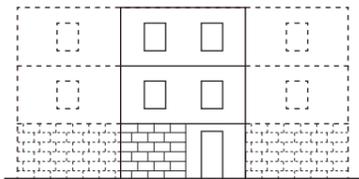


4. a. Aspects of Transformation

BUILDING TYPOLOGY



Deterioration: commercial and productive G.F. sustain their location

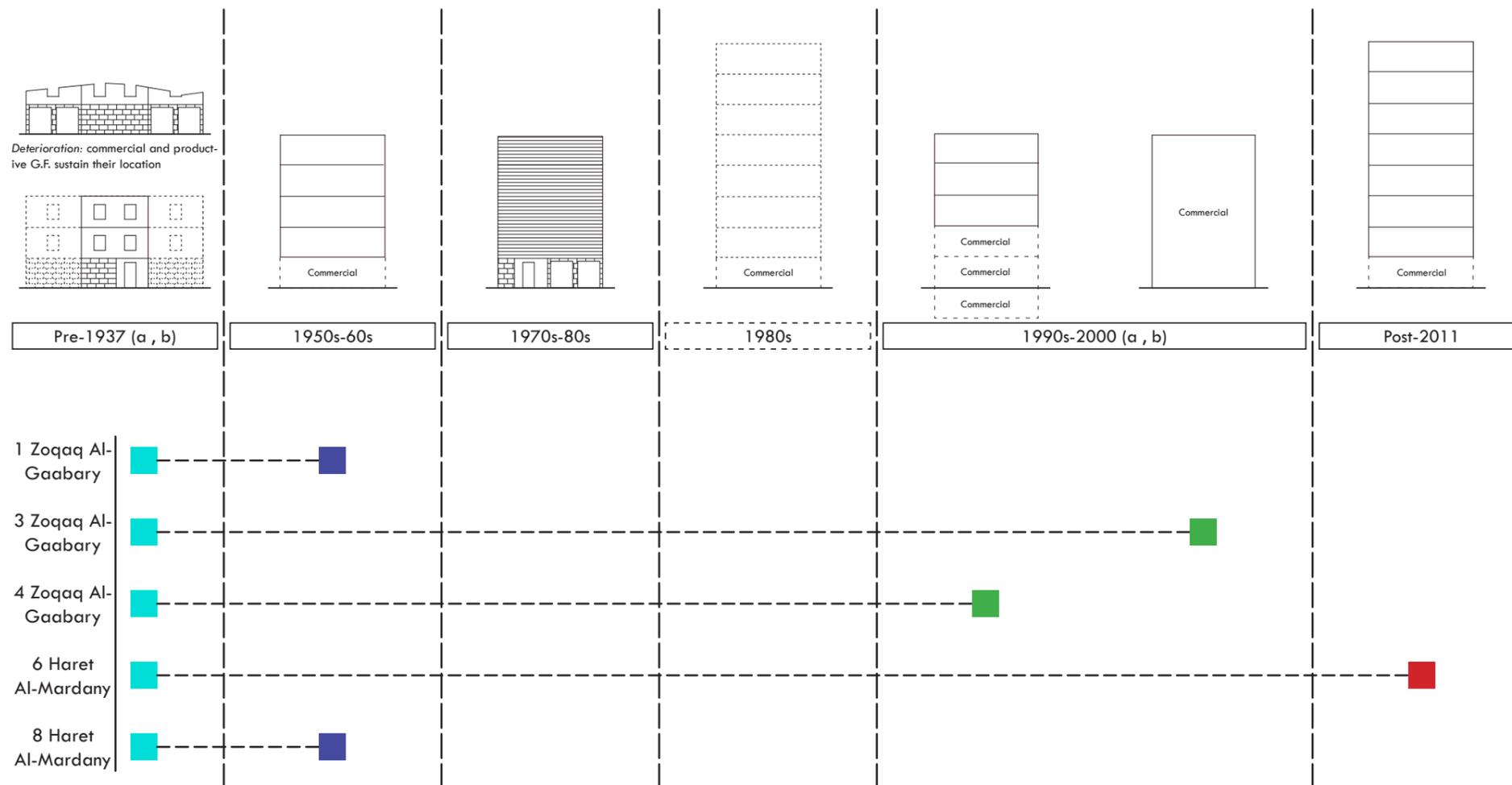
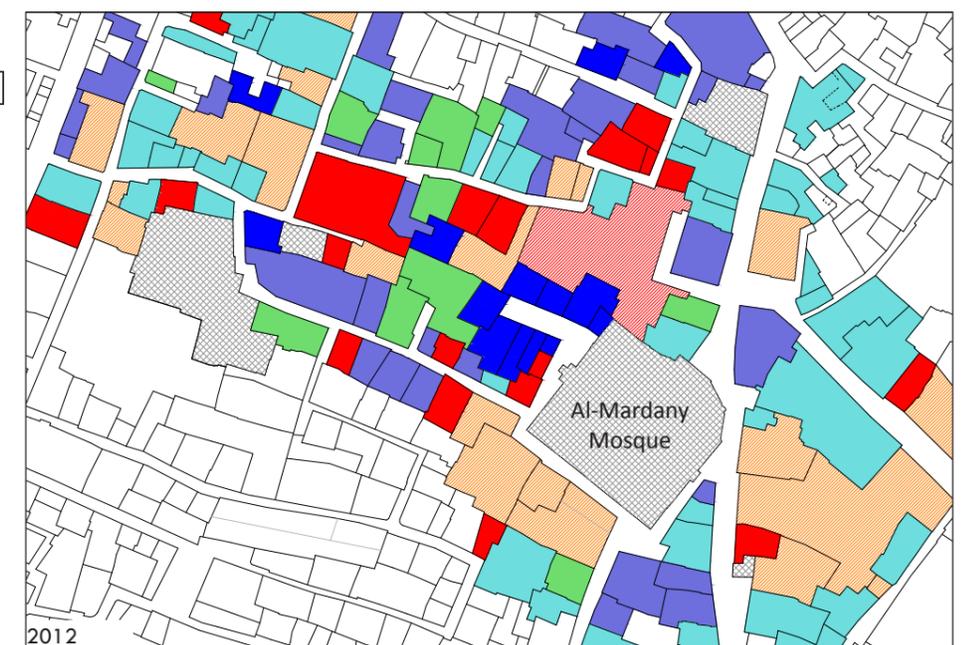
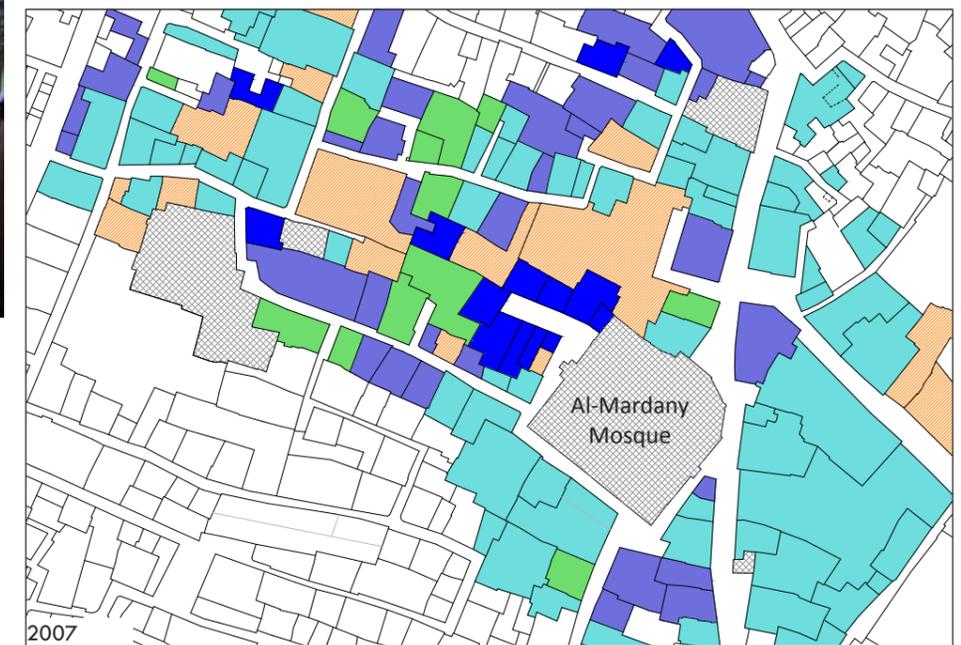
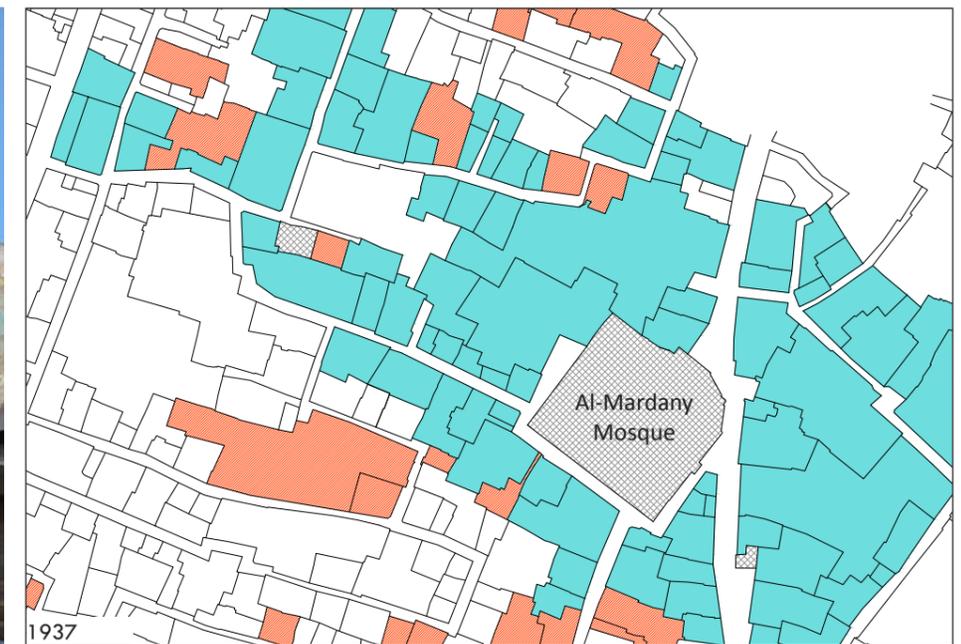


Pre-1937 (a , b)	1950s-60s	1970s-80s	1980s	1990s-2000 (a , b)	Post-2011
<p>(a) Multi-family building or (b) Extended family house</p> <p><i>Height:</i> mostly G.F. + 2</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> Wall-bearing with stone ground floors. Building aligns with all property lines + open-air stairwell(s). (a) 1-2 units/floor. Unit areas between 40 – 70 m². (b) consists of 2 parts: a main building with high ceilings 'salam-lek' and a secondary building 'haram-lek' with multiple rooms and basement. A large garden or 'hosh' separates the buildings.</p> <p><i>Commercial/workshop spaces:</i> only in the ground floor of buildings located along main streets and thoroughfares.</p> <p><i>Occupancy:</i> partial owners and/or tenants (old rents L.E. 2-10/month)</p>	<p>Multi-storey, multi-family building</p> <p><i>Height:</i> mostly G.F. + 4</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> well finished buildings with balconies and of decent quality although not necessarily having a building permit. <i>Commercial/workshop spaces:</i> Mostly in the ground floor of buildings located along main streets and thoroughfares.</p> <p><i>Occupancy:</i> partial owners and/or tenants (old rents L.E. 5-10/month)</p>	<p>Multi-storey, multi-family building</p> <p><i>Height:</i> mostly G.F. + 4</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> Wall-bearing, red brick structures with RC floors. Sometimes built all new, and sometimes added above the stone Ground Floor of an older building. Unfinished façades recall informal areas.</p> <p><i>Commercial/workshop spaces:</i> Mostly in the ground floor of buildings located along main streets and thoroughfares.</p> <p><i>Occupancy:</i> partial owners and/or tenants (old rents L.E. 20-30/month)</p>	<p>Multi-storey, multi-family building</p> <p><i>Height:</i> varies G.F. + 5 – 8</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> RC Modern residential building similar to precedents EXCEPT:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ground floors are always commercial irrespective of location. • Residential units are rented out as workshops, most common shoemaking workshops. 	<p>(a) Multi-storey, HYBRID residential / commercial building</p> <p><i>Height:</i> G.F. + 4</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> RC new hybrid pattern designed to have 50% commercial use.</p> <p><i>Commercial/workshop spaces:</i> In addition to commercial ground floor, commercial basements appear (intended to be storage spaces) and commercial first floors designed to accommodate workshops.</p> <p><i>Occupancy:</i> Residential units are sold. Commercial spaces sold or leased (old leases L.E. 60-250/month).</p>	<p>Multi-storey, multi-family building</p> <p><i>Height:</i> G.F. + 7-9 floors.</p> <p><i>Morphology:</i> RC Modern residential building (hardly any foundations). Ground floors are always commercial irrespective of location. Residential units vary from 65-80 m². Main façade has bright colours and columns while remaining sides are left unfinished.</p> <p><i>Occupancy:</i> Long-term leases (59 years. extendible) with large down payments (advance 50% of the rent), and monthly rents ranging from L.E. 500 – 800.</p>



The building typology discerned from the case study area (table below) was verified through a physical survey of a larger sample of the urban fabric conducted in November 2012 by the research team. The 1937 sample is based on the Egyptian Survey Authority 1:500 Maps of 1937, while the 2007 sample is adapted from a survey conducted by the ADAA Revitalization Project team.

The comparison shows that many of the heritage buildings were still standing till as recent as 2007. This proves how rapidly HC is losing its heritage building stock post-January 2011.



LAND AND PROPERTY TRANSFORMATIONS

Historically the plot sizes reflect great disparity in housing conditions reflecting a social mix in the neighbourhood from very rich families living in private mansions down to modest workers living in single rooms with shared facilities. Over the decades, the population became socio-economically more homogeneous as far as occupation and income. The diversity in plot sizes still exists (see map on the right) yet transformation is converging towards a narrower range as explained below.

Land Subdivision

Small-sized plots are considered one category and include all plots that are less than 100 m². In the older buildings (pre-1937) each floor had one or two small apartments. However, in cases where these small plots are demolished the new developments would have almost always one apartment per floor.

Medium-sized plots can be divided into two categories; the smaller one includes plots between 100 – 300 m² and the second one >300 - 600 m². Medium-sized plots frequently have more than one owner. One scenario is that the plot is subdivided and developed as separate buildings. In this case, the land is registered in the name of the multiple owners together while sustaining its old property lines (case of 8 *Haret Al-Mardany*). The second scenario is where partner owners build a new structure together and maintain fixed shares as a percentage of both building and land. If it is a residential apartment building, each owner could own a number of apartments representative of his or her share (case of 6 *Haret Al-Mardany*). There are also cases where the demarcation of portions of the property between the owners is less obvious as was the case in the industrial building of 3 *Zoqaq Al-Gaabary*.

Large-sized plots can also be divided into two categories; one which includes the more frequent plot sizes ranging between > 600 - 1200 m², and one which involves the few rare cases of extra large plot sizes (1500 up to 2000 m²). The first category is the more common among large plots. When one of these plots is subdivided into numerous smaller plots, it often necessitates the creation of public space for access.

Resulting plot size from this land subdivision is driven by the affordability and housing demand in the area. Since the 1950s and until today the demand is highest for apartments ranging between 60 – 80 m². The plot sizes are therefore such that they can accommodate this desirable apartment size. Until the 1990s the affordability of the developers rarely went beyond buildings that have more than 2 apartments per floor which meant a maximum plot size of around 180 m². Apartment buildings developed post-2011 are reflecting a higher level of financing; apartments buildings are having 4 apartments per floor which is maintaining some medium-sized plots from being subdivided (see figure).



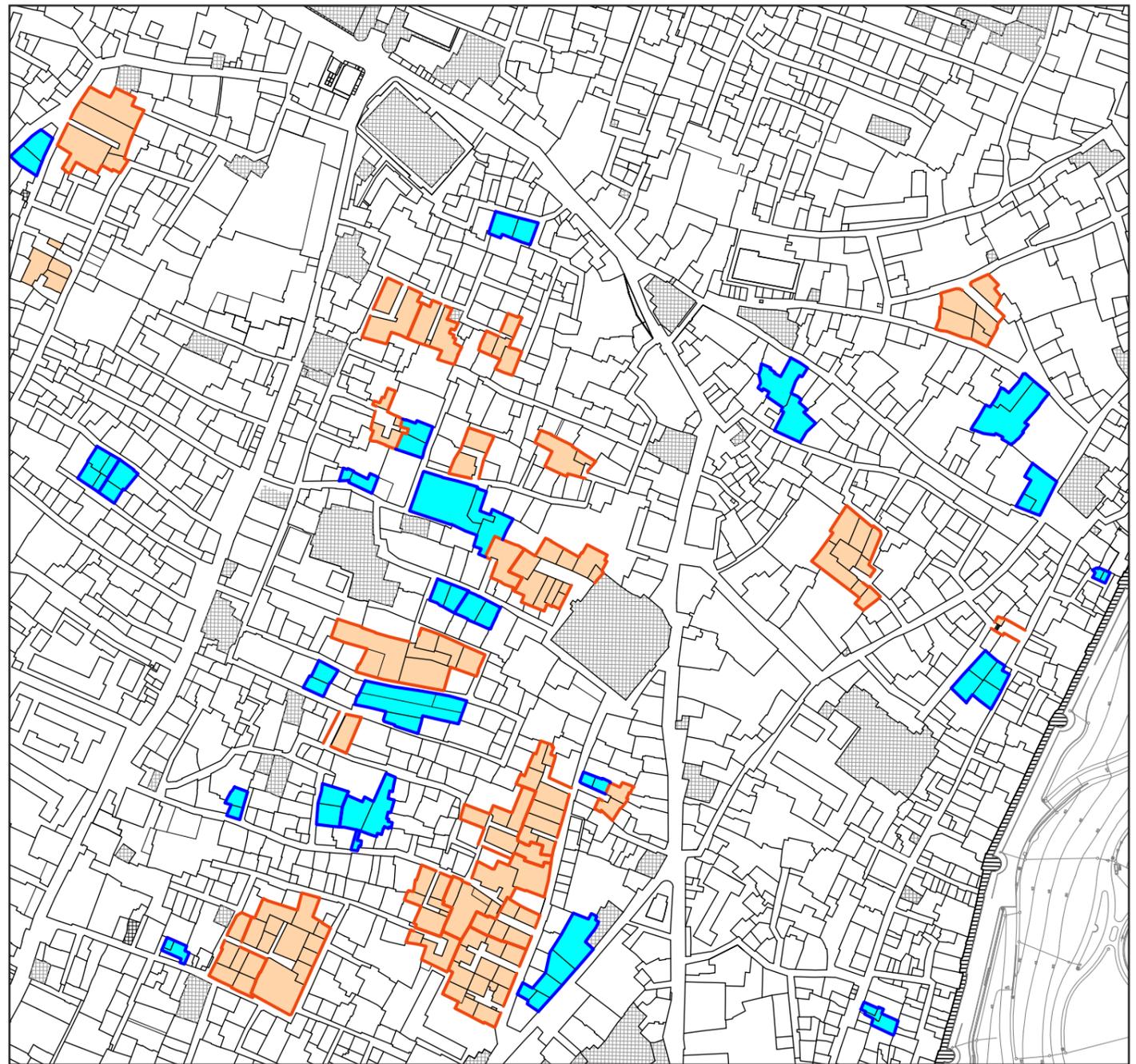
Land Subdivision

The following are examples of subdivisions of large plots where the heirs to the old property (pre-1937 building) demolish the building and subdivide the land among them according to each one's share then sell them as individual plots. Space is dedicated to afford access to the multiple subdivisions thus creating 'new' public space surrounded by several smaller plots. This transformation dynamics brings to mind the production of informal areas where public space is created on private property. The opposite map is a sample of Historic Cairo fabric in ADAA showing the frequency of this land subdivision phenomenon. In some cases, public space is increased by a small portion just enough to give additional frontage to provide access to a new subdivision.

30 Darb Al-Anseya is a case where one of the heirs wanted to build an independent apartment building for his family. The original house owners were two partner families jointly developed the larger part of the plot.

4 Sekket Al-Mardany is a case where the public space created in two individual back-to-back plots was connected to provide access from a deep internal 'atfa' to one of the main thoroughfares, "Sekket Al-Mardany". The initiator is unknown but the benefit is shared by all the neighbours in the vicinity.

6+10 Sekket Al-Mardany is a case where the plot was so large that one access space was not enough, so two dead-end alleys were created to produce plot sizes within the market demand.



Subdivision with creation of public space

Land / Plot Subdivision

Land subdivision procedures

The phenomenon of multiple heirs of private properties in ADAA/HC is witnessed repeatedly where most of times the property stays as one entity 'mashaa' and whatever is done is divided among heirs according to their shares.

But there are cases where one heir or more expresses desire to gain control over their share which requires defining each ones part proofed by official paper. This is usually relevant in large-sized plots where heir(s) assign a "land subdivision specialist" to divide the land among all according to land value and not area, knowing that it could be a trusted person and not a professional. In case heirs agreed upon the proposed division, they head for 'Shahr Aqary' for registry, else, they file a lawsuit 'daawa farz w tagneeb' which will assign a specialist from the ministry who will divide the land between the heirs according to their shares.

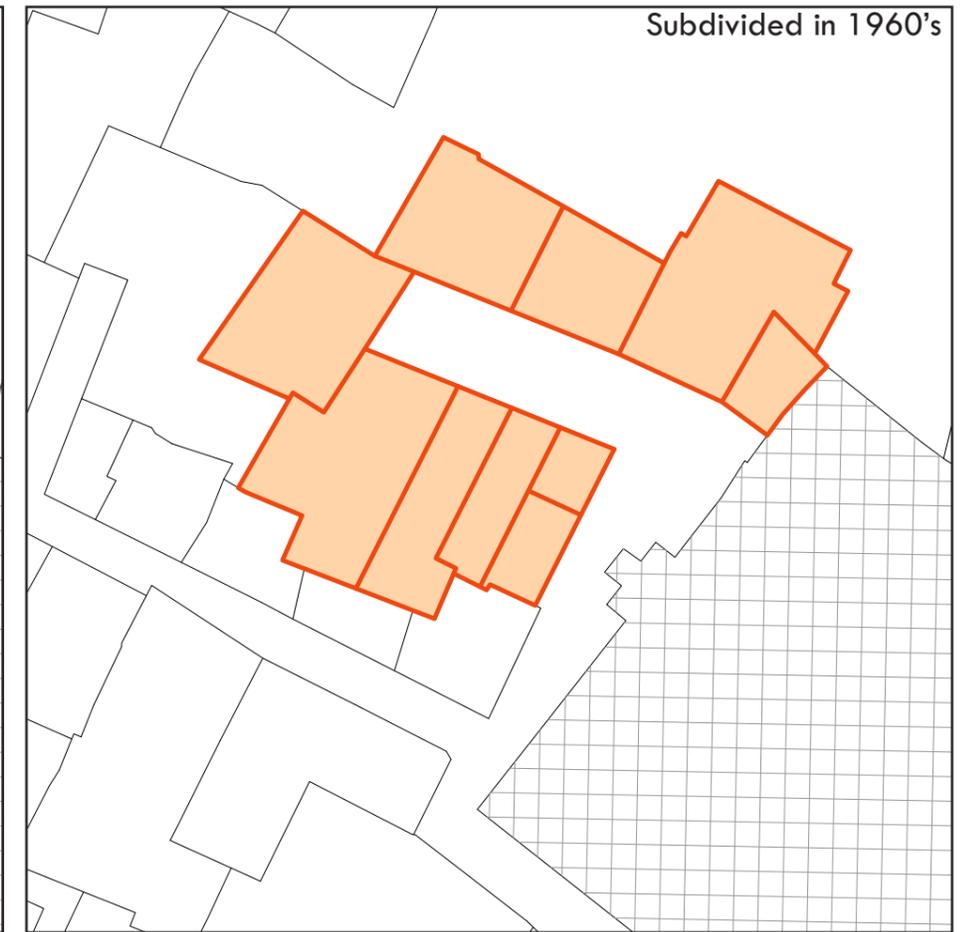
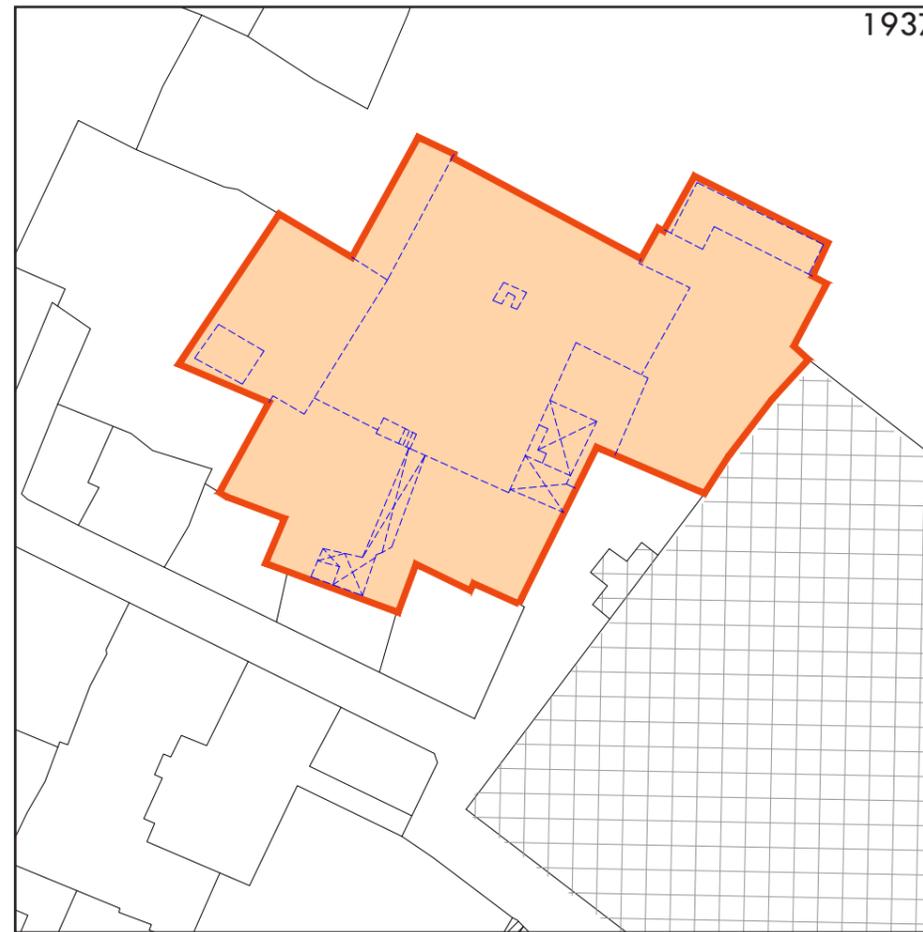
In official documents, new subdivisions are referred to using the original property number besides a note indicating its subdivision and part number, it appears as follows: property number (part number (#) subdivision of (address)). Later on, a representative from al-awayed assign a new "current number" for the subdivision while the original number becomes the "previous number" and disappears from the official documents except Awayed archives.

CASE STUDY - 4 ZOQAQ AL-MARDANY

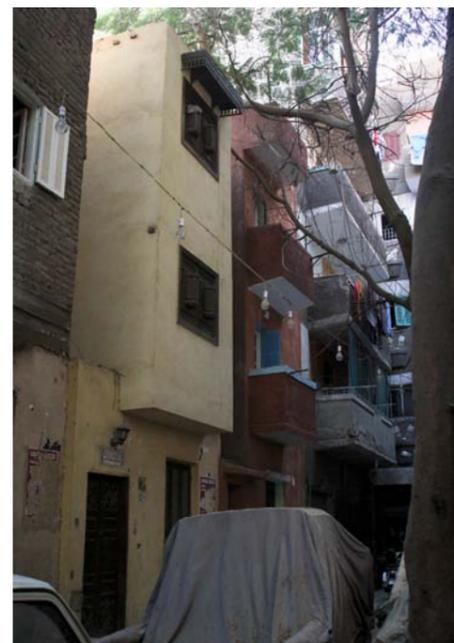
4 Zoqaq Al-Mardany used to have a large family house larger than neighbouring ones (1350 m²). The house, like other houses at that time, consisted of several buildings usually constructed around open court(s); namely it consisted of a house part of it was 2-stories and the rest was 3-stories having an open court with water well in it, 'Maqaad' (construction assigned for sitting) with private staircase, 'Salamlek' or 'Haramlek' (construction assigned for guests either to visit or sleep over), 'Aar-bakhana' (space used to park wood carts dragged by horses or donkeys). Records back to early 1900's show that the house was assigned by its owner lady Rabiya Khatun to be a waqf known as 'waqf al-set Rabiya' under the supervision of 'Nazer al-waqf' which in this case was one of the heirs. This explains the social transformation it witnessed from acting as a family house towards being occupied by a diverse spectrum of tenants, it even gathered different uses; residential, commercial / production, parking / storage. The inappropriate uses beside lack of maintenance help building decay. During 40's and 50's, the waqf was described as a 3-storey building which indicates gradual deterioration of its parts. The house was totally demolished in 1954.

One of the heirs decided to end the waqf and regain control over her share by issuing an end to her endowment in 1950. This step was the trigger to ending the whole endowment by all heirs. All heir owned the whole land 'masha'a' without defining each one's share then land subdivision, a process that happened incrementally through 30 years.

Each plot was sold separately at a different time. The sale of the subdivided 'new' plots started probably around the beginning of the 1960s. Who drafted this subdivision and left that wide space for access, and how did it all gain legitimacy, if at all, and acquire new addresses remains unknown. Hagg Fekry was one of the first developers of the new plots. First he bought one of the narrow long plots (4.0 m x 19.8 m); that is 80 m² for L.E. 4 / m², then he thought it would not yield the number of apartments he planned for his children so he sold it and bought another larger plot 95 m² for the same price across the newly formed zoqaq. Hagg Fekry built his apartment building before 1973 and soon after, during the 1970s, other apartment buildings started to be built. The last was the building at the dead-end of the zoqaq which was built in the 1980s. All buildings in that zoqaq have finished façades. One of the smaller buildings of the 1960s was totally refurbished in the 1980s by a foreign lady and stands out with its traditional 'mashrabeyya' windows.



Hagg Fekry came to ADAA in the 1950s after selling a piece of agricultural land around his hometown, Zefta, in the Nile Delta. First his family lived in 15 Haret Al-Mardany known as 'Beit Al-Mofty' and worked in a workshop in Zoqaq Al-Mardany making metal bed springs. When the house he lived in was demolished, he bought 2 buildings in Darb Al-Mahrouq area in ADAA but disapproved of the social standard of the area; saying they used bad language and dealt in drugs; "not a suitable place to raise children". Because he worked in Zoqaq Al-Mardany, he knew about the selling of land and quickly bought a plot. After settling on the appropriate plot of land he built an apartment building with 8 apartments, giving each of his children an apartment. In the ground floor he opened a workshop for metal bed springs. His eldest son now owns a factory that manufactures them in Al-Deweqa. Hadeer one of Hagg Fekry's daughters is married to Saber from (8 Haret Al-Mardany) and they reside as a family now in her apartment.



ACTIVITIES PATTERNS AND USE

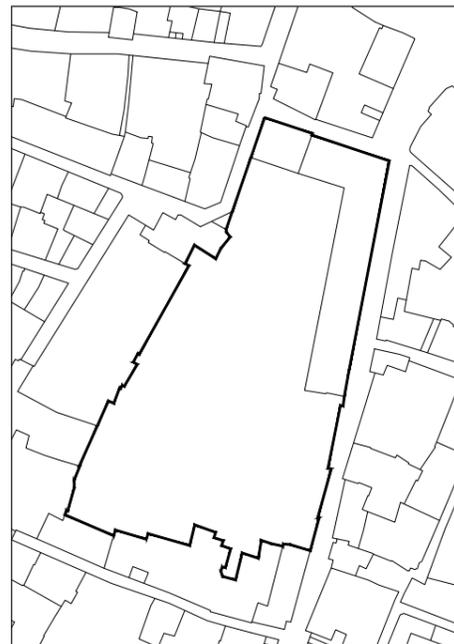
The need for housing in HC is continuous, yet the inherited residential fabric of HC was gradually failing to meet the demand. The large houses deserted by the turn of the 20th Century, mostly dedicated as private 'waqfs', were occupied by ten and twenty households at a time. The larger mansions and palaces of the rich were already in a state of deterioration and deemed unsuitable for housing. Case studies show that by 1945 many were gradually invaded by productive activities.

With the advent of the 1952 revolution and the shift to industrialization, this was encouraged even more. One impact on Historic Cairo's social and urban transformation was the appearance of modern industrial facilities; primarily machine-based rather than traditional-manual-based. This needed more space than traditional handmade productive activities and large neglected properties, waqfs or ruins, were afforded in HC. It is not clear to what extent this industrialization of Historic Cairo was encouraged by the State, but there is no evidence that it resisted this transformation as far as construction permits or tenancy agreements for productive activity.

This does not imply that the demand on housing declined or that ADAA did not experience an increase in residential population. Another impact of the 1952 revolution was the rural-urban migration especially to Cairo. This was associated with a wave of housing development throughout the 1950s and 1960s to replace or renew pre-1937 buildings. However, as shown in the building typology, this residential development also introduced more space for productive activities in the G.F. of those buildings along main thoroughfares.

The following cases demonstrate 3 scenarios of how this transformation from residential to industrial land use occurred:

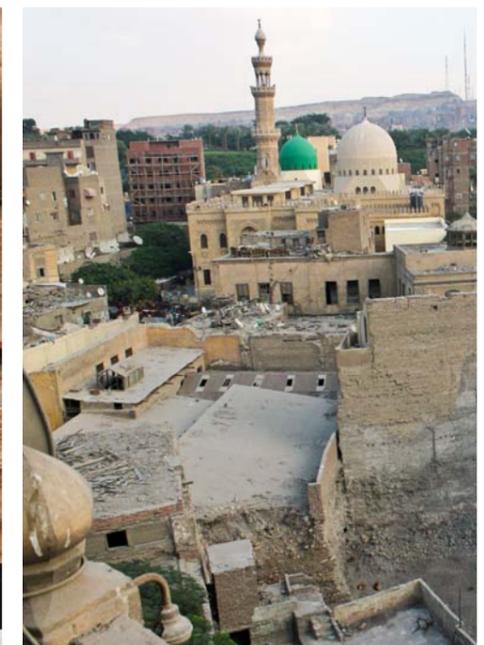
The question still remains: Did this transformation in use towards increasing productive activities occur in HC because of the concentration of skilled labour population (ACTORS), or because of the available space in the under-utilized and unappreciated heritage fabric (SPACE)?



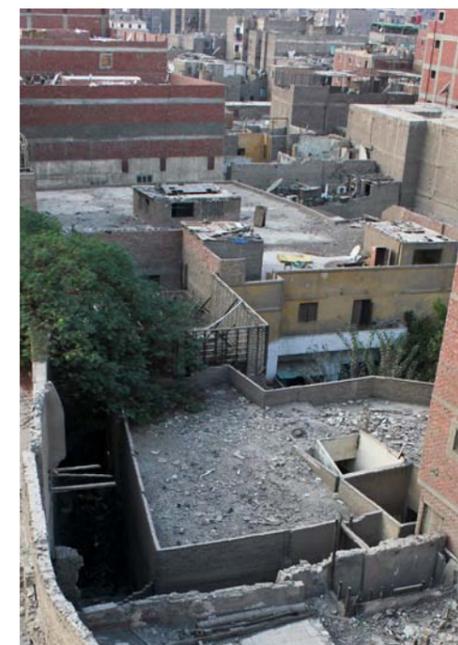
Adaptation of historic ruins: Inside Radwan Bey's complex, owned by Awqaf, was a large wood-cutting and metal-cutting workshop known as Wekalet Shomar (1250 m²). This workshop flourished between 1950s and 1970s and was said to have been so significant that the National Railways sent train wheels to be lathed there. It was also said to have had its own electricity generators; 'wabour' fuelled by fossil fuel, as well as a well and pump for water. The walls of this large workshop are still the stone remains of the 17th C. structures (stables and part of the house) but the 12-meter high truss roof was added for industrial purposes.



Large private house: 4 Darb Al-Soyyagh was a large private property (1250 m²) with a grand house, a garden with a well. The property was a private 'waqf' with a carpenter workshop tenant as early as the 1940s. In the 1950s the 'waqf' ends and new owners rent the entire property to a clothing factory. Since the "Cooperative of Furniture Makers of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar," rented it in the 1960s, the 3-storey building was in neglect but still intact with its carved façades and painted Ottoman ceilings. Valuable parts of the house were dismantled and sold; some say by one of the cooperative directors, yet he could have been acting on behalf of the owners, leading anyway to the gradual destruction of the heritage building.



New factory: The records of 28 Tabbanah Street show how a private waqf mansion (2460 m²), started to have productive activity as early as 1945 (textile workshop in a wooden addition in the courtyard). In 1950 the waqf ends. New owners in 1951 demolish the old buildings and add new structures gradually till 1958 to become a full-fledged factory that manufactures medium and small-size kerosene burners. The site includes the industrial building following regulations, a front yard for truck loading, 8 units for social housing in the back in addition to an apartment building on the main street, Al-Tabbana Street with workshops, and shops.



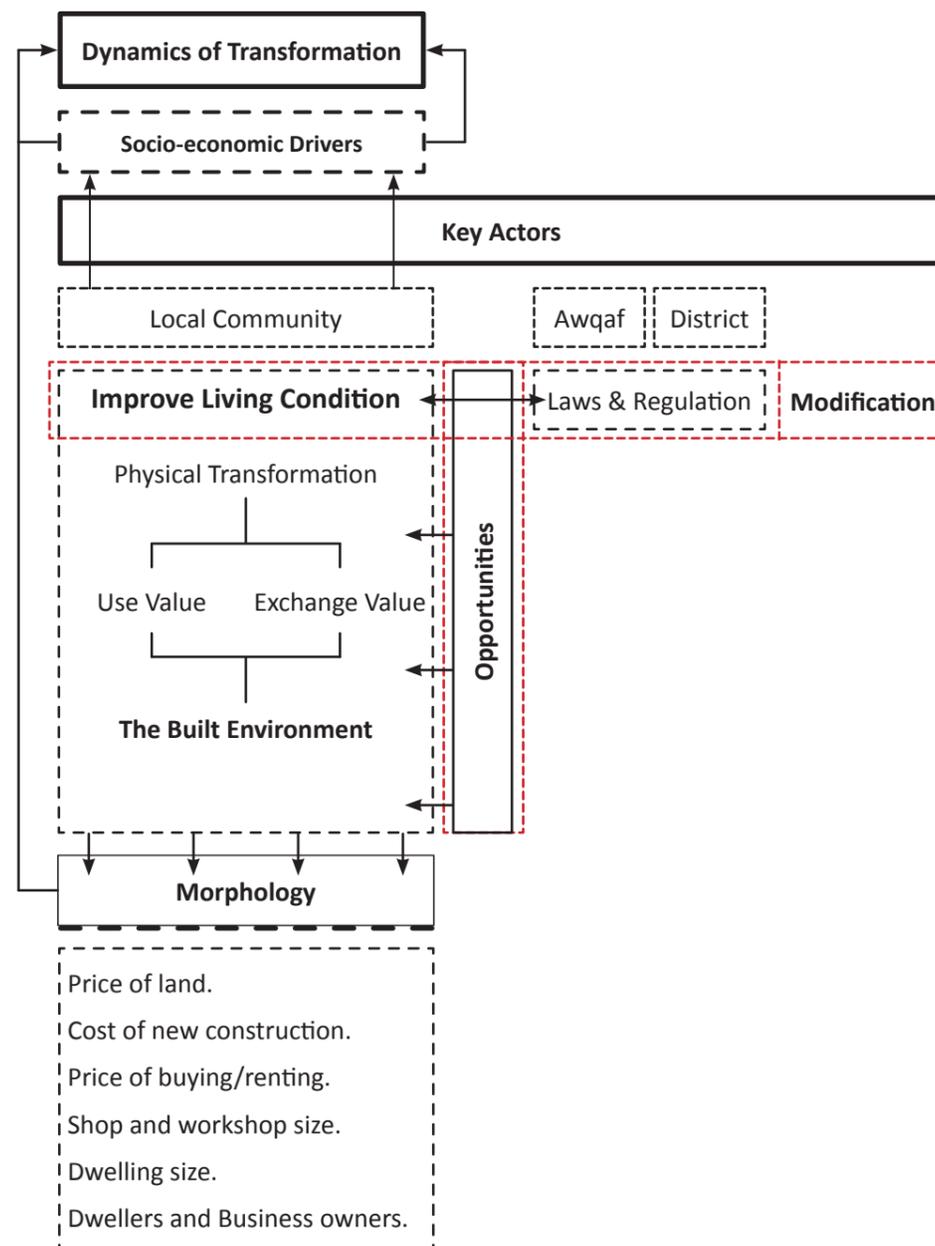
4. b. Drivers of Local Development

The study reveals that the dynamics of transformation is not alien to the local community but rather a form of local development; it is a product of local energies and of social development. Socio-economic drivers of the dynamics of local development involve what the local community reads as opportunities to **improve Quality of Life through physical transformation that either increases the use value, and/or the exchange value, of the built environment.** This involves the price of land, the cost of new construction, the price of buying or renting an apartment, the shop and workshop size in demand, the dwelling size in demand, and last but not least who those dwellers and business owners are.

The main influencing factors are laws, regulations and physical plans for HC; how realistic they are, and the extent to which they can be appropriated or violated sets the framework within which the local community interacts with other actors. On the one hand, some of those regulations are unreasonable, like the 1971 Plan that re-adjusted property lines in HC to solve traffic problems of Greater Cairo. Some favoured the benefit of one portion of the local community over another, like the Rent Control Law that was unfair to property owners. The local community was never consulted in the development of any laws, regulations and plans that governed the urban context they lived and worked in for generations, so the result is a constant attempt to work around those regulations which was made possible by poor urban management practices. The **slackness in enforcing** regulations translated into the development opportunities perceived by the local community; this varied over time. For decades ways were devised to by-pass the regulations that set the building height at G.F. + 2 Fl. in HC and building two extra floors illegally was usually possible. The regulation did not change post-January 2011, yet the opportunity for violation was expanded in the current political situation. With current demolition and construction costs, and the improved financial capacity of both local developer and potential dwellers, the profitable and feasible development scenario is G.F. + 7 Fl..

There are even ways devised to eventually gain full legitimacy. The same applies to the laws and regulations governing the waqf properties and the poor management this sector is suffering to date.

A more optimistic practice in local development is the application of the New Rent Law of 1992, which was appropriated by the housing market to balance between the gains of both parties; owners and tenants. After a few years of suffering insecure tenure, a market-enforced practice spread in all urban fabric driven by local development; increasing lease terms to 59 years, while keeping rent value high yet constant and paying a down payment towards 50% of the rent for at least 10 years in advance. This win-win formula is to the satisfaction of both owners and tenants for it allowed and encouraged housing development that is affordable to the tenant and profitable to the owner.



This dynamic of local development is very much alive and needs to be sustained, BUT the available perceived opportunities should be modified to redirect the morphology of the end product.

Not for the heritage value of the physical environment alone, but because the Management Plan is aimed towards protecting, and improving living conditions not necessarily to attract tourists.

		1990's	2000's	2012
Residential (prices)	Rent	1996 Old Lease: L.E. 5-10/month. New Lease: (one year renewable) L.E. 150/month.	New Lease: (one year renewable) L.E. 300/month.	2011 New Lease: L.E. 700-800/month L.E. 400-500/month (rare) Long-term Lease (59 yrs) and extendible: (80 m ²) L.E. 500-800/month + L.E. 50,000-65,000 down payment (Advanced 50% of the rent) Short-term Lease: (5 yrs) L.E. 750/month + L.E. 60,000 insurance
	Ownership			L.E. 2000 - 2500/m ²
Commercial (prices)	Rent	Old Lease: L.E. 60/month (10 m ² - basement) Old Lease: L.E. 150/month (20 m ² - G.F) "Old" Lease: L.E. 250/month (12 m ² - G.F)	New Lease: L.E. 150-225/month (5-10 m ² - basement)	New Lease: L.E. 600/month (10-12 m ²) Renters pay insurance proportional to length of contract (at least 1 month rent for each year. In some cases, additional advance rent is paid.
	Ownership	L.E. 1200/m ²	L.E. 3000/m ²	L.E. 3500/m ²
Land (prices)	Ownership	L.E. 500 - 600/m ²	L.E. 500 - 600/m ²	L.E. 2000 - 3000/m ² (inner parts) L.E. 3000 - 4000/m ² (main streets)



DEMOLITION MOTIVATIONS

Laying clear the underlying motivations that lead to the demolition of heritage buildings would reveal where exactly can modifications be implemented to divert the decision away from demolition. The building owner, a tenant in the building or a district representative may trigger the demolition of a heritage building. Proof of deterioration is the only way to demolish a building and it is the district engineer's task to inspect this proof and to judge whether or not to issue a Demolition Decree. However, between the district engineer, the building owner(s) and the residents, there is a set of motivations that explain the different scenarios that lead to the issuance of a Demolition Decree.

Owners:

There are several factors that motivate a property owner, or owners, to demolish an old building, especially if they are not residing in their property and these include:

- **Low rents:** Rent Control Law since 1947 had fixed monthly rents at under L.E. 10 per apartment and given tenants unlimited security of tenure over the generations. The 1996 Rent Law discontinued this inheritance of leases and allowed owners to raise those old rents but not to market prices. The revenue was still too low to make it desirable for owners to sustain the situation.
- **Multiple heirs:** When a property is old and revenue becomes dispersed among a large number of heirs, it becomes so negligible that the tendency is to sell the property to distribute the shares between the heirs. If the parcel of land is larger than the affordability of the local market, it is easier to demolish the property, subdivide the land into smaller parcels and sell them individually.
- **Waqf Property:** The problem of multiplicity of heirs increases immensely in the case of private waqf properties to the extent that they are often forgotten by the heirs as well as the managing 'nozzar'; a fact that leads to deterioration and eventual collapse of the property.
- **No recognition of heritage value:** When the heritage value of those old buildings is not recognized by social institutions such as banks and taxing systems that give incentives to owners of heritage buildings encouraging their upkeep, the exchange value of the vacant land becomes higher than the value of the property with the existing old building.
- **Opportunity for redevelopment:** The value of the vacant land is reciprocal to the extent to which the land can be developed; that is to the revenue it can yield either through leasing or selling the new development.

The HIGHER the revenue from possible redevelopment the HIGHER the motivation to demolish the existing building...

When owners, or partial owners, are also residents in their property, the motives mentioned above are usually balanced by 'place attachment' to their home and associated benefits of continuing living in their community (see tenants). It is important to note that most resident owners desire to go living in the area.

Also, the presence of partial owners in the surrounding community, it mitigates this phenomenon. Records show that partial owners who are present in the area, may tend to buy the shares of more distant owners. This may be a strategy to make the number of owners more manageable (evidence from ADAA show that the manageable number of building owners does not exceed four owners).

Tenants:

The privileges granted by the old rent leases to tenants of old buildings (security of tenure and negligible rent) are balanced with the disadvantages of enduring the poor physical conditions of the building. Most tenants seek improving those physical conditions while sustaining living in the same district/community, and so they spend continually in poorly implemented seasonal repairs. Not knowing of an alternative solution, and in the presence of certain conditions, some tenants are motivated to seek a demolition decree to attain this end.

- **Repair:** Tenants used to go to the district to report the deterioration of a building in order for the district to issue a 'repair' or 'rehabilitation' decree, 'Amr Tankees'. This decree used to oblige property owners to repair or reconstruct parts of the deteriorated building as needed (1950s -1970s). In more recent years, this action often back-fired and led to an interception by the owner(s) to make the District issue a Demolition Decree instead through bribing the District engineer!
- **Opportunity for Compensation:** The government usually offers shelter housing to tenants who lose their homes due to a disaster or collapse. Every now and then, the government offers access to subsidized housing to those tenants. This is highly attractive to some tenants even if the compensation dwelling units are in remote areas. Tenants would cause serious damage to the building often leading to partial collapse and the District would easily issue a Demolition decree. In these cases, tenants would soon exchange their compensation units for cash from someone who wants to live there, and comes back to rent another place in the district or origin. When compensation exchange value does not guarantee a tenant the affordability to re-enter into the housing market in his or her original district, this motive is weakened.

Only when opportunity affords sustaining living in HC do tenants resort to demolition.



3 Haret Al-Mardany demolition decree was issued in March 2012

District:

The last actor that has motivations to seek demolition is the District itself, since demolition fees, legal as well as illegal in the form of bribes, are seen as an income to District employees. Even worse are the fees of violating building heights in new developments. The prospective of fining the owner of a new development L.E. 600 for each square meter of illegal construction is also an income to the local government.

Demolition procedures and practices:

1. Owner goes to District and reports poor building condition – if partial owners were residents and left or died, other partial owners have access to afflict serious damage to the building.
2. Owner bribes District engineer who comes to inspect the building to assess deterioration as irreparable.
3. District issues a Demolition Decree.
4. Residents get eviction letters and are forced to leave (compensated or not).
5. Demolition implementation occurs under the supervision of District engineer whose name is stated in the demolition license.
6. The demolition contractor and the owner(s) are responsible for any damages that may occur to neighbouring properties, that is why a sum of money is indicated in the demolition decree (L.E. 10,000 in 2010), 10% of which is paid as non-refundable fees, while the rest is paid as refundable insurance to cover those damages, if any.
7. Police must be informed and is responsible to force the eviction of tenants.

Post 2011 in ADAA, a contractor would take full responsibility for the demolition without any involvement from the owner(s) for L.E. 20,000 – 30,000

DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND ALTERNATIVES

For a long time building permits in HC, including ADAA, limit the building height to G.F. + 2 Fl. in most of the fabric except along main streets where building height is G.F. + 3 Fl.. This is still the permitted building height to date. In the 1950s and through the 1970s many heritage buildings were still inhabited by their partial owners who along with tenants sought to **improve the quality of life** in those buildings through repair applying to the authorities to get a Repair Permit. Repairs were either superficial involving re-plastering of façades with modern finishing, or partial reconstruction of upper floors with poor know-how leading to the depreciation of the heritage value of the buildings. The larger properties that were sold and subdivided allowed new construction some of which abided by the height control and some violated it by adding a couple illegal floors usually by bribing officials. These developments were profitable **investment** for property owners and who sought to maximize profit by building to the maximum they can get away with.

After the earthquake of 1992, 20% of the plots became vacant or in ruinous condition. This is a case of temporal policies that offer occasional opportunities. During those periods, households who want to stay on living in ADAA have seized the opportunity and demolished the old buildings they live in to be illegible for such apartments. Those residents who were given subsidized housing in new cities quickly exchanged the subsidized unit, took the cash and moved back to ADAA accepting to live even in the most severely deteriorated buildings to benefit from other gains in living and working conditions.

With practically a freeze on building permits during the 1990s, newly formed families of the resident population moved out to the closest **informal areas**; in this case to Bassateen, Mansheyet Nasser or Mokattam. Paying a down payment towards rent and gaining secure tenure through long-term leases, they moved to affordable housing in under-serviced areas. Lacking the social and spatial advantages offered by HC, most of those who moved out kept their work and family ties in ADAA seeking an opportunity to return.

From 2001 to 2010 the **Housing Rehabilitation Program (HRP)** developed by the Aga Khan Cultural Services – Egypt (AKCS-E) agency presented an alternative development scenario focusing on the rehabilitation of the old housing stock and the development of vacant lots in accord with the architectural character of the heritage fabric. Local community members found it beneficial and by 2010, more than 100 buildings were rehabilitated and several infill buildings developed; the program had more than 50 other building applications when donor funding ran out and the program had to close. The plan was to mainstream this program into the District's operation in all districts forming HC; where local government would take up play the role of the project agency with specially trained staff and public funds allocated to partner residents in the financing of the rehabilitation process, but this did not happen.

In general, development opportunities were set according to the ability of whoever is constructing to have the right connections with city officials, and have the finance needed to cover both construction costs and informal bribes to get by the regulations. The opportunity for violation varied over time. **Post-January 2011** the extreme passiveness of the government and its reluctance to reprimand building violations has led to an aggressive increase in development opportunities in HC as much as everywhere else in the urban scene. The role of each actor in this development opportunity and the perceived gains is discussed further in the following section addressing Key Actors.

Post January-2011 development opportunity

All construction post-January 2011 exceeds allowed building height flagrantly. Construction process and building height is almost standardized at (G.F. + 7) and consists of a residential apartment building with a commercial ground floor divided into several identical spaces that can be sold or rented as either workshop, storage or retail shop. The building permit is issued for ground + 2 fl., then, extra illegal floors are built without a permit. The illegal construction of those extra floors is not a simple process that anyone can handle; it is rather a complicated process that involves actors that play together with strict synchronization under the direction of the key actor who is the Local Developer/Contractor. He usually draws upon the expertise of a closed network that includes a lawyer, the District, and the Police. According to one Local Developer, "One example of the delicacy of the process is the timing of issuing a violation record '*mahdar*' by District during construction of extra floors; if the '*mahdar*' is issued floor by floor, the person in whose name the building permit is issued can be imprisoned, while issuing the same '*mahdar*' for two floors at a time will save him from such a fate." The District then issues a fine of L.E. 600 / m² of floor area for the illegal floors, as a step towards acquiring legality. Owners apply and get an Electric Meter; having an electric meter receipt (known as the red receipt) is an important proof of legality situation as well as issuing a "Practice License" for a any of the workshops or shops in the G.F.. Trusted Local Developers usually partner original owners in the new property to enable them both legally and financially. Construction period for the entire building is around 12 weeks, so it is a win-win situation as far as all actors are concerned.



Alternative: The case of the Housing Rehabilitation Program in ADAA

The Housing Rehabilitation Program (HRP) was one of the pioneer programs in the historic city aiming to improve living conditions as well as preserve the heritage fabric, both social and physical. It was part of a larger multi-facet community development and neighbourhood revitalization project in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district of Historic Cairo initiated by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), an international non-profit organization, in collaboration with the local government and the donor community. Initial studies revealing residents' perceived value of the area, priorities and preferences were the basis upon which the program was initiated to ensure affordability, cultural appropriateness, and consequently sustainable positive impact of rehabilitation efforts.

The Aga Khan Cultural Services – Egypt (AKCS-E) provided the technical support and implementation of the rehabilitation, as well as the financing and social support needed to overcome impeding regulations and resolve the complications related to tenure in HC. In this scenario, residents paid 50% of the cost of rehabilitation while a grant would cover the remaining 50%. The Each building occupant household contributes an amount in proportion to the percentage of total building area they occupy irrespective whether they are resident owners or tenants. Commercial and productive activities contribute at a higher rate / m². A minimum down payment of L.E. 5,000 is obligatory on all occupants. Occupants have the choice to increase the down payment and minimize monthly instalment amounts. They also get to choose the period over which they would pay their instalments with a maximum of 6 years. All this is determined in the contract that building occupants sign collectively with the rehabilitation financing and implementation body, in this case the AKCS-E.

In the case of new development in vacant lots, there was no grant money; the project offered the technical support in design and implementation totally financed by property owners (usually future residents).



4. c. Key Actors

The main actors in this development process are the local community who reads opportunity in the context of laws and regulations; the District with its authority to issue Demolition Decrees and Building Permits; and the Ministry of Awqaf, as property owner of a multitude of plots and buildings. Explaining the role played by each key actor helps reveals where modifications may alter the dynamics towards a better built environment.

LOCAL COMMUNITY

Development dynamics over the years as well as in the Aga Khan project alternative indicates that property owners who are also residents of their properties are the most influential in the dynamics of local development. The gains resident owners seek are mainly about improving quality of life since previous research shows that almost all residents would prefer to go on living in the area than move to the housing alternatives in new cities or informal areas. As long as economic gains from development alternatives are not dazzlingly imbalanced, resident owners would be satisfied with reasonable financial gains to sustain the valued lifestyle and social gains of preserving the unique morphology of HC. The HRP alternative of the Aga Khan project also proves that tenants are also willing to invest in balancing the financial gains for property owners, enough to dissuade them from wanting to demolish their properties. Within this program, when new development (G.F. + 2 Fl..) was implemented with local community the results were sustained. The one case where the development contract was violated, by adding an extra floor, was by a café owner from Tanta, who bought into the program with expectations of boosted tourism and then was disappointed as an investor.

Post January-2011 construction (current practice)

Ownership: Shared among Local Developer and Owners of land and demolished building.

Cost: Including construction and procedure L.E. 450,000 - 500,000 for an average plot size (170 m²).

Size: G.F. + 7 Fl. with 15 apartments + 2-3 shops or workshops.

Financial gain:

If Owners get 3 – 4 apartments to reside in, the remaining apartments are sold and/or rented to yield revenue that is divided between Owners and Local Developer. The share of each depends on the deal made with the Local Developer. If 75% of the dwelling units are sold and rented the down payments from selling or leasing units would probably totally finance the construction of the new building (see table below). The remaining L.E. 1,300,000 covers the Local Developer's fees as a contractor (usually 20% of construction cost; i.e. L.E. 100,000) leaving a residual of 1,200,000 as profit to be shared between Owners and the Local Developer. How much do owners profit is unknown but from the land prices in ADAA, one can assume that the Local Developer gets a much larger share.

Tenure	Unit Price	Number of Units	Total
Selling:	L.E. 180,000 (70 – 80 m ²)	x 6 apartments	= L.E. 1,080,000
	L.E. 140,000 (35 – 45 m ²)	x 3 shops	= L.E. 420,000
Renting:	New Lease (long term): L.E. 50,000 down payment + L.E. 500 / month rent	x 6 apartments	= L.E. 300,000 + L.E. 1,500 monthly income for 20 years, increasing to L.E. 3000 for 30 years.
TOTAL			L.E. 1,800,000 + Monthly rent revenue

N.B. It should be noted that prices of NEW construction, whether selling or rental, do NOT include interior finishing of walls, floors, or sanitary equipment of apartments. In some cases they would do not include electric wiring and plumbing because these are items that future occupants are keen to supervise their installation themselves to assure good quality.



Non-monitory gains are valued as long as an acceptable Quality of Life is affordable.

Non-monitory gains are considered as long as the opportunities for financial gains do not exceed the imaginable.

As long as the local community perceives the gains, alternative development scenarios that preserve heritage value of the built environment would be sustained.

Alternative scenario 1: NEW construction (without violation – G.F. + 2 fl.)

Actors: Local Developer + Owners of land and demolished building.

Cost: Including construction and procedure L.E. 140,000 for an average plot size (170 m²).

Size: G.F. + 2 Fl. with 5 apartments + 2-3 shops or workshops.

Financial gain:

If Owners get 3 apartments to reside in, only two apartments remain. If the shops are sold and apartments are both rented, the down payments would probably cover construction costs, but if all are sold, the down payments may not cover construction costs. When construction costs are subtracted including the contractors fees, what remains would amount to around L.E. 340,000 that could be a satisfactory profit to many Owners. In this legal scenario of abiding by building height regulations, there is no role for the Local Developer. He would simply act as a construction contractor. Many Owners would prefer to sustain full ownership rather than share it with the Local Developer and eventually other buyers of his share. With the current procedural complications, this alternative is not attractive either to Owners or Local Developers.

This scenario may interest many resident Owners provided the entire process is easy for owners to manage on their own.

Tenure	Unit Price	Number of Units	Total
Selling:	L.E. 140,000 (35 – 45 m ²)	x 3 shops	= L.E. 420,000
Renting:	New Lease (long term): L.E. 50,000 down payment + L.E. 500 / month rent	x 2 apartments	= L.E. 100,000 + L.E. 1,500 monthly income for 20 years, increasing to L.E. 3000 for 30 years.
TOTAL			L.E. 520,000 + Monthly rent revenue

The true value of the local developer in this scenario is his ability to violate the building height restriction and NOT necessarily his ability to finance construction.

Alternative scenario 2: Rehabilitation (Aga Khan Project)

Actors: Resident Owners + Tenants.

Cost: Including construction and procedure L.E. 100,000 for an average plot size (170 m²).

Size: G.F. + 2 Fl. with 5 apartments + 1-2 shops or workshops or none depending on location.

Financial gain:

Assuming that partial Owners would sustain the 1 apartment they reside in, the remaining 4 rented apartments would contribute their share in the rehabilitation cost and old rents are raised to 50% of current market prices. In this scenario, there has to be an Agency, or a Trust, that can finance development to administer allow both resident owners and tenants to pay rehabilitation costs on instalments over several years. This agency can be devised with local community members and follow the traditional pooled savings practice, 'gamaaeya' but at a larger scale.

Worst case scenario, if there is no commercial space, each resident would end up paying L.E. 20,000 and the main gain is to sustain living in their lifelong homes with an improved quality of life. For tenants, this would offer them security of tenure (long-term lease) at 50% of the rental market price.

While resident owners and tenant may be motivated to adopt this scenario, it has reduced comparative gains for non-resident owners mainly in the form of increased rent as monthly income. It is more interesting when property owners are not numerous, otherwise, rehabilitation would simply mean postponing the opportunity for financial gain for another 20 years. That is why this scenario has to be complimented by regulations that limit other too attractive opportunities, as well as offer incentives, such as enabling a partial owner to buy out the shares of others, that minimize the gap in gains between the alternative development scenarios.

Up to the 1980s, most construction was financed and managed by the building owner(s) who would directly employ a local contractor for the job. During the 1990s, several decrees added restrictions to demolition and construction in HC giving birth to a new role; the local developer, who offered his services to overcome procedural, legal and financial obstacles to the construction of new buildings. Local contractors started taking on the role of local developer; they would enable land and building owner(s) to develop a new building in exchange for partnering them in their property. Any proposed strategy to alter the dynamics should include eliminating the need for the Local Developer, and restoring this function to residents, both owners and tenants jointly.

DISTRICT

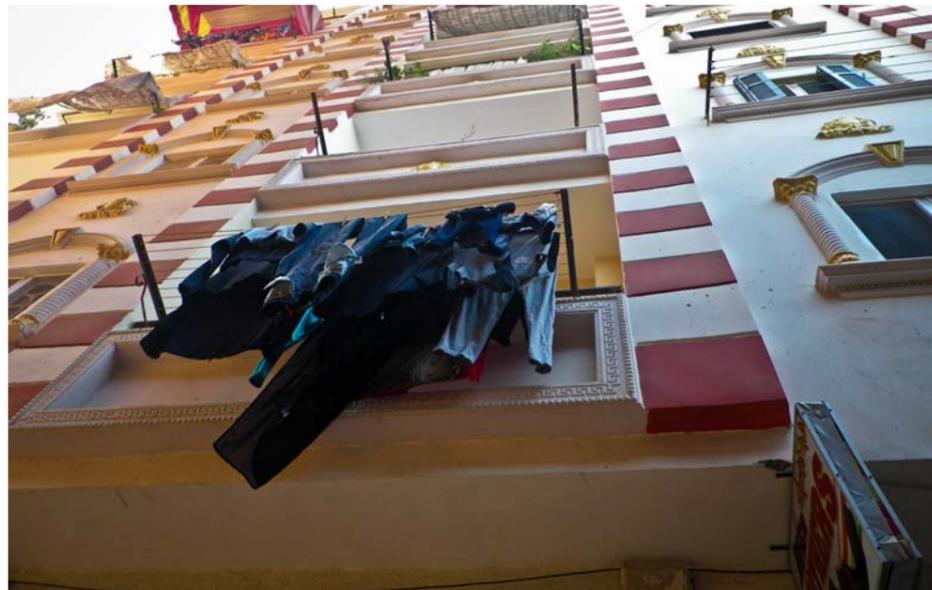
The District is the smallest administrative unit of Local Government; it is where permits are issued to implement any changes in form and function, in both buildings as well as in open spaces within the geographic boundaries of its jurisdiction. The District is also responsible for the upkeep of the infrastructure networks and the public space including lighting, landscaping, road conditions and garbage collection. It is also the entity, according to the Urban Planning Law that should develop the Zoning Regulations and Urban Plans applicable to this area. Unfortunately, between the poor capacity of its staff members, the societal reasons that perpetuate corruption, and the poor urban management characterising the Egyptian situation, it is as major destructor of HC heritage fabric through allowing the transformation of elements in the urban fabric and their uses with hardly any directives towards a collective good in any dimension; economic, social cultural, and environmental.

Some regulations are poorly outlined and give leeway to work around them, like Decrees to protect the fabric that dictate that façades of new construction should be 'appropriate' without specifying enough what would be appropriate to the architectural character of HC and without controlling changes in plot sizes which is a major transformer of urban pattern. Other regulations require procedures that are tedious and expensive to an extent that they become beyond the means of the local community like the procedures to register land ownership.

In general, this tendency of the government to view service provision as a source of income may encourage district staff to seek violations so that local community members pay fines and increase district revenue. Each demolition and each new construction is a source of revenue. Each illegal extra floor is a source of income. This attitude is compounded by the usual corruption that government employees have justified to themselves to compensate for the unreasonably low salaries of the public sector.

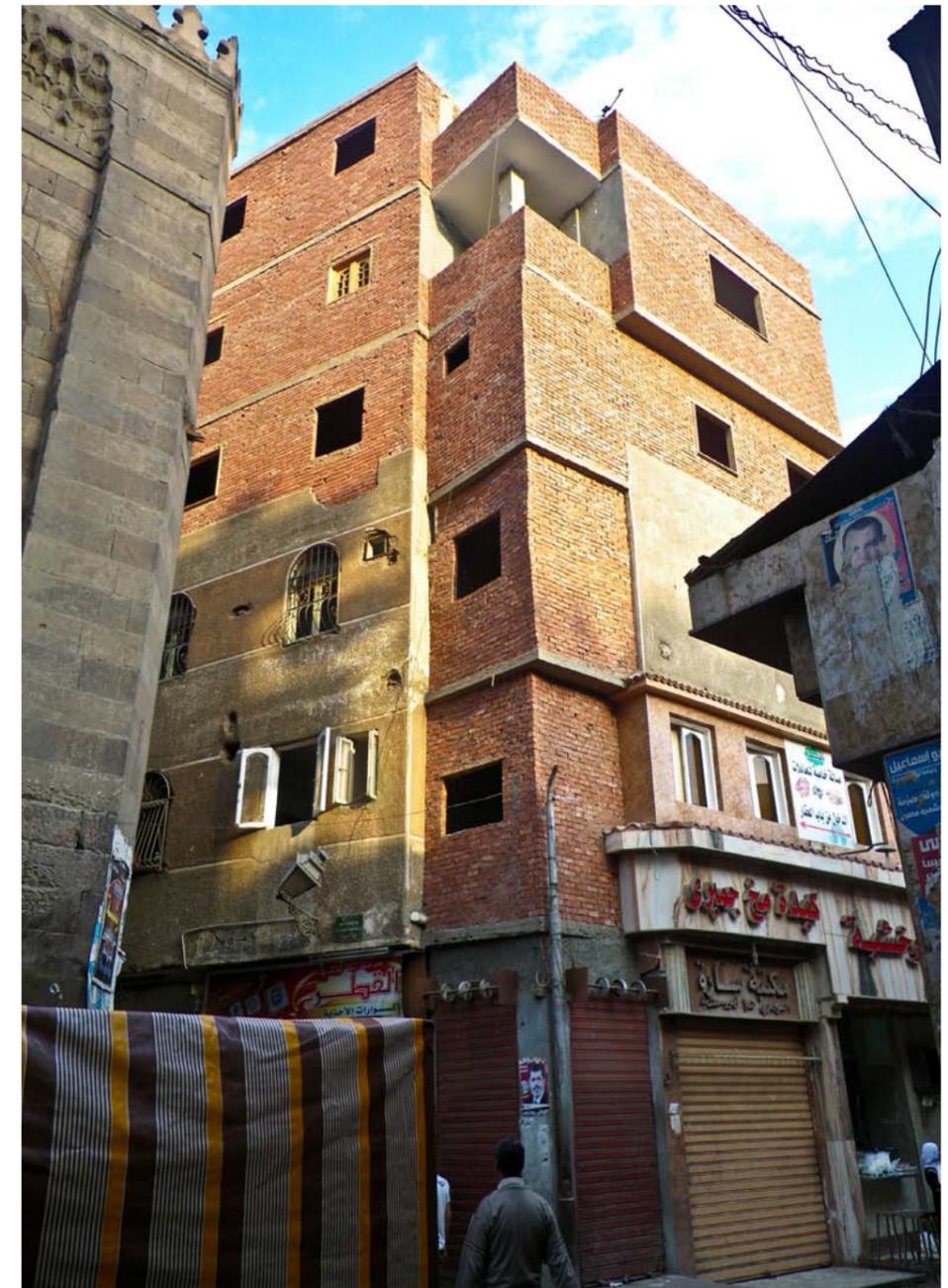
It is also relevant to know that some employees in the District are also residents of the same District. From one perspective, this can be seen as a negative interference; having social networks of the local community infiltrate a regulatory body. At the same time, this can provide fertile ground for decentralization and participatory governance assisting in the development of zoning regulations on a better understanding of the local drivers of development and community needs. Once trust is established, and awareness towards shared collective gains are agreed upon and adopted by the local community, the District may work with the community in similar heritage patterns that govern the appropriation of public space and other urban issues among community members.

N.B. Obtaining a building permit for the allowed G.F. + 2 Fl. in HC in 2012 was L.E. 15,000.



Procedures for obtaining a building permit: (current)

1. The owner or a legal representative applies for a license to the body entrusted with building regulations and alignment (district), the land title deed should be attached to the application (original land ownership contract either officially registered in the 'Al-Shahr Al-Aaqary' or appended with a final court ruling 'Esh-har').
2. A copy of applicant's personal ID.
3. Survey maps from 'Hay'et al-Mes-saha' for the site that will be built upon and a plan showing the subdivision of plots, both documents should be approved by a syndicate engineer.
4. Planning / regulation certificate from urban planning office of the Governorate.
5. Fee payment receipt for drawings and data revision / reviewing
6. Technical approval by a syndicate-registered consultant (architect or civil engineer)
7. Decision on the request from the administrative authority within a period no more than 30 days from submitting the application. In case of need to fulfil missing data or documents or modifications or corrections to the drawings, the authority announces that to the owner, or whoever represents him/her legally, within three days from submitting the application. The decision concerning the request is in four weeks from the date of fulfilling all requirements.
8. The applicant pays an amount equivalent to 0.2 % from the cost of the licensed works to meet expenses of demolition and modifications that may arise from any violation and any other expenses.
9. In case of works exceeding L.E. 400,000, the applicant should provide an insurance policy.
10. After obtaining the license, the owner, or whoever represents him/her legally, could enter infrastructures to the building after construction.



AWQAF

The Awqaf system influences the transformation of HC in more than one aspect. The large houses were mostly all private 'waqfs' based on an Islamic tradition of donating the revenue from renting buildings or land to charity. Some were inhabited by distant relatives who later claimed ownership, others were sold by 'orfy' unregistered contracts, and yet others were occupied by 'putting-a-hand-on' and later sold/rented as private property. In cases, when the 'waqf' was dismantled, the property would legally be free to be sold, divided or demolished as far as Awqaf Law is concerned. The case study area demonstrated how these rules and regulations contribute to the transformation of the morphology of HC (3 Zoqaq Al-Gaabary, 8 Haret Al-Mardany, as well as 4 Zoqaq Al-Mardany). The opportunity was seized after the Awqaf Law of 1947 and many 'waqf' properties were mobilized, sold and developed as modern apartment buildings or industrial buildings.

Cases of industrialization during the 1950s presented earlier also demonstrate how the Awqaf also contributes to the transformation of activities since it is within its mandate to seek leasing its properties to activities that would yield more profit; a traditional hammam's frigidarium space is rented to a wood-cutting workshop, a 'madrasa' is allowed to live in... and so forth. The case of Radwan Bey's Complex presented below shows how the Awqaf's slackness in enforcing its regulations adds to its negative impact allowing the development of illegal structures on land that supposedly should not be constructed.

There is a third dimension where the Awqaf laws contribute to the deterioration of heritage buildings to the extent of total collapse. According to the Law, the maintenance of a private waqf property is the responsibility of the owners who placed the endowment, so the Awqaf cannot do much to protect the building. However, many such private waqfs end up being owned by the Awqaf, like the case of Radwan Bey's complex. It is all owned by the Awqaf today and only some parts of it has been dedicated an Antiquity Registration No.. Although this dedication does not necessarily safeguard the building from abuse and deterioration, it saves them from being subject to the Awqaf's often destructive regulations.

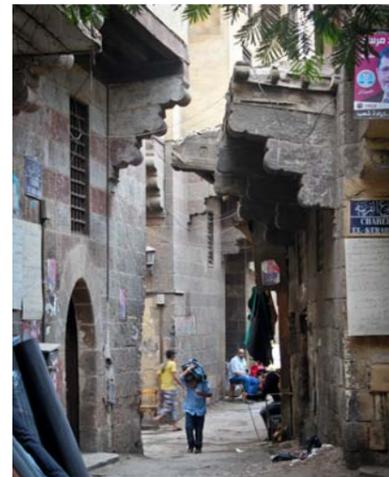
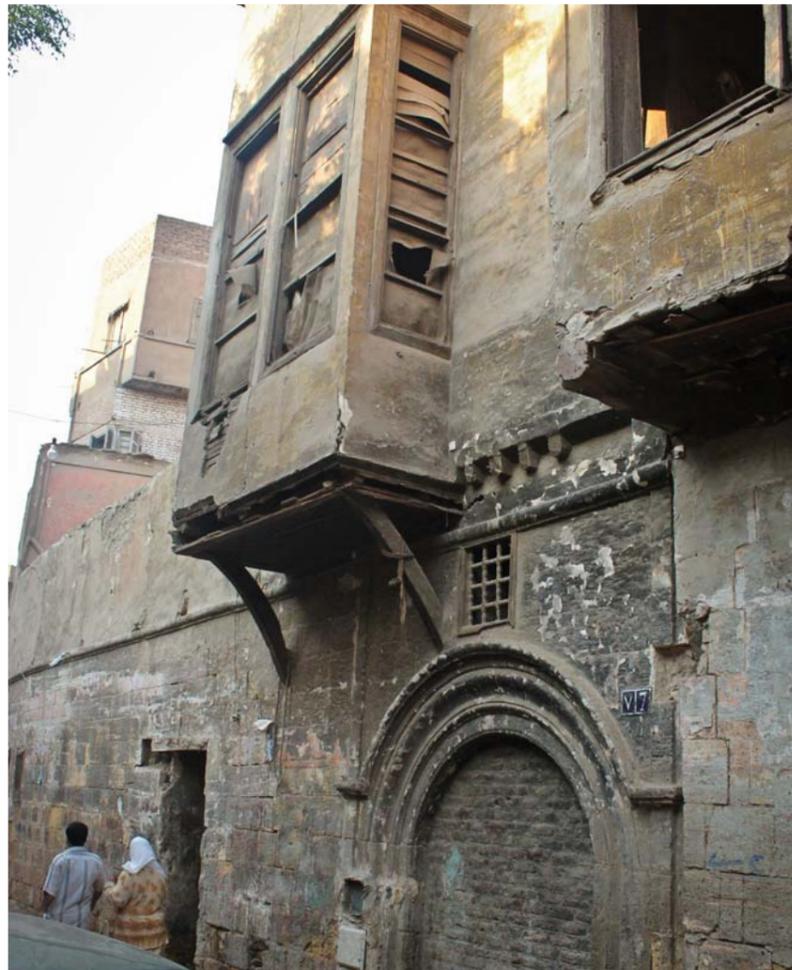
Conditions regulating the waqf

Donor of al-waqf does not lose control over the donated property (endowment) according to law no. 48 (1946) he sets the conditions and is capable of modifying them at any point. Modifications to the group of beneficiaries include changing the group, add/eliminate members, change shares, and even sell the waqf, buy an addition to it or exchange it with another.

Ending a waqf is achieved through many routes; the shortest is when the donor sells the waqf yet its money is probably still a waqf. Another route arises when the donor sets a time limit to benefit from the property, or when the group of beneficiaries do not exist anymore, both ways brings the property reverts to its owner, or the heirs, or the state treasury, respectively. Cases where the property deteriorates and cannot be exchanged also ends the waqf, but this requires a court decision and the property reverts to the same persons as previously mentioned.

The Ministry of Endowments role is limited as a regulator by the authority of law, but when the donor dies and has no heirs, i.e. no one to manage the waqf, the Ministry becomes the responsible entity for managing the property.

The Awqaf's mandate is directed towards yielding maximum profit from a waqf without any consideration to other values.

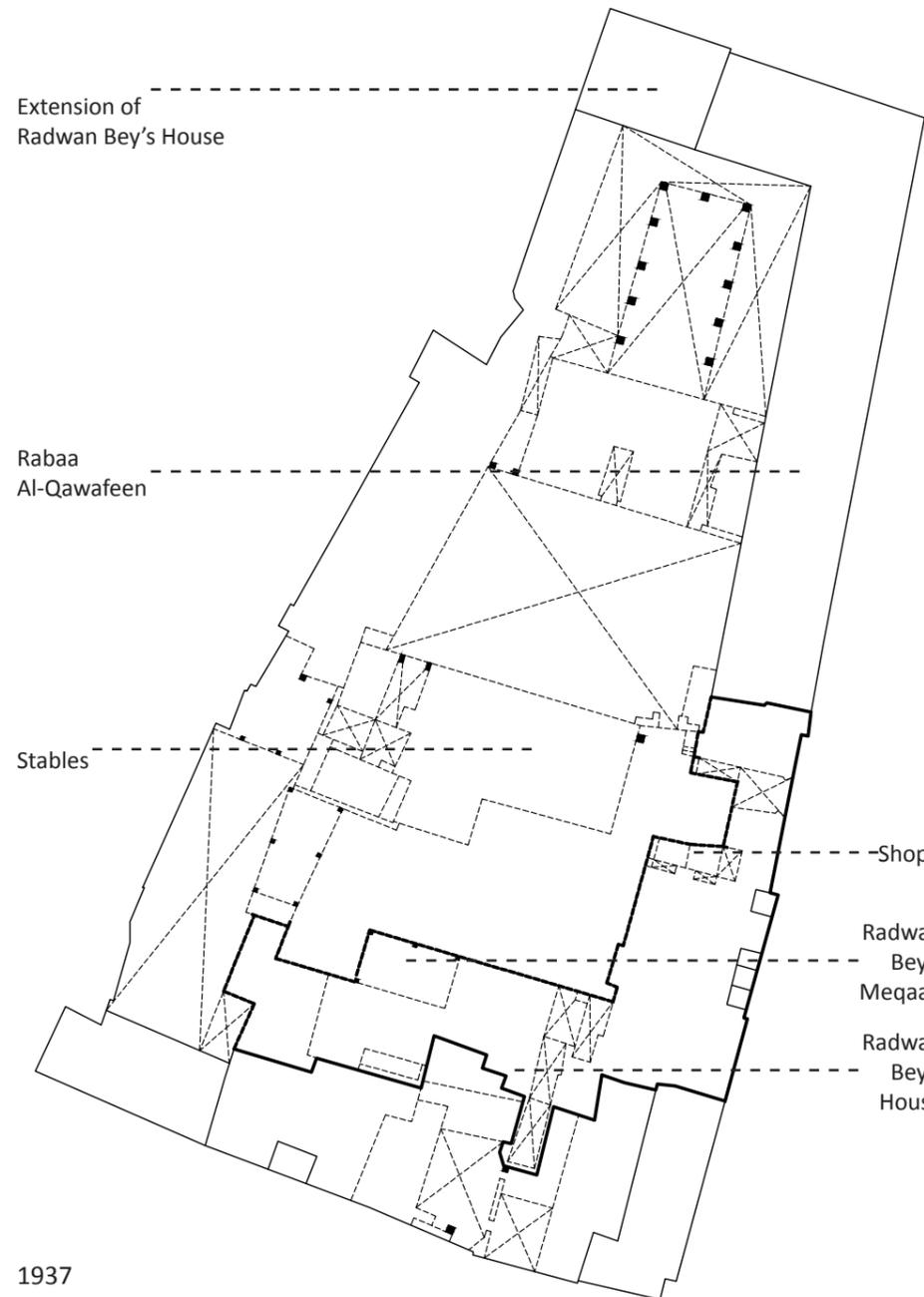


CASE STUDY: RADWAN BEY'S COMPLEX

Radwan Bey's complex in ADAA is one of the largest urban development interventions witnessed in the history of HC. This project covered several blocks south of the Mo'ayad Mosque and Bab Zuweila. Most famous among all is what is known as Quassabet Radwan where more than 20 shops flank a stretch of Cairo's main quassaba, currently known as Al-Kheyameya Street that is distinguished in modern times by the wooden roof covering the public RoW. These shops flank a complex that covers 6370 m² of land and includes his residence as well as many other uses. What is interesting is that his residence, almost palace, was integrated with public space that provided access to some interior shops and workshops, as well as access to residential facilities for the working classes. This complex has two entrances; one from Al-Kheyameya Street (No. 18) and one from Haret Al-Qerabeya. The southern portion of the block was where Radwan Bey built his residence overlooking an inner court and gardens. There is reference that his palace extended over the shops along the quassaba (eastern façade); that is along Al-Kheyameya Street. The palace did not have a Southern façade because it was flanked by several residential buildings that were accessed from the outer alley (1,3,5, and 7 Attfet Jokhdar), currently in ruins, yet part of Radwan Bey's waqf. The Northern portion of the complex housed the stables and an open yard as well one or more residential Rabaa among other uses. The shops under the old palace are accessed from the public space at the entrance from Al-Kheyameya Street and are still used for commercial/productive activities. According to a local workshop tenant, the shops that are accessed from inside the complex below Radwan Bey's palace were rented out by the Awqaf for 75 piastres / month in the 1950s (approx. 50m² each), later to be raised to L.E. 28 / month since the 1971. Additional structures are being built gradually to house workshops and needed storage space for very little profit to the Awqaf and at a high cost to the heritage.

Ibrahim Abu Al-Fotouh (a carpenter who owns a workshop there) sums it up by saying, "Al-Awqaf has a paper indicating that this jewel belongs to it; it holds on to the paper and throws the jewel in the dust"

Only part of the residential and commercial components of the complex; known as Quassabet Radwan was restored in the 1990s. The remaining portion of the same Quassaba was held up by scaffolding for twenty years. The lower levels had Kheyameya shops, while the upper levels were inhabited by tenants. Deterioration causes a staircase to collapse in the western side of the street; it is evacuated and remains vacant since the 1990s. The Eastern side is still inhabited, so when a fire devours both sides on October 10th 2012, the inhabited side is quickly reconstructed by the inhabitants with the assistance of local community members, while the western side dissolves into ashes.



1937



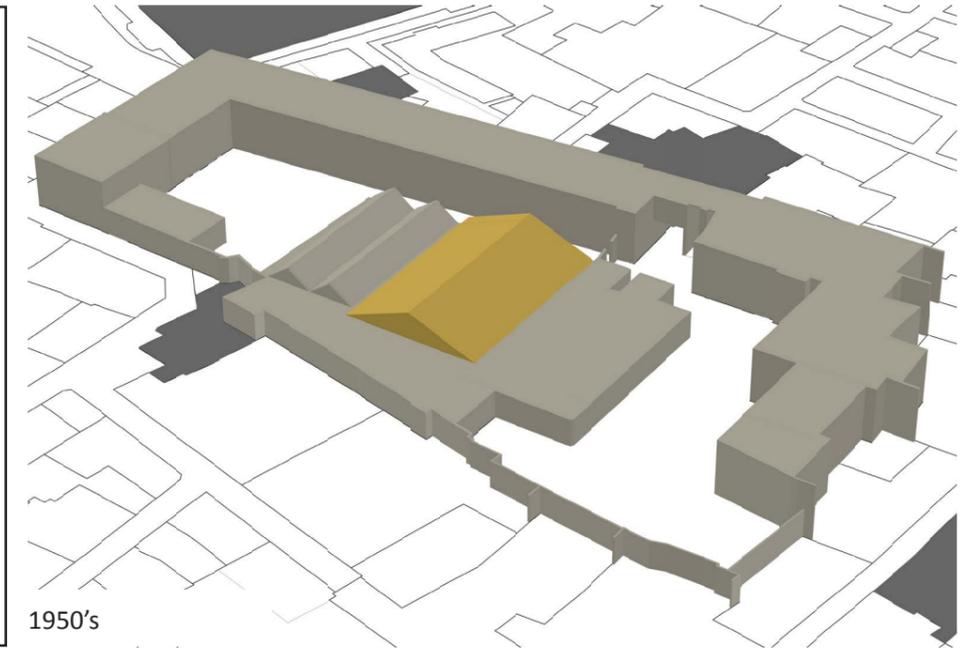
2011



CASE STUDY: RADWAN BEY'S COMPLEX



Other more ruinous parts of the palace such as the stables and the open forecourt in front of them were rented out to productive activities sometime in the 1940s so that in the 1950s it housed one of the largest wood and metal cutting workshops in the district (known as Wekalet Shomar).

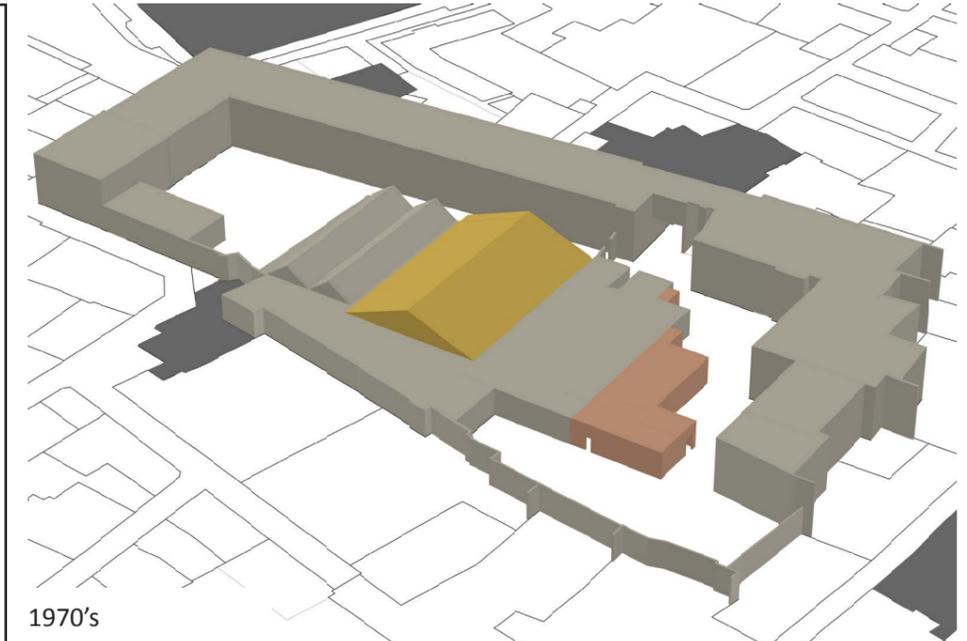


1950's



A workshop owner defends the presence of workshops in the site by repeating "We are the monument .. we are the heritage ..."

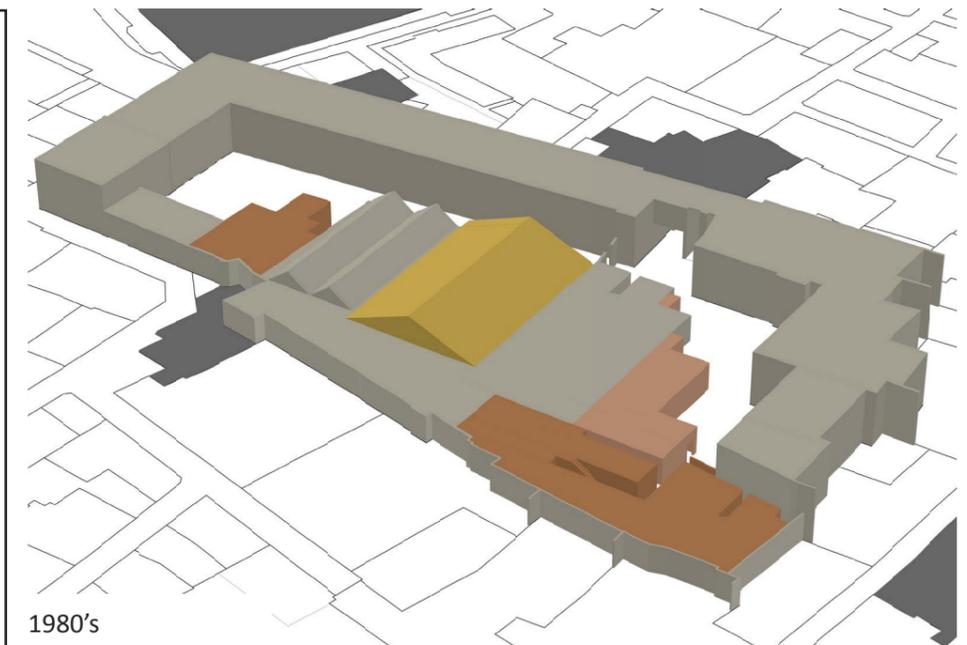
The Awqaf even charges rent for the open space in front of the shops and workshops; business owners pay 10 Piastres/ m² for land used for storage, loading and unloading of raw materials and goods. The rented open space is gradually built up.



1970's



The latest addition, the maze-like structure constructed in the early 1980s, was rented from the Awqaf as vacant land by 2 partners for a total of L.E. 43 / month. Solely for investment, the partners build the concrete structure with around 16 spaces; 4 large ones and 12 smaller ones, and charge L.E. 18 monthly rent for smaller spaces (around 12m² each).



1980's

4. d. Projections into the Future

If local development is left without intervention eventually the built environment will be completely transformed to higher building and residential densities, public space will become more public and suffer decline in quality, pedestrian dominance will decrease and commercial activities catering to the local population may displace the traditional workshops that become harder to operate; harder to sustain their productive activity networks and needed mobility.

RESIDENTIAL DENSITY

The residential densification that is occurring in HC is transforming the physical environment and consequently public space is reduced to dark unpleasant corridors. It also burdens the infrastructure and leads to an increase in pedestrian and vehicular traffic that will arouse feelings of crowding and further diminish the quality of life in public space; the domain where community-oriented activity and community life has always taken place. Dwelling in HC will eventually lose the morphological and activity patterns that nurture and sustain the strong social ties characteristic of its population. In short, the resident population would lose the valued 'Living and Working' patterns of HC.. Furthermore if the higher percentage of newcomer residents in new developments is NOT craft-related, the tolerance to workshops will decrease. Conflict that is currently mediated by strong social ties between resident and working populations will increase; older residents mitigate the conflict by acting as advocates of the workshop community.

Already some activities have disappeared from public space such as children play, yet appropriation by workshops sustains the desirable level of safety and security provided that there are social networks across workshop owners and residents that controls the behaviour of the working labour. If this relation is severed the behaviour of the working labour (mostly outsider youth with questionable ethics) will not be controlled and residents will lose the feeling of safety they enjoy and public life will be eroded yet further.

IMPACT ON PRODUCTIVE AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

Another point concerns whether the newcomer population would be a target market for productive and commercial activities in HC. To what extent do newcomer residents have the purchasing power to be a sustainable market, or clientele, to HC workshops, which products, maybe shoes, bags, clothes and utensils, but what about wood-related, metal-related and Kheyameya products.

Thematic Markets (regional - city - district - locality): Increased residential population of HC may satisfy certain markets by providing the desired number of clients; thus shrinking their catchment area while sustaining their economics and product quality. This may apply to the fresh produce market in Megharbeleen and somewhat to the clothing and bedding market in Al-Ghoureya. On the other hand, accessibility of outside clients and tourists to other thematic markets, such as handicraft product markets and furniture markets (e.g. Al-Kheyameya – Al-Sagha – Al Manasra...etc..) will be more difficult due to the increased congestion in public space.

Workshop vitality networks: Increased residential population of HC can obstruct mobility needed for the "horizontal network production process" of handicraft workshops as well as their ability to market their products or move them to markets outside their districts. If one vital type of workshop cannot sustain its operation the entire production cycle may collapse economically.

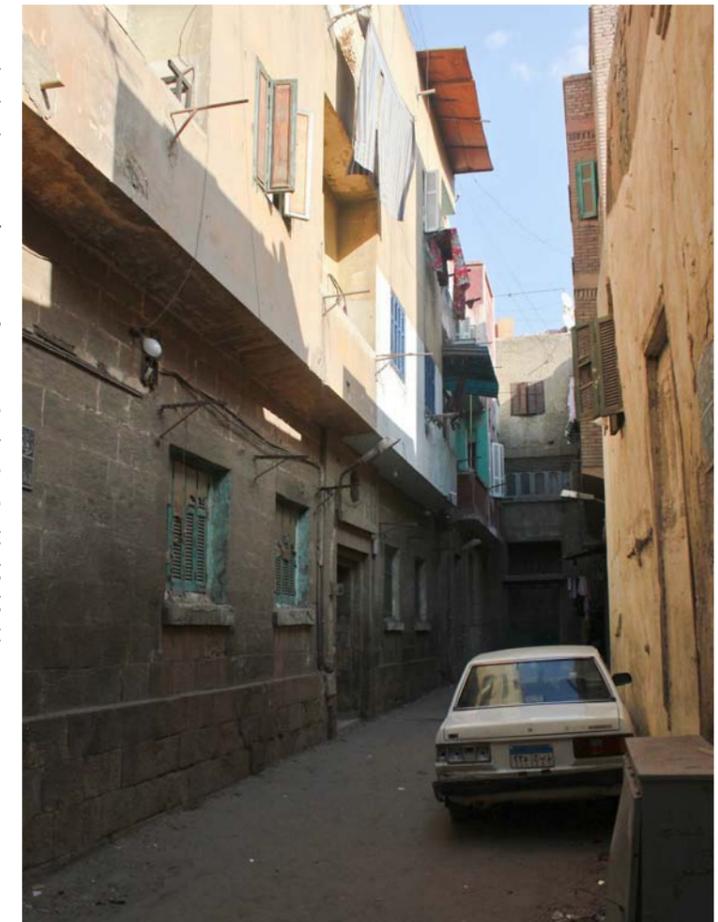
Type of Products: The current trend is towards the subdivision of large plots into a more manageable grain for local development. The industrialization that occupied large plots in the 1940s and 1950s will not be repeated; small workshops have no chance to expand like those larger workshops that are in the ruins of old buildings. The trend in the new residential buildings is to have several shops and a few small workshops in the ground floor. Thus the type of workshops that may increase are ones that need smaller spaces. The capacity of HC to accommodate Productive Activities has limitations in space that restrict the type of product.

The option of improving the Quality of Life while sustaining the heritage morphology and activities of HC is an alternative the local community does not know is possible. One workshop owner said, "ignorance is a curse; the ignorant should be shot!.... We had a chance to restore HC as it was, UNESCO was going to help in that, but then the ignorant among the community resisted and we lost our chance."

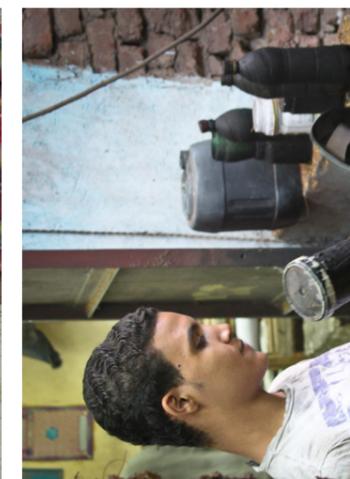
QUALITY OF LIFE

The new buildings are perceived by the local community as being "cleaner", providing a better quality of life than old buildings. Although some are sceptical about the structural soundness of the buildings, some are concerned about the visual obstruction of favourable views such as heritage mosques and minarets, and few craftsmen lament the old buildings for their irreplaceable craftsmanship, most residents view them as a sign of improvement, "each era has its own construction and architectural style"; says a local engineer who sees the new façades as being very creative.

As for the quality of life sought by the younger generation, it is not in line with living the heritage fabric or working in the heritage activities simply because they are not given value by the trend setters of the time. The youth seek quick profit; they are not interested to sustain working in traditional handicrafts that yield neither large incomes nor the respect they seek among peers or in society at large. With economic challenges facing all the productive activities, workshop owners complain that people are not as cooperative and generous as in the past; competition and envy that did not exist before.



CASE Shoemaking: To save on costs, labour is being imported from rural areas, or some production stages are being outsourced to rural and informal areas where cheaper labour outweighs transportation costs. This does not apply to certain products where the shortage of skilled labour is preventing those workshops from accepting big orders and therefore threatening their sustainability. This explains the spread of certain products such as shoemaking. Shoemaking workshops and factories have been increasing and spreading because of the large profit they make. It does not need a lot of time to learn the production skills which are not high so that even children as young as 10 years old are employed. Also production takes a relatively short time, the product can be manufactured in large quantities, in relatively small spaces, and the demand for it is high and spread all over Egypt.





Recommendations

5. RECOMMENDATIONS: DIRECTIVES FOR THE MANAGEMENT PLAN

Based on the findings of this study, the Management Plan should include the following directives as well as follow an adaptable framework since the implementation of any change would influence local development drivers and result in modified dynamics. These dynamics may raise new issues both positive and negative. Also the participation of local community in formal circles of decision-making would create new forces of power. The Management Plan would thus be elaborated and refined over a few iterations of modifications to reach a mechanism that operates more effectively with minimum enforcement.

5. a. Redefining Opportunities: Regulations and Procedures

The engagement of the local community in local development is a positive phenomenon that should be harnessed but not abolished. Based on the understanding of the gains, the aspirations, and the needs that engage the local community in the transformation of the historic urban fabric, the Management Plan should therefore include regulations that balance the gains for different groups within of the local community, as well as balance the gains between local community and society at large.

REGULATIONS

Regulations, laws and procedures that constitute the determinants within which the local community perceives OPPORTUNITIES should be changed leading to the reform of local development dynamics. Regulations should:

- Be in-line with what residents and business owners value in HC, providing incentives and enforcing restrictions with perceivable impact on the collective good.
- Address issues that are of local community concern: improved mobility, vehicular access control, solid waste removal... etc.
- Present the local community with solutions that are beyond their cumulative experiential knowledge yet that can benefit from partnering this knowledge.
- Incorporate within the regulatory system of the Plan mechanisms that would compel the government to modify its operative practices towards more sustainable heritage conservation fulfil its role in the upkeep of the urban environment: garbage collection, street lighting....etc..
- Capitalize on, and direct the community's propensity to invest in the improvement and upkeep of the built environment.
- Motivate property owners and tenants to engage in local development through gains and incentives that are not destructive to the heritage value, while downsizing the gains and opportunities that lead to the further demolition of heritage buildings.
- Present alternative solutions to community needs before restricting the current salient patterns; that is accommodating them in a less conflicting manner.
- Sustain and protect the residential nature of alleys and dead-ends with lowest degrees of 'publicness' from commercial and productive transformation to preserve the perceived value of living in such districts.
- Address the negotiation of public space appropriation around potential "anchors" such as monuments, public gardens, Awqaf properties....etc..
- Protect HC from policies that affect HC such as tourist protection policies to increase the accessibility of tourists without being offensive to the local community
- Engage rather than exclude local community in Monument Protection And Restoration Plans through partnerships such as the formation of Community Trusts and incremental restoration plans.
- Coordinate urban projects in the boundaries of HC so that they are not uni-dimensional such as traffic solution plans, and engage local community in decision making since any change would affect the economic vitality and Quality of Life in the area.

- Protect the spatial proximity of Raw materials – Production – Sales and the spatial distribution of the complementary productive activities as a living heritage from development projects.
- Protect the economics of production from global trends such as the economy of scale, in order to avoid the decline of product quality. This will necessitate government and civic society to take steps towards establishing new markets abroad as well as exercising quality control measures that should be developed and enforced from within the local community itself.
- Encourage the highly specialized handicrafts to survive at a high quality protecting the authenticity of the production process and design principles of the traditional craft. Assist in legalizing and modernizing the businesses, ensure access to quality raw materials or innovative alternatives, supporting craftsmen networks, establishing cooperatives or funding associations, reaching out to new prospective markets both locally and internationally.
- Compel societal institutions to acknowledge the value of the tangible and intangible dimensions of value in HC.
- Encourage the authorities and civic society to restore knowledge and appreciation of this heritage and assist in the evolution of these socio-economic activity patterns without losing their historic value and spatial roots.
- The degree of freedom the Ministry of Awqaf has on dealings concerning its properties should be within the limitations of the Management Plan and not above it by law.
- X **NOT** allow setting BAD precedents: Formal urban development projects that are destructive to the urban fabric set a precedent that local community reads as new opportunities. Government neglect of monuments that leads to their destruction even faster than when appropriated by the local community
- X **NOT** allow for any increase, or spatial concentration, of potentially polluting workshop activity
- X **NOT** eliminate a certain productive activity from the district lest it disrupts the productive activity network.
- X **NOT** divorce pedestrian RoW from the vehicular RoW except in main thematic market routes (vehicular traffic along the 'qasaba' is a main source of nuisance to shoppers).

5. b. Redirecting The Demand-Side: Quality Measures

Redirecting the demand-side is a strategy that should accompany the Management Plan if any impact or changes to the current dynamics are to be sustained. Changing the acceptable quality of the demand in living and working conditions would positively influence the dynamics of the local development process and its outcome. Changing the acceptable quality of the demand for handicraft products of HC workshops would assist in sustaining a high quality product that would in turn sustain heritage values especially for the traditional crafts.

RAISING AWARENESS

Changing the quality of the DEMAND-side can only occur through raising awareness towards the local development and towards the benefits of heritage conservation. The following are some recommendation:

1. Raise the awareness of **property owners** to the value of heritage conservation to economic development. The current residential development economics favour the local developer more than the property owners. Land and property prices in some parts of HC have not attained the market level, reflecting the limitations on property owners (heights, permits... etc..) to the full potential of their properties. Introducing alternative development scenarios that could be more profitable for property owners through widening the scope to include adaptive reuse of heritage buildings for various enterprises, while securing finance that is more attractive than the one currently offered by local developers.
2. Property owners who become future residents in the new constructions can also be a target to awareness aiming to modify the standards of the “desired” Quality of Life; towards valuing characteristics of the heritage building types while improving their performance at the “use value levels, such as saving on electricity bills... etc.
3. Raise the awareness of **local community** to the value of heritage conservation to Quality of Life:
 - **For older generations:** by showing its implications for sustaining activities, lifestyle and social characteristics that are positively perceived by the local community. This can only succeed with the generations who are currently middle aged, parents, business owners who work and live a certain lifestyle they still prefer to maintain. Currently districts of HC are only a desirable place to live in for social and practical reasons discussed earlier. Other reasons such as the religious value of the location is only perceived by the older generations, and the remaining aesthetic value is only perceived by craftsmen.
 - **For younger generations:** by improving the perceived value of heritage building types and morphology at societal level so that the young generation in the current population of HC aspire living in that environment. Reality is that the morphology of HC does not have a “good” image among the young generations of the Egyptian Society at large to be desirable as a place to live. Not being visited by Egyptian elite, and the neglect by which the government treats it adds to the negative image of the place. It is from outside HC population that value should be constructed¹. For the younger generations, only certain aspects of the current lifestyle are valued, such as safety and mobility within the neighbourhood, but they also have aspirations for improving this QoL. The aspired QoL is set by fashion and media and trends adopted by the rich that they witness in the wealthiest parts of the city like the 5th Settlement, “Al-Tagammo’ Al-Khames,” on the periphery of Greater Cairo.

The needed transformation of “image” can best be achieved; by TRENDSETTER such as TV series and media in general. This can be reinforced by witnessing a genuine appreciation of the place from the government and visitors/shoppers, both foreign and Egyptian. Only then would the local community perceive the historic, architectural and aesthetic value of the place.

4. Raise the awareness of business owners to the benefits of following future HC regulations, and guide them to ways to meet those regulations with minimum disruption of the production process currently followed. Those benefits have to enable those business owners to meet an acceptable economic gain (that fulfils their livelihood needs) to be able to consider the non-economic gains such as social, cultural and psychological gains. The strategy to convince business owners of the benefits of abiding by the regulations can best be achieved by actual implementation; one way is by enforcing those regulations on the public sector businesses and services within HC before asking the private sector to abide by it. A second strategy would be to convince a pioneer group of business owners to start implementing what could be a practical example (similar to the Agha Khan Housing Rehabilitation Project).
5. Raise the awareness of **potential visitors/shoppers** to the historic, architectural, aesthetic, and activity value of the place and the people.
6. Raise the awareness of **potential visitors/shoppers** both foreign and Egyptians to the value of traditional handicrafts produced in HC. This is essential for the economic revitalization of handicraft production and sales (traditional and non-traditional). This requires work on two ends in parallel. One involves marketing that targets adding value to handicrafts and especially traditional products that are still produced in HC. Once again the media plays a role in setting a fashion that increases the market for those handicrafts. Those products are currently suffering decline in quality due to the business owners’ strive for economic survival, so the second parallel strategy involves assisting local craftsmen and business owners to produce quality products; whether by ensuring the availability and affordability of quality input materials, sustaining classic product design or developing business skills in packaging... etc..
7. Raise the awareness (and then compel) of the **government** with its systems and institutions that are directly and indirectly involved in the transformation of the heritage fabric and its value, such as local government (Governorate and District), property taxes, urban planning bodies, public service providers... etc., and all institutions that do not acknowledge heritage buildings as assets such as banks, Al-Awqaf...etc.. This modification in the government’s view towards HC with its tangible and intangible values should be part of the Management Plan; regulations should not only target the control of the behaviour of the local community. The local community acts within what it perceives from a larger societal framework.

Local community will only value non-monitory values in their environment; social, psychological and cultural aspects that contribute to Quality of Life when the physical conditions and level of services they can afford does not drop below the acceptable threshold of ‘satisfaction’. Raising awareness will only be successful if certain actions are taken by the government as a token of good intentions in most urgent service domains such as garbage collection (see section on ACTIONS below).

1. With the current social fluidity that Egypt is undergoing, it is hard to identify who are those whom local population look up to as a reference for judgement; the rich, the religious, the educated... it is more complicated than before, and the local population although admitting ignorance in certain aspects (consequences of the current form of local development) has acquired the self-confidence to do as it sees fit.

5. c. Actions

Besides regulations, and raising awareness efforts, the Management Plan would have to include a list of actions: some short-term, and some long-term.

SHORT-TERM ACTIONS

While needed changes to the culture of a society, or the socio-political environment of governance is slow to implement, The Management Plan could include a set of short-term actions requiring minimal government intervention. These actions when implemented through partnerships among community members would serve as living proof of alternative opportunities new to the local community.

What is required is a catalyst of coordinators and multi-disciplinary resource persons who can work with the community to realize those alternatives. The more actors involved from the community in these demonstration projects, the higher the chance of mainstreaming them after the intervening catalyst elements are withdrawn. Short-term actions may include:

- Take drastic punitive measures against those who have flagrantly violated building regulations.
- STOP construction in Historic Cairo for a few months till regulations are formulated and approved.
- Remove of garbage through a collaborative civic society and government effort
- Save the historic fabric from in-comprehensive, obsolete Urban Plans such as the Property Line Adjustment Plan of 1971 for traffic purposes. Granting building permits according to this plan should be terminated.
- Encourage the establishment of associations, or networks that supply existing social networks of workshop owners and shop owners with:
 - o Technical knowledge as needed such as raw material improvements or substitutes, waste recycling, mitigation of environmental and work hazards.
 - o Administrative services including tax accounting, internet-based advertising, and business planning, pricing and marketing strategies.
 - o Legal advice to fins opportunities and protect from unfair laws and regulations (such as taxes).
 - o Social organization practices to compliment their traditional ways in order to enable local community to negotiate with sectors of government and communities abroad to improve conditions for business development.
- Establish a collective TRUST or body that can finance land and property owners in order to enable them to develop or rehabilitate their properties leading to a situation that is close to if they were partnered by the local developer. In other words, an entity that would facilitate legal procedures and permits, and finance on instalments, the rehabilitation, adaptive re-use, or reconstruction within the architectural character of HC to yield tangible and intangible GAINS to property owners WITHOUT the destructive development of the portion that represents the current gains of the local developer. It can also provide finance opportunities for partial owners to buy out the share of fellow owners in cases of unmanageable number of heirs.
- Support the documentation and dissemination in potential markets (in Egypt and abroad) the traditional handicrafts designs, process and families that were historically associated with these traditional handicrafts still work, and sometimes also live, in HC; this is a value that has disappeared in many other heritage cities.
- Identify small, feasible demonstration projects in high visible locations; amenities that would serve local communities and attract visitors to particular locations e.g. some cafés, restaurants, family operated hotels and clean toilets. It is important not to disrupt the privacy of the local community and therefore the introduction of such complimentary functions should follow strict zoning based on an understanding of the socio-spatial patterns and levels of 'publicness' of different community-oriented activities. This would require some training and awareness raising aimed towards property owners, potential business owners, potential operators and employees as follows:

- o Awareness as to the feasibility of such businesses in HC, showing them examples in other Historic cores in other cities (from Morocco, from Italy, from England....)
- o Training regarding the standards and regulations to set up each business.
- o Training regarding the operation and management of such establishments that compliments traditional hospitality with standards of hygiene and higher cleanliness levels.

EXAMPLE: Al-Kheyameya / Quasabet Radwan zone. It is a highly public zone and therefore apt to receive visitors.

Product: Enhancement of raw materials so that Al-Kheyameya products are made with fabrics that have fixed colours to overcome a historic weakness of dry-clean only, and with the dissemination of this new advancement, could lead to an increase in usability of these products and an increase in sales.

Documentation of traditional process and classic designs to disseminate and assist in restoring their value.

Mobility: Access for visitors can be discussed and designed with the fleet of tent-covered tricycles that operate along Ahmed Maher Street.

Supporting amenities: Remnants of Radwan Bey's palace including the maqaad that is currently a monument in neglect, can be refurbished to house a café, a restaurant and a clean toilet that would encourage visitors to spend more time in the area watching the manufacturing process and buying on the way out.

The waqf properties in Atfet Jokhdar (the back of Radwan Bey's complex from the South) have the potential of being small bed and breakfast facilities operated in partnership with local community members, provided they are operated by rules that would not conflict with local residents' lifestyle and norms, but rather capitalize on their hospitality once the values of the hosting community are not violated by lack of privacy, or respect to traditions.

LONG-TERM ACTIONS

- Compel the government to initiate Community Partnership Plans to improve:
 - o Garbage removal and efficient regular collection,
 - o Monuments of value to the local community
 - o Infrastructure networks
 - o Levelling of roads
 - o Lighting of public space

The residing and working population would be willing to financially participate in these efforts if certain conditions are satisfied:

 - o The budgets are properly calculated and explained to the local community
 - o The Implementation Plan is design to be incremental; parcelled into mini action plans and phased to match availability of funds.
 - o Local community representatives participate in auditing the financial progress of the projects.
- Make the government realize that many community-oriented activities are a tourist attraction in themselves.
- Make the government understand that unclaimed anchors for any unfulfilled community need such as display, parking, storage of goods, or setting up of street cafés.

5. d. Recommendations For Different Actors

As much as it is wise to minimize the dependence on the government in any of strategy of re-direction, and more so in the current circumstances of fluidity, one cannot overlook the role that should be played by the government through its various institutions, laws and regulations that affect HC.

It is essential to map the Status Quo of different actors in HC from the authority's side; central government sectors and local government levels. It should outline the scope and extent of influence each actor has in HC. This could be the first task of Cairo Governorate's newly founded Special Unit for the Management of Heritage Areas. It is the appropriate platform where coordination among the diverse central government sectors occurs at both the planning and implementation levels, including service provision Ministries such as Education, Health, Housing as well as those concerned with economic development such as Ministries of Planning, Finance, and Tourism.

A comprehensive assessment of the interrelations between the different sectors mapped in the Status Quo would lead to modifications in the operative practices of the different sectors towards more effective regulatory systems with clear coordination between the roles played by each actor. This could be implemented through a series of multi-disciplinary Expert Group Meetings.

The **Districts** that manage areas within HC should:

- Adopt special zoning regulations that are developed and updated periodically with multi-disciplinary technical advice from consultants as well as community members.
- Be supported by continuous capacity building training directed to the District staff.
- NOT be rewarded by a revenue every time a violation of building regulations occurs. The punitive action should be non-monitory so that district officials do not view it as revenue or exchange it for a bribe.
- Survey of remaining heritage buildings and a restriction to issue any Demolition Decrees enforced by the District and re-enforced by the police.

The **Ministry of Antiquities** should reconsider the PM decree that forbids leasing of SCA property since many historic structures owned by SCA can operate in their original functions provided the operator has this expertise. It needs to activate the economic value of monuments without jeopardizing its tangible or intangible value; such as allowing revived heritage activities to go on being practiced in their heritage buildings such as traditional 'hammams' and 'kottabs'. Some monuments have the potential to become adapted into settings for income generation as long as the new function does not diminish the meaning of the place; positive examples would include turning old residences into lodging facilities to tourists, or places for visitors to sit, rest, and eat. The Ministry of Antiquities can also capitalize on the aesthetic value of monuments as a setting for leisure and social activities, as well as the religious value of certain monuments is also perceived by much of the local community.

In light of the current societal and political situation, local **NGOs, CBOs** and **Civic Society Associations** have a bigger role in these strategies. NGOs that can gain the trust of the local community can:

- Work on awareness raising towards the gains in Quality of Life if the heritage fabric is maintained.
- Encourage workshop owners and residents to discuss collective coordinated action, if a feasible and realistic plan is suggested to them; a plan that solves collective concerns, and leads to collective benefits.
- Facilitate and coordinate participatory interventions between local community and authorities along the planning and implementation stages of any partner project.
- Coordinate the establishment of financial partnerships between local community and authorities around common concerns, such as the establishment of local community trusts or savings towards a certain action in coordination with government plans of improvements whether it concerns conservation of heritage buildings, services, infrastructure elements, garbage collection or traffic mobility enhancement.

International NGOs may have a great input during their presence in the area, introducing alternative means and strategies to assist in the rehabilitation of the built environment or the economic revitalization of the workshops. This was the case with the Aga Khan funded project in ADAA, which started off with their setting up office (Aga Khan Cultural Services – Egypt AKCS-E from 1997-2005) and then transforming it to a local company (Community Development Company – CDC till 2010) and then gradually weaning out both funding and operation until its final closure as a project leaving behind a local NGO supposedly with local expertise to continue the work. The first problem facing such an NGO would be acquiring the funding to sustain its own staff trained during the International NGO's presence. The pay scale at the international NGO is much higher than local market pay scale which makes the trained staff seek jobs in other international development organizations. The loss of trained staff leaves the seed NGO as helpless and as ineffective as other local NGOs. International NGOs that may collaborate with government bodies to reach the media, especially TV talk shows, TV series, and movies, and feed them with rich information about the tangible and intangible value of dwelling in heritage buildings, about the value of the dwellers as skilled craftsmen and keepers of heritage.

Unless some of the innovative solutions introduced, implemented and perfected are actually mainstreamed before the end of the project period, sustainability is not ensured.

Civic society can offer diverse inputs on volunteer basis. There is a thirst from the educated youth in Egypt to contribute to the well-being of communities facing challenges. Young professionals are increasingly being involved in community-initiated development projects. These efforts are not coordinated and could be accommodated in the Management Plan if a certain body is assigned this coordination. Also the past few years have witnessed a multitude of workshops where university students, both graduate and undergraduate, address urban challenges, work in a community, and yield potential solutions that they can present to authorities. This is happening nationally and internationally with increasing inter-disciplinarity.

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