

**Assessment of Area Conservation in the Arab-Islamic City  
The Case of Historic Cairo**

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

By  
**Ahmed Mohamed Ali Sedky**

Heriot-Watt University  
Edinburgh College of Art  
Faculty of Graduate and Environmental Studies  
School of Architecture

Edinburgh  
2004

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognize that the copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author or the university (as may be appropriate).

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the memory of my dear father who supported and believed in me and whose dream it was to accomplish this research- I can now fulfill my promises to him.

## Table of Contents

	Page
Submission of Thesis Form	i
Submission of Thesis Declaration by Supervisor	ii
Dedication	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Illustrations	viii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Acknowledgement	xv
Abstract	xvi
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
Introduction.1. Forward	1
Introduction.2. The Problem	1
Introduction.3. Research Hypotheses	3
Introduction.4. Research Objectives	4
Introduction.5. Research Questions	5
Introduction.6. Research Methodologies and Structure	5
<b>PART I WHAT TO CONSERVATION</b>	
Part I. Forward	12
<b>Chapter One Original Meaning and Transformation of the Historic Areas in an Arab-Islamic Context</b>	
1.1. Objective	13
1.2. The Original Meaning of a Historic Area in the Arab-Islamic Context	13
1.2.1. The Concept of the Islamic City	15
1.2.2. Urban Management in the Islamic City	22
1.2.3. The Dogmatic Urban Principles Influencing the Cities in the Islamic World	33
1.3. General Review of Urban Transformation in Arab-Islamic City	36
1.3.1. The Introduction of the Europeanised Urbanism	37
1.3.2. The Impacts	46
1.4. Conclusion	52
<b>Chapter Two The Current Meaning of Historic Areas in Cairo</b>	
2.1. Objective	54
2.2. Historic Area	54
2.2.1. Typical Characteristic Urban Problems	57
2.2.2. Current Area Conservation Projects in Historic Cairo	62
2.3. Urban Transformation in Cairo	65
2.4. Cairo City Master Plans	74
2.4.1. Khedival and Monarchy Period (1863- 1952)	74
2.4.2. Republican Period (1953- Now)	75
2.5. A Slum or a Deteriorated Physical Environment?	79
2.6. The Subjective Meaning of Historic Areas in Cairo	83
2.6.1. U Group	85
2.6.2. N Group	88
2.6.3. W Group	90
2.7. What to Conserve	92
2.8. Conclusion	94
<b>PART II HOW TO CONSERVE</b>	
Part II. Forward	97

<b>Chapter Three</b>	<b>The Meaning of Area Conservation</b>	
3.1. Objective		98
3.2. The Meaning of Area Conservation		98
3.2.1. Historical Review		98
3.2.2. Review of Charters		100
3.2.2.a. Physical-Oriented Approach		101
3.2.2.b. Community-Oriented Approach		101
3.2.2.c. Subjective Approach		102
3.2.3 Review of Charters in the Arab-Islamic Region		104
3.2.4. Area Conservation Units of Analysis		105
3.2.4.a. Integrity		105
3.2.4.b. Authenticity		110
3.2.4.C. Sustainability		114
3.3. Area Conservation Funding Mechanism		120
3.3.1. Financial Aid		120
3.3.2. Tourism		128
3.3.3. Gentrification		136
3.4. Conclusion		143

<b>Chapter Four</b>	<b>Area Conservation Processes</b>	
4.1. Objective		146
4.2. Area Conservation Process		146
4.2.1. Statutory Phase		146
4.2.1.a. General Area Appraisal		146
4.2.1.b. Area Designation		147
4.2.1.c. Establishing Bureaucratic Basis		149
4.2.1.d. Area Conservation Management Unit		153
4.2.2. Action Phase		159
4.2.2.a. Working in Partnership		159
4.2.2.b. Establishing Effective Community Participation		161
4.2.2.c. Implementation levels of Area Conservation		166
4.3. Cultural Approach to Area Conservation in the Arab-Islamic Context		175
4.4. Approaches to Area Conservation in Historic Cairo		180
4.4.1. A Synthesized Approach to Area Conservation		182
4.4.2. Frame Work Planning (FWP)		182
4.5. Conclusion		186

<b>PART III</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT OF AREA CONSERVATION IN CAIRO</b>	
Part III. Forward		188

<b>Chapter Five</b>	<b>The Approach to the Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo</b>	
5.1. Objective		189
5.2. Synthesis of the Criteria of Area Conservation Conception		189
5.3. The Approach to Assessment		192
5.4. Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo		195
5.5. Research Design		196
5.6. Sampling		197
5.7. Conclusion		200

<b>Chapter Six</b>	<b>Area Conservation in Cairo</b>	
6.1. Objective		201
6.2. Overview of Area Conservation in Cairo		201
6.3. Main Actors Involved in Area Conservation in Cairo		207
6.4. An Overview of Area Conservation Quality in Cairo		209

6.4.1. N Group	210
6.4.1.a. Localities	210
6.4.1.b. Cairo Governorate	213
6.4.1.c. Ministry of Housing	225
6.4.1.d. Ministry of Culture	239
6.4.1.e. Ministry of Awqaf	254
6.4.1.f. Ministry of Tourism	259
6.4.1.g. Ministry of IT and Communication/ Biblioteca Alexandrina, Cultnat	266
6.4.1.h. Cairo University	267
6.4.1.i. Commissioned Consultancies for Area Conservation Projects	268
6.4.1.j. Ministry of Social Affairs	294
6.4.1.k. Ministry of Environment	294
6.4.1.l. Legislations	295
6.4.2. U Group	298
6.4.2.a. Community Members and Representatives	298
6.4.2.b. NGOs	299
6.4.3 W Group	300
6.4.3.a. UNESCO	300
6.4.3.b. ICOMOS	302
6.4.3.c Foreign Aid Agencies	302
6.5. An Overview of Policies of Area Conservation Policies in Cairo	303
6.5.1. Power Arrangement	303
6.5.1.a. N Group	303
6.5.1.b. U Group	306
6.5.1.c. W Group	307
6.5.2. Values and Interests	308
6.5.2.a. N Group	308
6.5.2.b. U Group	311
6.5.2.c. W Group	312
6.5.3. Institutional Framework	312
6.6. Conclusion	314

## CONCLUSION

Conclusion.1. Overview	318
Conclusion.2. Findings	321
Conclusion.2.1. The Research Methodology	321
Conclusion.2.2. Historic Cairo as a Case Study	322
Conclusion.2.3. The Assessment as a Research Main Objective	322
Conclusion.2.4. The Research Methods	322
Conclusion.3. Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo	324
Conclusion.4. Research Significance	325
Conclusion.5. Future Research	326

## REFERENCES

References.1. Books and Journal Articles	328
References.2. Newspaper Articles	341
References.3. Reports and Lectures	342
References.4. Unpublished Theses	345

## APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Research Methods	347
Appendix 2 Research Subjects	360
Appendix 3 A Theoretical Model of the Conflict between the Professionals and Local Communities in the Historic Areas	371
Appendix 4 Facial Approach to Urban Conservation in the Middle East	384
Appendix 5 A Critic of Area Conservation in Cairo	394

## List of Figures

### Chapter One:

- Fig. 1.1: Multi-directional influences/ forces affecting the different aspects of the city, responsible for the changes in its built form.
- Fig. 1. 2: An influencing force (political, social, economic, technological...); a model that illustrates the morphological phase in (fig. 1.1).
- Fig. 1. 3a: The foundation of Baghdad.
- Fig. 1.3b: One sector and a gate of Baghdad.
- Fig. 1. 4a: Map of Damascus in the Roman period.
- Fig. 1.4b: Recent map of Old Damascus.
- Fig. 1. 5: Muqaddasi's grading of settlements and regional units and their spatial distribution.
- Fig. 1.6: The inner structure of the *khutta* (Quarter).
- Fig. 1.7: A hypothetical model illustrating the role of the *Muhtasib* in the Islamic city urban phenomenon.
- Fig. 1.8: A sensitive urban organisational system that dominated the traditional Arab-Islamic City.
- Fig. 1.9: A conventional urban doctrines flourishing as the fruit of the accumulation of local (regional) factors and the teachings of Islam, the *Urf*.
- Fig. 1.10: Forms of submission of urban management responsibilities.
- Fig. 1.11: Morphological patterns in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent (Syria).
- Figs. 1.6a-d: Schematic land-use patterns in the Arab-Islamic city since its foundation in the seventh century to the twentieth century.

### Chapter Two:

- Fig. 2.1: A map that indicate different quarters in Cairo.
- Fig. 2.2: A map that indicate different sectors and areas under conservation in Historic Cairo.
- Fig. 2.3: A model of the change in the adopted urban system in the studied region.
- Fig. 2. 4: The distribution of social classes in the districts of Cairo.
- Fig. 2.5: The equilibrium of the urban management system within an Islamic paradigm.
- Fig. 2.6: Typical movements of low income population in cities in developing countries.
- Fig. 2.7: A change in the typical movements of low-income population in the studied region.
- Fig. 2.8: The subjective meaning of an area.
- Fig. 2.9: Behavioural value, alive but becomes latent due to change in lifestyle and the built environment in the traditional urbanism.

### Chapter Four:

- Fig. 4.1: Framework Plan-Urban Zones in Historic Cairo where different responsive approaches to area conservation are suggested according to the especial nature and demands of each zone.

### Chapter Five:

- Fig. 5.1: Interrelated factors affecting the quality of any environment under development.
- Fig. 5.2: Filters to assess environmental qualities in an historical environment.
- Fig. 5.3: Policy-making process in planning in general.
- Fig. 5.4: an accumulated model of a comprehensive assessment of area conservation.

### Chapter Six:

- Fig. 6.1: Planning and Project Implementation Process in General.
- Fig.6.2: A map of Harrat al-Darb al-Asfar and its two off-lanes that shows the distribution of the historical and residential and industrial buildings.

### Appendix Three:

- Fig. A3.1: Model explaining users as vandals where attempts to maximize social, economic, psychological, and cultural values may be at the expense of historic and aesthetic values.
- Fig. A3.2: Model explaining professionals as vandals where attempts to maximize historic and aesthetic values are accompanied by a ban of social, economic, psychological, and cultural values.

## List of Illustrations

### Chapter One:

- III.1.1a: Cairo by the late nineteenth century that exhibit a traditional lifestyle.
- III.1.1b: Cairo by the first half of the twentieth century that exhibit a change towards European lifestyle.
- III. 1.2a: A European style building without court in the heart of Old Damascus.
- III. 1.2b: Municipality Palace, neo-renaissance, Aleppo, located within the old fabric in the core of the old city.
- III. 1.2c: A traditional mansion in the old quarter, decorated with neo-classic fenestration and portal, Tripoli, Lebanon.
- III. 1.2d: European style apartment buildings bordering the old quarter, Tripoli, Lebanon.
- III. 1.2e: A typical med. apartment building surmounting traditional arches marking the beginning of Nahj al-Qasaba, the main street in the old city (le-Medina), Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.2f: Botafliqa Boulevard bordering the old city, Bab al-Bahr area, Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.3a: Axial and ring roads cut through the original traditional fabric of Aleppo around the old city's core, the citadel surmounting a mountain.
- III. 1.3b: Al-Bab al-Saghir Street cut through the traditional urban fabric inside the walls of the old city in Damascus, linking al-Bab al-Saghir gate and Suq Medhat Pasha (market) which terminates the street with a metal-covered ceiling.
- III. 1.4a: A traditional urban fabric segregated from the new one (the colonial new part of the city) by the city walls, Susa, Tunisia.
- III. 1.4b: Kairawan city walls bounding a dense traditional urban fabric, separating it from the outer colonial part surrounding the old city, Kairawan, Tunisia.
- III. 1.4c: The dense traditional fabric within the walls of Antalia where the traditional houses are predominant, Antalia, Turkey.
- III. 1.4d: The eastern gate and walls of old Damascus bounding a dense traditional fabric of the Eastern District of the old city, Damascus, Syria.
- III. 1.5a: Just outside the walls of Damascus, Saruja area couldn't sustain a coherent character giving way to the modern development heavily attacking in 1960's and 1980's. Damascus, Syria.
- III. 1.5b: The traditional Ottoman wooden house became a very rare species within the modern development. Galata area, Istanbul, Turkey.
- III. 1.6a: Bab al-Aqwass square, a remaining gate in the middle of highways surrounding the old city, Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.6b: The old gate in Bab Toma area became a landmark in a major node linking the old fabric of old Damascus with the colonial part surrounding the walls, Damascus, Syria.
- III. 1.7a: Houses surmounting walls between Bab Toma gate and Bab al-Salam Gate, Damascus, Syria.
- III. 1.7b: A house surmounting the southern city walls, Darb Shughlan, Cairo.
- III. 1.8a: Suq Barghut area today is losing any traces of its original, traditional fabric, Beirut, Lebanon.
- III. 1.8b: Suq Barghut area at the turn of the twentieth century, Beirut, Lebanon.
- III. 1.9a: A traditional market with an open area preceding a vaulted part, selling economical goods: clothes, utensils... etc., Old Aleppo, Syria.
- III. 1.9b: Goldsmiths market in old Tripoli, Lebanon.
- III. 1.9c: A traditional covered market in Susa, selling average contemporary clothes (economical pieces), Old Susa, Tunisia.
- III. 1.10: Qalawun Complex (thirteenth century), al-Muiz thoroughfare, Old Cairo.
- III. 1.11a: Al-Shuhada Square, facing the Ministries Complex (square) at the end of Nahj al-Qasaba, Old Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.11b: The headquarter of the Ministry of Public Affairs, Nahj al-Qasaba, Old Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.12: The house of Ahmed Larsam, currently the headquarter of the ASM (Association of Safeguarding the Medina), Old Tunis, Tunisia.
- III. 1.13: Shepherd Hotel, typical neo-classical architecture, colonial Cairo.
- III. 1.14: The Balat area, Istanbul, row houses, originally occupied by Jewish and Greek occupants before 1950's.
- III. 1.15: Hafsiyya area, Old Tunis, Tunisia, the first Europeanised zone inside the walls of the old city, was the Jewish quarter.
- III. 1.16a: Galata area, Istanbul, now the headquarter of electrical fixtures and construction finishing materials.
- III. 1.16b: Pierra area, Istanbul, originally an upper-class residential quarter by the turn of the twentieth century for Greek and Jewish rich merchants, now a very active retailing place for clothing and entertainment.

## List of Illustrations

### Chapter Two:

- III.2.1: Sabil-Kuttab (a water fountain surmounted by an eliminatory school built ca. seventeenth century) the inhabitants of the neighbouring building added the upper part illegally to their apartment.
- III.2.2: A traditional lane behind Qijmas Mosque, al-Darb al-Ahmar, see the 1960s governmental building totally contradicting with the context.
- III.2.3: An economical housing scheme built in 1960s, Ahmed Mahir Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar. A drastic dilution of the original character of the historic area emphasised by a development that is launched by the government.
- III.2.4: A registered monument (traditional mansion) in a very ruinous condition, Al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar
- III. 2.5: An Ottoman monument, al-Tabbana Street, currently used as an elementary school
- III.2.6: Bab al-Wazir Street, a conflict between vehicle and pedestrian movements.
- III.2.7: A nineteenth century apartment building, see the unsuitable finishing material adorning the ground floor and the modern building in front permitting limited illumination.
- III.2.8: A collapsed Rab' (collective housing units), al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar the building was totally altered having hovels to house those who lost their units, and it is typical situation to have only the shops that still function.
- III.2.9: A modern reinforced concrete building, al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar, see the attempt cope with the historical context using pseudo traditional turned wood fenestration however it came as an ugly interpretation of the heritage due to the lack of architectural guidelines.
- III.2.10: Bab al-Nasr Cemetery families occupying funerary courts.
- III.2.11: Bab al-Nasr Cemetery undefined boarders between the funerary courts and the domestic area.
- III.2.12: Mashrabiyya, house of Jamal al-Din al-Dhahabi, 1643 AD. Source: Ahmed Hassaballah.
- III. 2.13: Ras el-Tin Palace, an example of the Rumi-Balkan style.
- III. 2.14: Eclectic composition of Mamluk ornaments in an early twentieth century apartment building, Heliopolis, Cairo.
- III. 2.15: Neo-classical building within the traditional fabric of the old city, Cairo.
- III. 2.16a: A modern house in the old city, Tunis, Tunisia; still employing the *mashrabiyya*, the traditional bay window.
- III. 2.16b: A modern villa in the suburbs of Kairawan, Tunisia; still employing the *mashrabiyya*, the traditional bay window.
- III. 2.17: Doctors Syndicate (Dar al-Hikma), Cairo, a contemporary building using simplified Islamic traditional artefacts.
- III. 2.18: Wooden screens decorating the balconies of neo-classic building, al-Baghala, Cairo.
- III. 2.19: Qasr Abdin, Cairo, the royal palace built in the late nineteenth century in a neo-classic style.

### Chapter Three:

- III. 3.1: The textile trade located in al-Ghoriyya close to the central mosque, al-Azhar. A traditional of the common guild and markets distribution around the central mosque common in the Arab-Islamic urban phenomena and still active until today.
- III. 3.2: A modern structure in the Royal Mile, the Old Town in Edinburgh; it is not necessary to build an old-looking structure within historical areas to safeguard their integrity, yet it needs much creativity to complement the historical context visually without compromising the contemporary needs.
- III. 3.3: Nazli Sharif Mosque, built by the turn of the twentieth century; its minaret used to dominate the skyline of the Nile river bank until dwarfed by concrete towers because of the lack of any effective urban guidelines.
- III. 3.4: Mohamed Ali Mosque, built in the first half of the nineteenth century; a shot taken from the University Bridge, some kilometres away from the mosque that is located on the Muqattam Hill. The Mosque remains, until today, the symbol of Cairo and the dominant landmark in the city.
- III. 3.5a: Khan al-Hiraf, the craft Market, a traditional Market (*Suq*) that is sanitised and is used as a touristic spot now in Old Aleppo.
- III. 3.5b: the Old Suq, the covered Market, Old Aleppo, selling traditional goods and accommodating typical old guilds that still functioning until today.
- III. 3.6a: Leather dying in Fes, Morocco, safeguarding the old craft where the industry itself is regarded as an intangible heritage (protecting the industry for the local crafts is to maintain values of processes).
- III. 3.6b: carpenters and chest makers and their workshops distinguish the mixed use character of Darb Shughlan in al-Darb al-Ahmar in Historic Cairo, maintaining a medieval craft.



## List of Illustrations

Ill. 3.7: The open space in front of the Zuwila Historical Gate where many historical buildings are under restoration by the ARCE.

Ill. 3.8a: A court of a historical mansion in le-Median (historic town) in Tunis suffer much deterioration, a typical case of historical mansion that used to be the house of well-to-do Tunisian extended families; now accommodating poor immigrants and settlers from the countryside.

Ill. 3.8b: One of the rebuilt voids in the historic town in Tunis replacing deteriorated mansions of very low environmental quality, located in Nahj al-Basha. Some of these examples were completely rebuilt as this example; others are restored, depending on the physical condition and the historical and architectural value of the recycled deteriorated mansion.

Ill. 3.8c: The *Wakail*, low-budget housing to accommodate the transferred poor occupants of the deteriorated mansions in le-Medina, Tunis, to especially designed houses designed and placed to suit their social and cultural demands.

Ill. 3.9a: The Umayyad Palace, Judging Court, on the Citadel Plateau in Amman, Jordan; the reconstructed dome was added to give an integral form of the Umayyad monuments introduced to the area in the eighth century.

Ill.3.9b: A shot from the citadel plateau overlooking the downtown in Amman with squatters on the cliff leading to the Roman theatre (to the right) and the bus terminus, marking the centre of the city, the whole area is currently under major regeneration studies.

Ill. 3.10: Beit al-Gabri in Damascus. The mansion transformed into a restaurant suffers adaptations such as AC condensers drilled into its eighteenth century walls.

Ill. 3.11: A restored eighteenth-century mansion in the heart of Old Damascus, owned by HRH Shikha Hussa al-Sabah.

Ill. 3.12a: A historic house converted into a restaurant in Sidi Bu Said, Tunis, Tunisia.

Ill. 3.12b: The heart of Sidi Bu Said, currently occupied by touristic activities, coffee shops and souvenir shops converting the whole Sidi Bu Said into a tourist town.

Ill. 3.13a: An old image of the heart of Suq Barghut (Beirut CBD, Lebanon) from the 1950s where most of the activities and entertainment are centred there.

Ill.3.13b: A polished form of Suq Barghut today after being restored and refurbished to accommodate international brand names and very wealthy international community as targeted by the SOLIDERE in charge of the regeneration of the area.

### Chapter Four:

Ill. 4.1: Furn Hayyik Area in Beirut, where area conservation is not more than painting work of facades.

Ill. 4.2a: Traditional urbanism in Kairawan, few meters from the Kairwan Mosque (historical and central one). The area suffers negligence and effective urban management and development guidelines.

Ill. 4.2b: Within the walled town in Susa, Tunisia (Old Susa) the traditional urbanism was interrupted by the municipality to create a gap between the historical urbanism and the walls, a by-default beatification of the historical town as pursued by the INP.

Ill. 4.2c: Within the walls of the Old Susa, Tunisia, the area that is located away from the tourist routs and the historical mosques are relatively neglected for the INP and the municipality adopt an approach that is not comprehensive and balanced, focusing mainly on the historical Mosques and famous structures and the tourist activities surrounding them.

Ill. 4.3: Bab Qansurin Area, Action Area one, where the local community in Old Aleppo trained to restore the historical buildings in the vicinity, as well as their houses.

Ill. 4.4: A group of the community members in al-Batniyyah in al-Darb al-Ahmar in Historic Cairo, trained by the AKCS-E to restore historic stones, as well as their own houses and be an active manpower in the revitalisation of al-Darb al-Ahmar project.

Ill. 4.5a: The historical core of Mainz, Germany, exhibiting lavishly decorated nineteenth and eighteenth century architecture.

Ill. 4.5b: Few meters from such a traditional nineteenth century ambiance in Mainz located some isolated, more segregated urban nodes, which allowed ultra modern development that have not challenged or interrupted the traditional part of the city.

Ill. 4.6: Kings Walk, commercial centre, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK.

### Chapter Six:

Ill. 6.1a: The Southern Traffic Access, Northern Gamaliyya District, located to the north of Historic Cairo, The Bab al-Nasr Cemetery to the left and the restoration work of the northern walls of Fatimid Cairo to the right.

## List of Illustrations

- Ill. 6.1b: The Northern Traffic Access linking al-Mansouriya Street to al-Gaish Street parallel to the northern walls with the historical gates (Bab al-Futuh and Bab al-Nasr).
- Ill. 6.2: Magra al-Euon Project, the Aqueduct Area.
- Ill. 6.3a: The Mosque of Amr ibn al-As, adjacent to the Coptic Quarter, the Religion Complex Area, southern part of Historic Cairo.
- Ill. 6.3b: The main street linking the Mosque of Amr with the Coptic Quarter.
- Ill. 6.4a: Metal industry and aluminium workshops in al-Darb al-Asfar, al-Gamaliyya.
- Ill. 6.4b: Metal industry al-Tumbakshiyya, al-Gamaliyya.
- Ill. 6.4c: Metal trade and the metal vessel section in al-Muiz Street (close to al-Darb al-Asfar and al-Tumbakshiyya), the main thoroughfare in Historic Cairo.
- Ill. 6.5: The electric cars, as a public transportation introduced by the Governorate after pedestrianising al-Azhar Street.
- Ill.6.6: Bab al-Wazir Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar.
- Ill.6.7: The Area between al-Hussain and al-Azhar Mosque, the Mashiyakha Building is at the middle and al-Azhar Street cuts the piazza.
- Ill. 6.8: The Development of Northern Gamaliyya Project, restoring the historical walls and gates, Bab al-nasr and al-Futuh.
- Ill. 6.9a: Superficial urban beautification plastering and painting only the elevation overlooking the main routes in Qasr al-Sham.
- Ill. 6.9b: Lethal cracks left on the wall-baring houses in Qasr al-Sham Area as a result of insensitive construction work.
- Ill. 6.10: Port Said Street, intersecting with al-Azhar Street and the flyover on it acting as traffic link between al-Azhar Square and the downtown.
- Ill. 6.11: The scheme of the Ministry of Culture to revitalise al-Azhar Square, including the historical mosques and the Mashiyakha Building.
- Ill. 6.12: The scheme of the Ministry of Culture to revitalise al-Hakim Mosque and Bab al-Nasr, northern Historic Cairo.
- Ill. 6.13: The open area behind al-Kirtliyya House, historical mansion under restoration, in Ibn Tulun Area.
- Ill. 6.14: The uncovered Ayyubid walls, Eastern Walls, and the deteriorated urban fabric along that wall to the left; the mounds of al-Azhar Park introduced by the Aga Khan to the right.
- Ill. 6.15a: The Azhar Street today.
- Ill. 6.15b: The proposed beautification of al-Azhar Street and the intersecting street of al-Muiz, as well as al-Ghurriyya Area neglecting the commercial activities existing today.
- Ill. 6.16a: The old shops along Mustafa Gafar wall on al-Muiz Street; a shot taken in 1970s.
- Ill. 6.16b: The western wall of Mustafa Gafar overlooking al-Muiz Street today with all the shops removed and sequenced pavement was paved in a tilted tiling and surrounded with metal chains to prevent any use of it.
- Ill. 6.17: Decorated walls of the Coptic Cemetery along five kilometres, which is the main part of the beautification scheme of the Ministry of Tourism in the Religion Complex Area, Misr al-Qadima, southern Historic Cairo.
- Ill. 6.18a: Urban beautification in the Religion Complex Area; unified colours imposing a specific style.
- Ill. 6.18b: Victoria Street off Grass Market in the Old Town in Edinburgh; the colour scheme is varied, giving a room for a public taste of colours aiming at a responsive image of the area.
- Ill. 6.19: Beautified and restored elevations overlooking al-Darb al-Asfar Street.
- Ill. 6.20: Introduced nostalgic gate to the eastern entrance of al-Darb al-Asfar Street, from al-Gamaliyya Street.
- Ill. 6.21: A lane of al-Darb al-Asfar Street that is pedestrianised, which deprives the workshop from the proper services.
- Ill. 6.22a: Painting the houses in al-Darb al-Asfar Street was the main goal regardless restoring them or dealing with their threatening dilapidated condition.
- Ill. 6.22b: Wall-baring houses with lethal cracks that can collapse are only painted; this example is located at 4 Atfat al-Darb al-Asfar, off al-Darb al-Asfar Street, where the historical houses are located.
- Ill. 6.22c: A house that is not painted because it is located on a small lane off al-Darb al-Asfar Street, i.e. away from the vision of the tourists normally heading the historical mansions.
- Ill. 6.23a: The eastern entrance of al-Tumbakshiyya a street from al-Gamaliyya Street; this part is full of historical buildings.
- Ill. 6.23b: The western part of al-Tumbakshiyya Street from al-Muiz Street; the metal-sheet trade and workshop is concentrated on that part to the left.

## List of Illustrations

- III. 6.24: Wakalat Kahla, located on Gamaliyya Street, close to al-Tumbakshiyya Street, where all the reallocated workshops from al-Tumbakshiyya are transferred to.
- III. 6.25: Insensitive demolition of Wikalat al-Zaitun has a negative physical impact on the surrounding residential buildings in al-Tumbakshiyya Street.
- III. 6.26: Darb Shughlan, the main action area in al-Darb al-Ahmar with one historical monument, a fourteenth-century mosque (Aslam Mosque).
- III. 6.27: Al-Azhar Lane and al-Tablitavegitable market to the right, behind Abu al-Zahab and al-Azhar Mosque. The Tablita Market is the main food market in the area.
- III. 6.28: Khayir Bek Complex, Bab al-Wazir, al-Darb al-Ahmar Area.

### Appendix Three:

- III. A3.1: The appropriation of public spaces in al-Darb al-Ahmar.
- III. A3.2: Cases from al-Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo where improvements undertaken by the users using available materials, designs and know-how violate the historic integrity of the historic buildings.
- III. A3.3: Widening streets around the citadel in old Damascus.
- III. A3.4: Wide streets around the Castle in Aleppo, Syria to convey a modernized look.
- III. A3.5: Textile merchants at the foot of the Ghouri Complex in 1999 (left) and in David Robert's 1800s etchings (right).
- III. A3.6: The amphitheatre introduced on a collapsed building site in the area of Quasr al-Sham', in Old Cairo (close to the Mar Guerges religious area) as part of a historic preservation/ revitalization project conducted by the Ministry of Culture.
- III. A3.7: Beit al-Gabri in Damascus. The mansion transformed into a restaurant suffers adaptations such as AC condensers drilled into its eighteenth century walls.

### Appendix Four:

- III. A4.1: adjacent to Sultan Ahmed Mosque, complete streets of guest houses and hotels, as well as other services for tourism.
- III. A4.2: few meters off Sultan Ahmed Area, a historical mosque built by the famous Ottoman architect Sinan, and a deteriorated neighbourhood are left to negligence.
- III. A4.3: The headquarter of Anbar Office, Old Damascus.
- III. A4.4: Al-Jabri House, built in the eighteenth century converted into a restaurant with musical performance in a residential area, Al-Qimariyyah, Old Damascus.
- III. A4.5: Al-Nasr Road, cutting Saruja area as a result of less sensitive planning in the 1950s when the area started to suffer deterioration under the heavy foot of modernization.
- III. A4.6: the eroded urban fabric of Saruja Area, outside the walled city.
- III. A4.7: the location of the air condition plant of the tunnel at the core of al-Azhar Square.
- III. A4.8: Al-Darb rigt: al-Darb al-Asfar Lane, western part where the historic houses are located.
- III. A4.9: A restored façade of an unregistered house in al-Darb al-Asfar that is left in its deteriorated conditions from inside.
- III. A4.10: A restored block of buildings from the 1920s, Suq Barghut, Beirut

### Appendix Five:

- III. A5.1: Restoring monuments without taking into account their cultural and social context will deprive the area of its significance.

## List of Abbreviations

ACA: Anglican Coptic Association.

ADSC: The Architectural Design Support Centre, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University.

AKCS-E: The Aga Khan Culture Service-Egypt, the Aga Khan Organisation.

ARCE: American Research Centre in Egypt.

ASM: Association of Safeguarding le-Medina, Tunis in Tunisia.

AUC: The American University in Cairo.

CAPS: Conservation Area Partnership Scheme, UK.

CCT: Charter of Cultural Tourism, held in Brussels in 1976.

CCV: Continuing Cultural Values.

Cultnat: National Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage, Bibliotheca Alexandrina (the International Library of Alexandria); it was initiated under the Egyptian Ministry of Information Technology.

DNH: Department of the National Heritage, UK.

DoE: Department of the Environment, UK.

EC: European Community.

ECAE: Engineering Centre for Archaeological & Environment, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University.

ECHR: European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

EU: European Union.

FCDA: Fatimid Cairo Development Agency, Egyptian NGO.

FEDA: Friends of Environment Development Association.

FWP: Framework Plan, a composite approach to area conservation.

GAM: Goal Achievement Matrix, Decision-Making Technique.

GOPP: General Organisation of Physical Planning, the Egyptian Ministry of Housing.

GTZ: The German International Development Agency.

HERS: Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme, UK.

HLA: Historic Landscape Approach, adopted in urban management and decides land use in historic areas in Scotland.

IAURIF :Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région d'Ile de France.

ICCC: Islamic Capital Cities Charter issued in 1997.

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites.

ICTC: International Cultural Tourism Charter, held in Mexico in 1999.

## List of Abbreviations

IFAO : the French Institute of Oriental Archeology.

IMF: International Money Fund.

INP: the Tunisian National Institute of Patrimony.

IRD: French Institute of Research and Development, French Fund.

JICA: Japanese International Co-operation Agency.

LPA: Local Planning Authorities.

NEF: Near East Foundation, international NGO.

NPPG: National Planning Policies Guidelines, UK.

PPG: Planning Policies Guidelines, UK.

PRA: the Participatory Rapid Appraisal, a method/ technique of urban analysis.

RITSEC: the Regional Information Technology & Software Engineering Centre, the IT consultancy of the prime minister.

RUEA: Rapid Urban Environmental Assessment.

SAVE: the Survey of the Architectural Values in the Environment system in Denmark.

SCA: Supreme Council of Antiquities, the Egyptian Ministry of Culture.

SOLIDERE: The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District.

SWOT: Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats, an urban analysis technique.

THI: Townscape Heritage Initiative, Sterling, UK.

UNDP: United Nations Development Project.

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization.

USAID: United States Agency for International Development.

WHC: World Heritage Committee, an international committee that belongs to UNESCO and lists the world heritage sites all over the world.

## Acknowledgement

I start praising the great Lord and his merciful will for his support and blessings that guided me in my life and especially during the course of this research.

My deep and sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor Dr. Ian Campbell for his intellectual and guiding debates and discussions that helped assembling the structure of this research and guided its different inquiries.

I would like to acknowledge the role of Prof. Brian Edwards for his helpful recommendations for the refinement of this work.

My thanks go to Prof. Peter Aspinall for his thoughtful remarks that had a great impact on the formation of the research methodology followed in this work. I would like also to extend my thanks to Dr. Faozi Ujam who introduced me to the programme.

I am indebted to my dear friends Mr. Seif al-Rashidi and to Ms. Shahira Sami for proofreading my work. I extend my thanks also to Mr. Daniel de Jongh for proofreading chapter three.

Especial thanks go to my very dear friend Ahmed Hassaballah for his efforts, together with Mr. Tamer Hassaballah, who were responsible for the final presentation of this thesis.

I would like to thank my colleagues who gave true support and thoughtful times, which I needed very much: Dr. Waleed Kaki, Dr. Nabil Kassar, Dr. Ali Taileb, Dr. Mohamed Salheen, Dr. Hossam Rizk, Dr. Yasser Adas, Dr. Hatem Nabih and Dr. Wael Nabih.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who were generous with me sharing ideas and thoughts, the researchers and subjects that I interviewed and who are cited in this research.

**Abstract of Thesis Form**

Surname <b>Sedky</b>	Forename(s) <b>Ahmed Mohamed Ali</b>				Matriculation Number <b>99E59177</b>
Postgraduate Study (tick)	PhD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MPhil	<input type="checkbox"/>	MSc
Thesis Title <b>Assessment of Area Conservation in the Arab-Islamic City: The Case of Historic Cairo</b>					
Signature: _____			Date: <u>12 Dec. 02</u>		

**Abstract:**

Historic Cairo is a significant medieval urban phenomenon that has suffered uninterrupted deterioration since the mid nineteenth century. This led to questioning the quality of area conservation schemes in Cairo. Are they superficial, focusing only on restoration, which limits the focus of conservation only to the physical aspects of historic areas? Are they only designed to attract tourist dollars regardless of other social and local cultural considerations? Could the financial deficiency be the main reason for such a continuing environmental decline as proclaimed by the planners and officials in charge of safeguarding Historic Cairo?

All these questions besides many others inspired this investigation to explore the deficiencies and obstacles affecting area conservation in Historic Cairo. These questions are clustered into two main directions: the first focuses on the *commission*, i.e. the quality of executing area conservation schemes. The second searches for the reasons and goals for which the *mission* of a conservation scheme is pursued.

The *commission* inquiry defines what to conserve, the most significant values and qualities that give a meaning to the historic area to be safeguarded as addressed in Chapters One and Two. It also investigates how to conserve these areas without jeopardising such environmental values and qualities, as elaborated in Chapters Three and Four. On the other hand, the *mission* inquiry is probed through in-depth analysis of policies and the political model responsible for them in Egypt, as elaborated in Chapter Six.

Since area conservation is still in its infancy in Historic Cairo, this research broadens its scope to investigate the Arab-Islamic Context. Through this broader context, many case studies were consulted along Chapters one to Four. These helped define comprehensive environmental assessment criteria, envisaged through a comprehensive sampling framework that incorporate all the active agents, based on integrating all the above environmental qualities, values and conservation and policy-making processes, as synthesised in Chapter Five.

Such a comprehensive assessment model is the actual contribution of this research to area conservation general literature, through which it was possible to explore one of the most chaotic urban phenomena, Historic Cairo, as conducted in Chapter Six. The implications of such an investigation identified that historic areas in Cairo are not envisaged as the last refuge of traditional culture and lifestyle but rather as a potential venue to attract foreign currency through development for cultural tourism. In addition, the continuing environmental deterioration pointed above, is mainly due to inter governmental organisational conflicts, which cripple the conservation and urban upgrading process in Egypt in general.

#### Notes

1. The Abstract of your thesis which is for Library use should be **PRINTED ON TO THIS FORM.**
2. Three copies of the thesis, each with a copy of the Abstract (on this form or on plain A4 paper) bound in to precede the thesis, must be lodged with the Postgraduate Officer, together with a completed Submission of Thesis form.
- 3.

The Abstract should not normally exceed 200 words and should set forth the main argument and conclusions of the thesis.

The abstract must be typeset and written in English.

\\local\research\research thesis forms\submission of abstract.doc



## INTRODUCTION

### **Introduction. 1. Forward:**

Historic Cairo<sup>1</sup> is very significant for it is considered to be the largest remaining, medieval urban system where traces of traditional lifestyles and activities are still in practice, as revealed by the United Nation Education, Science and Culture Organisation (UNESCO) delegates during the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) symposium and the UNESCO workshop held in Cairo in February and March, 2002 respectively. However, like most historic areas around the world, Historic Cairo has witnessed much negligence and segregation as a consequence of modernisation and changes in cultural views and traditional lifestyles, contributing to the deterioration of its built environment. Many efforts have been made to confront such deterioration, the first of which being in 1980. During that year, the then first lady of Egypt, Mrs. Gihan al-Sadat, together with UNESCO, conducted a campaign to preserve Historic Cairo, focusing on the area between the northern and southern walls known as Fatimid Cairo.<sup>2</sup> This can be taken as the beginning of the principle of area conservation in Cairo, expressed through a concern with the urban fabric of the old city, and expanding the spectrum from architectural restoration of individual monuments to a wider interest in the historic city as a whole. Since then, many enthusiastic studies and schemes have been approved, yet they have remained nothing but blueprints.

### **Introduction. 2. The Problem:**

Despite the numerous studies and proposed urban upgrading schemes presented by individuals (experts, professionals and planners), institutions, or international organisations, deterioration of the built environment in Historic Cairo accelerated, especially after the 1992 earthquake. Thus, safeguarding Historic Cairo became a dilemma. The extensive literature discussing various facets of urban problems of the historic fabric falls short of reaching the implementation level; it could not promote a pragmatic,

---

<sup>1</sup> In this research 'Historic Cairo' as a term is used to refer to the medieval part of the city where the traditional Arab-Islamic urban principles and cultural values had been in practice explicitly until mid nineteenth century, as elaborated in the first part of this research. For more details see section 2.2 and (figs.2.1 and 2.2) in Chapter Two.

<sup>2</sup> The Fatimids are the dynasty that constructed Cairo, the principal walled city, initially established as a royal city in the tenth century and called al-Qahira (the victorious). Immediately after the collapse of the Fatimid dynasty in the twelfth century the walled city was integrated with the quarters outside the walled city, such as al-Fustat (established in the seventh century). This bigger whole, al-Qahira and al-Fustat, together with later developed quarters formed the traditional urban fabric of the giant medieval city also known as al-Qahira (Cairo).

comprehensive perspective. Furthermore, the United Nation Development Projects (UNDP) study presented in 1997 exhibited an exceptional comprehensive vision of how to upgrade and save the historic city. However, it is still nothing more an exemplary, pilot ‘study’.

On the other hand, it is always the right of the local communities, termed in this research as the ‘U’ group, as well as the world, represented through heritage safeguarding international organisations or even concerned individuals with international cultural heritage that is termed in this research as the ‘W’ group, to make claims to the areas under conservation. In addition, the state, which practices the major control and decision making through its national organisations involved in area conservation, is termed in this research as ‘N’ group.<sup>3</sup> Each group has its own demands, perspectives and priorities to make when dealing with historic areas. Therefore, any desired upgrading needs to be a negotiation process that addresses the demands and priorities of these three groups, for their overlapping perspectives towards a historic area give it its significance and subjective meaning.<sup>4</sup> If such a process is crippled it is inevitable that conflicts and obstacles to achieving the effective quality of area conservation will occur.

This problem is growing, especially with governmental institutions monopolising both the strategy and the implementation of area conservation schemes in Egypt, and being recognised as the official and approved approach to area conservation.<sup>5</sup> This is because the political model in Egypt, as well as many other countries in the Arab-Islamic Region, matches the state-centred one described by Grindle and Thomas (1989), in which the state defines the social problems and solves them. Furthermore, according to Attia (1999) and Salheen (2001), this model is applicable to all the ongoing or accomplished development projects in Egypt; area conservation is included as an especial type of development planning conducted in historic areas.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, the legitimacy of such a governmental (official) approach is becoming more and more established having many area conservation projects inaugurated or visited by the first lady of Egypt, Mrs. Suzanne Mubarak, which may grant such an

---

<sup>3</sup> This classification (U, W and N) is adapted in this research to group the different interested parties with claims to the historic areas under conservation; it is elaborated in Chapter Two in section 2.6.

<sup>4</sup> See the definition of the subjective meaning of historic areas in Chapter Two in section 2.6 and fig. 2.8.

<sup>5</sup> Having the ‘N’ group monopolising area conservation and not co-operating or giving enough room for U’s and sometimes W’s claims, priorities and environmental qualities to preserve the historic areas under conservation in Cairo.

<sup>6</sup> This point is discussed further in Chapter Six in section 6.3.

approach political immunity by them being recognised under the auspices of important political figures. Given that area conservation projects are promoted in the media as part of Egypt's national development project seeking a 'civilised'<sup>7</sup> image of Cairo the capital, many imbedded shortcomings are going to dominate and shape such an official approach to area conservation in Cairo.

### **Introduction. 3. Research Hypotheses:**

Most recently-accomplished and ongoing urban upgrading schemes in Historic Cairo contradict the current internationally recognised theory and practice, of area conservation as addressed in the international charters as well as the 1997 UNDP study. Many such schemes focus on superficial conservation, concerned mainly with the sanitisation of the old fabric. They are motivated by and target tourism dollars and seek to appropriate such a fabric to permit heavy traffic through it. They overlook some of the qualities of subjective area conservation, such as community-oriented schemes. Most of these projects also overlook the distinctive historic areas' significance and values based on their historic and cultural context.<sup>8</sup> They reflect a lack of cultural and contextual awareness of historic areas and their traditional systems. Thus, dilution of historic areas' character and meaning and the loss of their distinctive environmental qualities (integrity and authenticity), are the unavoidable consequences of such schemes. They also lose ability to sustain themselves both socially and economically, which inevitably has a negative environmental impact.<sup>9</sup>

Such an approach prioritises the restoration of historical buildings and streetscape over comprehensive area conservation. Thus 'revitalisation', a commonly-used term in the area conservation projects in Cairo, becomes merely a term that is used to refer to a major restoration and streetscape scheme- practically speaking 'beautification' of Historic Cairo. Conservation, in its comprehensive meaning and tools as addressed in part II, is not fully present in such projects. Such unresponsive and ineffective planning, responsible for the continuation of the current environmental deterioration and jeopardising the eespecial values of Historic Cairo, is predominantly the result of an inter-institutional conflict or

---

<sup>7</sup> See footnotes 2 and 90 in Chapter Six for more elaboration about the governmental/ institutional definition of the term civilised.

<sup>8</sup> The values distinguishing historic areas and giving them a meaning are elaborated in Chapter Two in sections 2.6 and 2.7.

<sup>9</sup> The main environmental qualities responsible for the significance of the historic areas are investigated and reviewed in Chapter Three in section 3.2.4.

even an inter-departmental one in some cases, due to the absence of an integrated defined system of value that can guide area conservation in Cairo; there is no clear guiding strategy, for example, a charter or even general guidelines or urban regulations for area conservation in Cairo. This is due to some latent deficiencies in the current planning and administrative paradigm.

Therefore, the researcher reaches a conceptual stance that views sceptically the current interpretations of the cause of the continuation of the environmental deterioration in historic areas, which has been introduced in the governmental rhetoric as being mainly due to insufficient finance. This becomes questionable especially after reviewing some area conservation schemes. For example the case of al-Azhar Tunnel that cost up to 890 million Egyptian pounds, which could have been reduced to 250 million Egyptian pounds, only had the tunnel been limited to the piazza between al-Azhar and al-Hussain Mosques. This is while the underground water, a severe and chronic problem threatening historical architecture has been left to be treated in a piecemeal way, through scattered projects (Williams 2002). Other similar examples are introduced in Chapter Six in section 6.2.

### **Introduction. 4. Research Objectives:**

There is an urgent need for an evaluative stance to judge the current paradigm and approach to area conservation in Cairo. This has not been developed because the discussed area conservation schemes have been implemented for less than a decade. In addition, evaluating the impact of planning policies or schemes on environmental qualities is not part of the formal Egyptian bureaucracy because of the lack of monitoring concepts and mechanisms as well as being more state-oriented system on the dispense of the individuals' demands.

The problem lies not only in the institutional planning paradigm responsible for area conservation, but also in the gap between the area conservation strategic planning stage and the implementation stage. In such a gap there are many obstacles that have defused most of the previous efforts. However, this gap has never been explored and assessed before, and thus inspires this research that is designed to explore the concepts and processes influencing area conservation in Historic Cairo. Therefore, the main objective of this research is to explore the deficiencies and obstacles affecting the quality of and the widening gap between the planning and implementation stages of area conservation in Cairo.

### **Introduction. 5. Research Questions:**

The above might draw some questions; is it really the money that is missed or the awareness, skills and competence of area conservation principles and processes that are needed? Are the priorities and values considered in the current area conservation schemes compatible with actual cultural values and capable of maintaining historic areas' significance? Fundamentally, is that which is considered by those in charge of drawing the conservation agenda for Historic Cairo, valuable and deserving protection? If so, are the approaches and processes adopted to achieve such protection effective?

Numerous other questions could be addressed; however, for the consistency of this research, three major conceptual questions are identified:

1. The first addresses the reasons behind conservation; is it really needed and for whom it is pursued, i.e. addressing the motivation behind which and the agenda controlling it, which is defined below (in section introduction.6) as the 'mission' of conservation, questioning its goals.

2. The second probes into what to conserve, defined in this research as the what-to- conserve inquiry.

3. The third investigates the qualities and values to consider while pursuing a conservation scheme, as well as the most effective planning and implementation processes, defined in this research as the how-to- conserve inquiry.

Both, the second and the third questions (the what-to- conserve and how-to- conserve inquiries) are defined below (in section introduction.6) as the 'commission' addressing how the 'mission' is pursued.

### **Introduction. 6. Research Methodologies and Structure:**

Aiming at the distinction of the actual causes of the poor quality of area conservation schemes responsible for the continuation of the environmental deterioration in historic areas in Cairo, the planning paradigm affecting and influencing them needs to be examined. This can be explored through studying the current area conservation projects in the course of the targeted assessment. Furthermore, for the sake of an accurate assessment, the impact of such schemes is studied, investigating if they have enhanced the environments where they have been implemented. Yet, since the area conservation projects in Cairo have been implemented for less than a decade, starting with al-Darb al-Asfar area

in 1994, while many others have not yet been accomplished, it is almost impossible to seek any post-occupancy measurements or environmental impact assessment. Therefore, this research will adopt a comparative method through a deduction of a conceptual framework that develops especial awareness of the approved area conservation qualities, ethics and processes based on international theory, practice and examples, while focusing on regional Arab examples because of their contextual resemblance to the case of Historic Cairo, as pursued in Parts I and II.

This is pursued through an exploratory mode of research through field observations and interviews with professionals in similar historic areas, mainly in the Fertile Crescent (Syria, Jordan and Lebanon). The region shares many political, economic, social and cultural similarities with Egypt and has had similar area conservation schemes preceding those in Cairo. This research seeks to learn from others' mistakes and successful experiences, aiming at foreseeing the impact of any proposed intervention in Historic Cairo through studying its counterpart in these similar contexts. Further explorations were also conducted in Turkey and Tunisia where there have been relatively advanced experiences in area conservation, especially in the old city in Tunis, le Medina, which has been recognised by the World Bank and the Arab Fund as a very successful area conservation scheme. In addition, an extensive literature review of relevant theoretical inquiries or other international cases of study are integrated with the present inquiry, which is needed in quest of the sought conceptual framework of area conservation.

This framework is the evaluative/comparative standard, according to which the criteria for the assessment of area conservation in Cairo are assembled. Focusing on the case of Historic Cairo an exploratory investigation is conducted in Part III, aiming at decoding the area conservation paradigm, which is compared against the above-formulated assessment criteria. However, the final analysis is made using the findings of the investigation conducted in Cairo. This is pursued to examine the research hypotheses to delineate the actual causes responsible for the current area conservation quality in Cairo, and to draw final conclusions and further research hypotheses, seeking the enhancement of area conservation planning in Cairo.

On the other hand, since this research concerned with the quality of area conservation schemes conducted in Cairo, it is essential to define the route of the investigation of the sought assessment. Therefore, two types of questions are raised. The first investigates the 'mission' of area conservation itself. This is to examine the goals of

the conducted area conservation schemes conducted in Egypt and what they are launched to conserve, i.e. examining the viability of what such schemes have regarded as valuable and deserve to be conserved. The second is investigating the 'mission', which is how the mission is pursued, i.e. examining the processes and mechanisms adopted to conserve what has been defined as valuable. This would branch in the present inquiry into two streams. The first is What-to-Conserve inquiry, exploring what deserve to be conserved and what gives value and meaning to historic areas. The second is How-to-Conserve inquiry; it focus on the current theory of area conservation.

Both inquiries constitute the framework for area conservation, essential to verify the research hypotheses raised above when applied to Cairo, Part III. However the first inquiry, what-to-conserve, is more contextual, thus, focuses more on the very specific origin and transformation of the Arab-Islamic context as the wider cultural context of the medieval urban fabric in Cairo (defined in this research as Historic Cairo), addressed in Part I. On the other hand, the second inquiry, How-to-Conserve, focuses on the current international theory of area conservation and the considerations and processes for area conservation, addressed in Part II.

In addition the viability and the effectiveness of the policies to organise, indicated above as the 'mission', are integrated with the above inquiries in a conceptual framework model of an environmental assessment of Historic Cairo. It is more concerned with the polices responsible for environmental and urban management that are synthesised and influenced by the political model of the state, which is considered as part of the thought assessment criteria as elaborated in section 5.3 and (figs.5.3 and 5.4) in Chapter Five, seeking a comprehensive assessment criteria for area conservation to be applied when assessing the conservation planning paradigm in Historic Cairo, as pursued in Chapter Six.

### **Part I. What to Conserve:**

The current meaning of historic area is investigated in this part, studying the case of Historic Cairo as an Arab-Islamic urban phenomenon to define its significance and values to preserve as pursued in Chapters One and Two.



### Chapter One: Original Meaning and Transformation of the Historic Area in an Arab-Islamic Context:

The main objective of this chapter is to probe the meaning of the historic area through a wider spectrum, the Arab-Islamic context, for urban rules responsible for the foundation of Cairo and many other Islamic cities were more general and developed through shared experiences and conceptions, inspired mainly by Islamic dogmatic references. This is the wider context that includes Cairo as well as many other cities in the Arab-Islamic Region, many of which are consulted as case studies in this research. This investigation is essential to define the original values responsible for the formation of the studied traditional urban fabric from a conceptual level. It defines its common ideologies and dominant urban concepts as the fundamental origin of the Arab-Islamic urban phenomena.

To define the current meaning of historic areas in the Arab-Islamic context, in general, the present inquiry traces the original concepts initiating early Islamic urbanism in the Arab Region as well as the succeeding forces contributing to the transformations occurred in the Arab-Islamic city in quest of the current meaning of historic areas, which is regarded as the consequence of the accumulation of the original urban concepts and Islamic ideologies and the different cultural and technical forces introduced to the studied context.

### Chapter Two: The Current Meaning of Historic Area in Cairo:

Aiming at defining today's meaning of Historic Cairo within its wider system, i.e., Historic Cairo as a ramification of a wider urban system Cairo City as a metropolis, this chapter focuses on Cairo, developing on the concepts of urban systems predominant in the Arab-Islamic city until mid nineteenth century as well as the pattern of change in the urban character of the traditional fabric due to different forces: cultural, economic, and political revealed in the previous chapter. This aims at establishing a contextual base for this research. Thus, it investigates Cairo's urban transformation aiming at the definition of its current meaning and the actual significance and values to preserve in Historic Cairo.

This is pursued through studying the different changes introduced to the urban fabric in Historic Cairo as well as introducing the traditional fabric and its current status and the locations of the different area conservation projects launched by the government. The traditional concepts of urbanism that ruled the traditional urban fabric in the Arab-

Islamic city in general are also traced in a quest to define the current meaning of historic areas, which is needed clarify pinpoint what to conserve within today's demands and status of historic areas. Thus, further investigations about the meaning of place in such a sensitive context are conducted to reach to a kind of understanding of this fabric's actual nature and acquired meaning. Therefore, the meaning of Historic Cairo is investigated through its current function and environmental quality. Moreover, a more subjective meaning of historic areas in general is pursued through introducing the different perspectives by the different groups (U, N and W) with claims to historic areas. This is to conclude with an image of what gives historic area its significance thus deserves to be conserved.

## **Part II. How-to-Conserve:**

This part focuses on defining the current theory and conception of area conservation and the main elements distinguishing the environmental qualities of historic areas. The mechanisms and approaches to area conservation are also examined in this part.

### Chapter Three: The Meaning of Area Conservation:

Focusing on defining the considerations needed for effective area conservation, this chapter investigates the conceptual meaning of area conservation. It reviews its historical origin from the different calls for restoration since the nineteenth century and up to the international conservation charters, since the Venice Charter of 1964. This is to define the environmental qualities responsible for the significance of the traditional urban fabric, as an historic area. As deduced from the above review of the current theory of area conservation through charters review three main environmental qualities are defined: integrity, authenticity, and sustainability. These qualities are defined as indicators of the quality of any area conservation scheme, thus, used as measuring tools for the effectiveness and quality of such a scheme.

In addition, financial mechanisms of area conservation, defined in this research as foreign aid, tourism and gentrification, are addressed to found a pragmatic base at this stage of the present inquiry. This is to define critical considerations and approaches to be followed/ complemented when conservation is applied in historic areas and to pinpoint the need for a comprehensive approach to area conservation to set the theoretical base for the concepts need to be followed when the question how to conserve is addressed.

Chapter Four: Area Conservation Process:

Integrated with the previous chapter, the second theoretical inquiry of the sought conceptual framework of this research (how-to-serve) is developed further in this chapter. While the previous chapter addresses the conceptual considerations and qualities needed to be followed/ complemented in any area conservation scheme, this chapter focuses on the pragmatic aspects of area conservation. It addresses area conservation processes, investigated through international and regional case studies.

It also attempts to contextualise such processes through introducing a cultural approach to area conservation, taking on board the cultural values and contextual considerations introduced in the previous inquiry (What-to-Conserve) in a way that complement the especial cultural and contextual qualities the Arab-Islamic context. Furthermore, narrowing down this contextual and cultural sensitive approach to the case of Cairo, a responsive approach to area conservation that help determine the perspective needed to be adopted when an area conservation scheme is launched in historic areas in Cairo, depending on the status and the needs and the value of such an area. This is introduced through exhibiting the Framework Plan approach introduced as a sensitive contextual approach to Historic Cairo through the 1997 study.

**Part III. Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo:**

The addressed inquiries, made in the previous Parts (I and II), are to equip the reader with the concepts, considerations and the mechanisms that are necessary to be complemented and followed through a sensitive and responsive mood of planning and urban management when applying an area conservation scheme. The actual values of the effective actors involved in area conservation, which formulate the mission investigation of area conservation in Historic Cairo while the commission level is already addressed in what-to-serve and how-to-serve inquiries addressed in Parts I and II, are investigated through the policies of area conservation in Cairo. Reflecting the above on the case of Historic Cairo, Part III conducts an assessment of area conservation in Cairo through employing the accumulated conceptual framework assembled through Parts I and II that formulate comparative criteria needed to conduct the assessment in the case of Historic Cairo. It concludes by verifying the research hypotheses the actual obstacles and deficiencies in area conservation schemes in Historic Cairo.

Chapter Five: Research Design:

Accumulating the criteria of area conservation conceptions developed above, this chapter introduces the approach to assess area conservation in Cairo. This is pursued through environmental assessment technique examining both the environmental quality considerations and the quality of the area conservation policies adopted in area conservation schemes in Cairo. The sought assessment targets mainly the N group and its representatives who are responsible for area conservation in Cairo. However, the U and W group representatives are also incorporated in the empirical research designed in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Area Conservation in Cairo:

Using the above accumulated comparative area conservation criteria, this chapter explores the conservation planning paradigm and the predominant policies influencing area conservation in Cairo. This is measured through examining the degree of awareness, competence and interest of each of the targeted organisation, involved in area conservation in Cairo, of each criterion accumulated above. This is assessed through comparing the defined environmental quality of the historic areas in Cairo and its safeguarding and planning policies.

**Conclusion:**

Summarising the situation in historic Cairo, current environmental quality of historic area and policies are illustrated with their evaluation as the research findings. Interpretations of such findings are made to evaluate the research hypotheses, methodology and case study for further research directions.

## **PART I**

### **WHAT TO CONSERVE**

**Part One. Forward:**

This part represents the first theoretical inquiry of this research, What to Conserve. This is to define the actual values and significances of historic areas to safeguard through upgrading schemes. Thus, the main purpose of this part is to define the current meaning of historic areas in Cairo. It is important to distinguish the components of contemporary urban fabric of the historic areas, as well as their distinctive physical character, functions and roles influencing modern life. Some quarters that punctuate a wider and more regular modern urban fabric, and which are currently perceived as historic areas, were once complete, independent settlements. They have witnessed extensive changes both in meaning and status. Nevertheless, today they have developed further meanings to be interpreted both by their occupants and by the residents of other districts, or of other cities, or even outsiders from different cultures who share concern and have a degree of claim to such historic areas. However, it is difficult to focus only on Cairo at an early stage, its formation phase, without dealing more generally with its wider Arab-Islamic context, which has been responsible for the development of the original urban concepts in what we recognise today as 'Historic Cairo'.

In seeking a contemporary meaning of historic areas in general, which is addressed in Chapter Two, one should avoid the trap of nostalgia. It is almost inevitable for any researcher seeking the meaning of an area of historic value to be captured by a nostalgic perception of it. One can hardly avoid being influenced by the ancient traces of time expressed through the artefacts of the studied environment. This may limit the premises of research to define the current meaning of the historic area to its physical aspects only.

A comprehensive approach is therefore adopted to seek such a goal. One cannot overlook the cultural, social, economic, and political influences that shape a historic environment and that have developed along the course of its history. In fact, the current meaning of a historic area is the product of the *original meaning* of the city when it was first founded and its *evolution over time*, which is addressed in the Chapter One.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **ORIGINAL MEANING AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORIC AREAS IN AN ARAB-ISLAMIC CONTEXT**

**1.1. Objective:**

The main objective of this chapter is to define the main values characterising the Arab-Islamic City, defined in this research as the ‘original meaning’ of the Arab Islamic City. This is to define the persisting values of the wider context in this investigation to be traced in the following chapter.

**1.2. The Original Meaning of a Historic Area in the Arab-Islamic Context:**

Practically speaking, the concept of ‘original meaning’, as a continuing principal/ influencing factor of a city, does not exist. A city or any urban settlement may have a well-defined, single function or purpose in the mind of its founder, whether a monarch or a military leader, but once it is constructed it will never be only under his jurisdiction. Many people will share the vision, act and interact with it, thus participating in the creation of the actual urban character of the city, which gives it its current meaning (fig. 1.1).

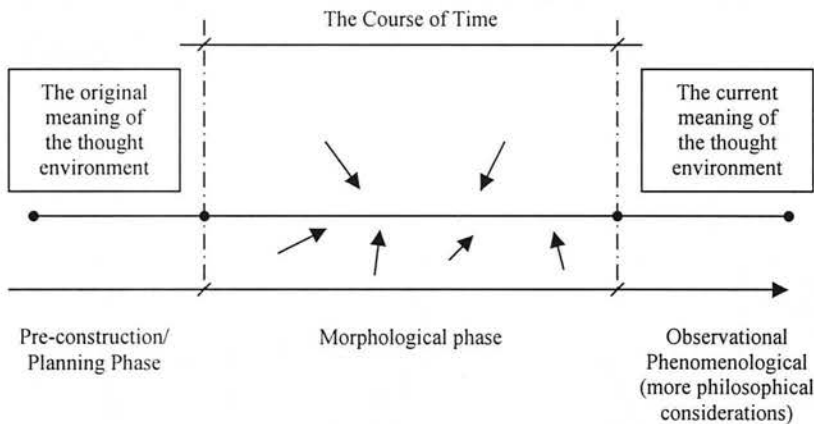


Fig. 1. 1: Multi-directional influences/ forces affecting the different aspects of the city, responsible for the changes in its built form.

However, to understand the current meaning of a historic area, and despite the length of the morphological phase, it is still essential to be aware of its original meaning (the pre-construction/ planning phase fig.1.1) since this has helped to define what it is today.

By understanding this, we can pinpoint the givens and changing behaviour of the studied phenomenon (the Arab-Islamic City) (Ujam, 1991). Thus, by understanding the original meanings of the physical and non-physical givens of the studied built environment, we can shed light on the patterns of transformation occurring during the morphological phase. For example any environment has its own potential functional



opportunity (Shehayeb, 1995), which comprises the physical givens of a certain environment that influence people's behaviour towards it. This may also explain people's responses and interactions with their environment (Rapoport, 1982).

A good example of the non-physical givens of an environment are the social habits, qualities and values introduced into a certain society which act as a driving force shaping the city through successive morphological phases (layers of time) (fig.1.2). These can be religious – for example, the religious conversion of Damascus after the introduction of Islam, which brought many changes as a social response to the Hellenistic city through a process of urban *Islamisation*. Similar phenomena can also be seen through the shift of political and social paradigms, as, for instance, in Cairo during the nineteenth century. This was a period that is recognised as a westernisation process, when the adoption of what was then regarded as the progressive western paradigm of science, lifestyle, and institutional and industrial systems affected the built environment. While the *non-physical* aspect of the western advancement was the predominant concept, it had a major impact on the society's physical image (Sedky, 1998).

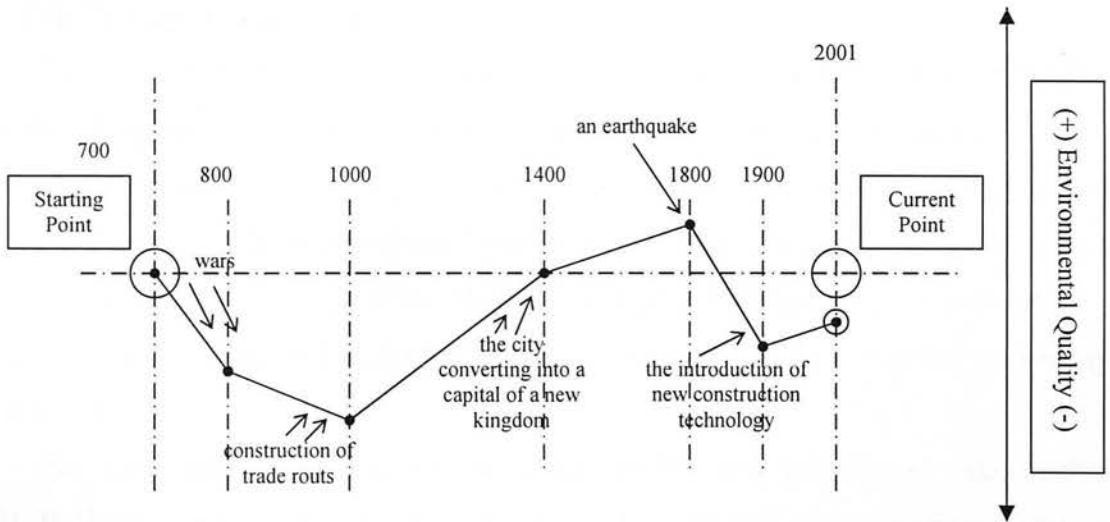


Fig. 1. 2: An influencing force (political, social, economic, technological...); a model that illustrates the morphological phase in (fig. 1.1).

It has now become obvious now that defining the current (and actual) meaning of a historic area can never be achieved unless we consider its original meaning and the different factors in the course of its history, that had led to the evolution of its current status.

The current meaning of the historical area = its original meaning when it was initially founded (discussed in this chapter)+ the different forces affecting it along different layers of time (its morphology, which will be discussed focusing on Cairo in the following chapter).

By reviewing the literature on the original meaning of a historic area, we can define its first layer, the circumstances at the time when it was initiated, and measure the qualities and values that have persisted through time (the generic aspects of its continuing culture). However, limiting the present enquiry to the phenomenon of Arab-Islamic cities, It becomes essential to discuss the term 'Islamic City'. The 'Islamic City' flourished in the whole Islamic Realm, beginning in the Arab Region (the Arabian Peninsula, Fertile Crescent, Egypt and North Africa) and extending into the Iranian Plateau, the Turkish-speaking lands and the Indian Peninsula. Cities in these regions all shared almost the same physical characteristics and lifestyle.

### 1.2.1. The Concept of the Islamic City:

The term 'Islamic City' is a questionable one. A city would have never flourished solely as a religious centre, especially those that have survived since the medieval times. Cities are the product of a society involving infinite activities, evolving along various parameters. Therefore, the word 'Islamic' presupposes a limited religious perspective when studying the urban phenomenon of the Islamic Realm (the geographical zone predominated and ruled for long centuries by Muslim rulers and accommodating a majority of Muslim communities).

The term was questioned and reviewed by Hourani (1970) and Abu-Lughod (1987). In their review of the literature written in the first half of the twentieth century, they shed light on the perspective drawn by orientalists<sup>1</sup> of what constitutes the so-called "Islamic City".

Writers, such as Von Grunioebaum, the Marcais brothers, Massignon and Sauvaget, cited by Hourani and Abu-Lughod (1970 and 1987), were pioneers in the field.

---

<sup>1</sup> The term "orientalists" is used here to reflect the anonymity of the perspective through which the cited researchers envisaged the Islamic City. It is used here in the same fashion of Edward Said's writings, which represent the reductionism of the views of the western writers when illustrating the East.

However, their work contained an epistemological problem in that it was influenced by a European perspective of the meaning of the city, which was reflected in their interpretation of the Islamic City. The European City was the main theoretical model acting as the main intellectual reference when they envisaged the Islamic urbanism. Using a comparative approach to decode the meanings of the Islamic urban phenomenon, the city of antiquity or even the institutions and civil organisations of medieval European cities were the only reference according to which they tended to interpret Islamic urbanism. Thus, that is why they could not be as contextual as needed to give a more subjective understanding of the different aspects of Islamic urban phenomenon. They studied Islamic urbanism using western conceptual units of analysis, such as antiquity and Hellenistic city patterns and the municipal and corporative organisations of medieval European cities. Consequently, they came up with very similar conclusions, which were developed to be the paradigm that has influenced the study of Islamic Cities for so long.

Lacking the merits of which characterised old European cities, such as regular street patterns, Islamic cities were regarded by them as more chaotic, and full of encroachments. These were two characteristics that increased over time, because of the high level of support for an individual's rights in Islam, along with the absence of a centralised municipal system to control and organise the built environment. As a result, a theoretical debate about the nature of the Islamic City began to examine whether the Islamic City could be defined being *created* or *spontaneous*. This debate introduced two main theories about the origin of the Islamic City, and since the European model was the most praised and recognised in academia for its more regular, planned fabric which suggested more civilised communities, native Muslim researchers contributed to the above paradigm by suggesting that Arab Islamic cities started out as *created*, well-planned walled cities - based on the regular circular plan of Baghdad (fig.1.3)- and with time they expanded to become irregular and less clearly defined (Akbar, 1992).

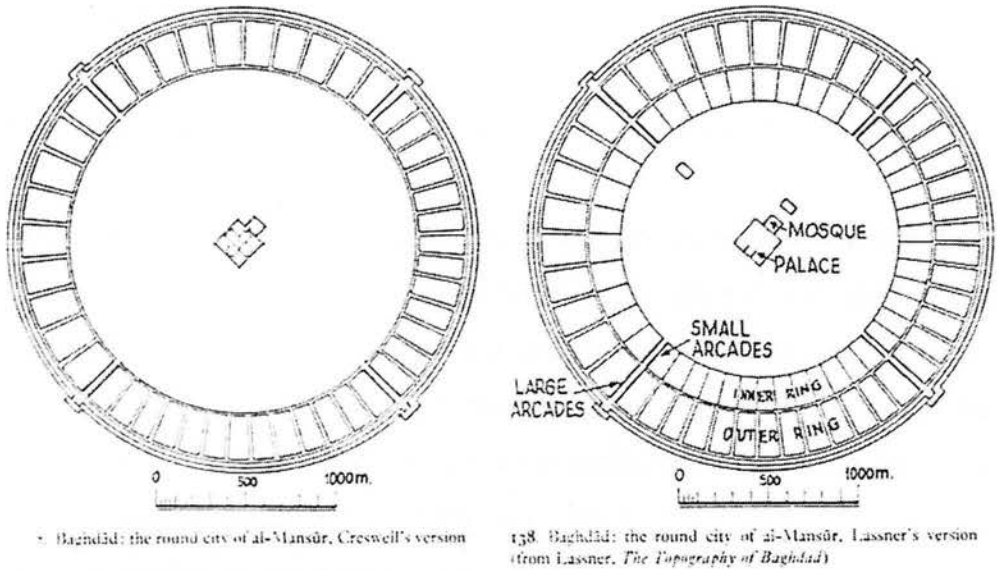


Fig. 1. 3a: The foundation of Baghdad. Source: Jamil Akbar (1992).

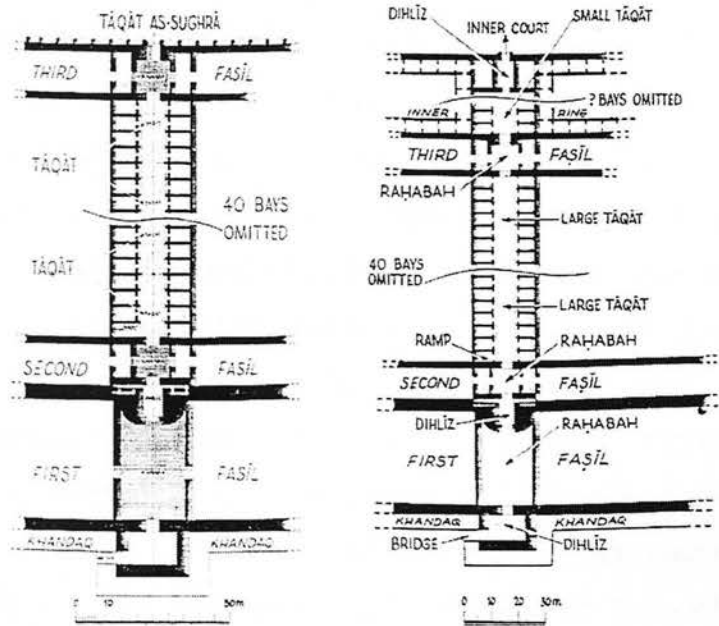


Fig. 1.3b: One sector and a gate of Baghdad. Source: K. F. Creswel (1988).

However, since the Islam faith stressed the rights of the *Fard* and the *Ummah* (individual and nation), an intermediate institution was thought necessary to complete the perspective of the Islamic City and enable an understanding of its urban phenomenon in a manner similar to that of the European model. Massignon's theory (1935, 1963) provided the answer, introducing the speculative notion of the corporative institution represented

through the guild leaders who controlled their communities, thus maintaining a central control of the ruling power upon citizens. It is evident that this was a search for a central model of power and authority that was regarded as the only logic for the survival of the city.

Finally, it is important, before we elaborate our enquiry to question the above, to pinpoint the common physical features characterising the Islamic City as notified by orientalist as well as the more subjective and recent researchers seeking the original meaning of the Islamic City. There was a common perspective or a model emphasising the repetitive structure of cities in the Islamic realm, their architectural and urban elements and where they were located (Hassan, 1979 and Hourani, 1970).

The congregational mosque was almost always in the centre of the city. It was surrounded by a hierarchy of *suqs* and *khans* (covered and uncovered markets), positioned in a certain order in relation to the mosque, having the more noble goods such as perfumes and books closer to the mosque, followed by a succession of other goods such as textiles, household and items.<sup>2</sup> Larger cities, such as Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo (known as the *Amsar* literally, metropolitan cities) served not only the city itself, but also their surrounding hinterlands. Other secondary *suqs* had also existed to serve the local needs of different residential quarters. *Hammams* (public baths) continued to exist, in part to meet the stringent conditions of hygiene required by Islam. They were scattered in every quarter and especially adjacent to mosques. *Madrassas* (religious schools) were constructed within the sophisticated urban network according to the sectarian and ethnic order, as each quarter accommodated a distinguished homogeneous ethnic occupancy. Residential quarters (neighbourhoods) were marked by the combination of local with ethnic or religious differentiation and the relative separateness and autonomy of each quarter or group of quarters (Hourani 1970). Such homogeneity was regarded in the early writings of Grunioebaum, Massignon and others as a more non-communicative model described as a social mosaic, implying a high level of social segregation.

The *harrah* (quarter/ neighbourhood) was the main constituent of the city. It contained both the rich and poor with wide architectural variations of collective housing,

---

<sup>2</sup> This spatial structure or system distinguishing the Arab-Islamic city is regarded as a reference to be respected and consider when an area conservation scheme is applied, as elaborated in the structural integrity type in Chapter Three in section 3.2.4.a.

mansions and the like; however, there were poorer districts, those closer to the city outskirts (Raymond, 1980). The citadel was always located in a very strategic spot to control the city, whether in the centre of the city as in Aleppo, or at the corner of the walled city as in Cairo and Damascus; it also served as a forbidden city to accommodate monarchs and important members of their court. The royal/princely quarter, which contained the palaces of the leaders and courtiers, was located close to the citadel. Cemeteries were outside the city walls, together with the more harmful industries such as kilns and tanneries.

On the structural level Akbar (1992) distinguished three types of spaces: public (*rahba*), semi public (dead-end alley ways) and courts and extensional spaces in front of the houses marking the functional domain of the house and accommodating some types of activity. However, since these spaces were irregular, the early writings aiming to interpret the concept of Islamic City followed a more synchronic approach and regarded them as a more spontaneous urbanism.

The above sheds some light on the orientalist perspective of how Islamic urbanism was envisaged. It was meant to be general interpretation of the Islamic City and its development. Yet, the presupposition of the influencing pre-Islamic, Hellenistic, urbanism is applicable to sites that were flourishing prior to Islam, such as Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Alexandria, which explains why they may have preserved classical institutions or forms as suggested by Sauvaget (1934).<sup>3</sup> However, these influences are not expected to be found in the cities founded by Arab Muslims in the early phases of the Muslim conquest of the Near East, such as the case of Fustat in Egypt and Kairawan in Tunisia, both founded in the seventh century. Thus, an argument about how the strength of classical urban influences (Ismail 1972) has suggested that only some classical urban and architectural elements continued after the Arab conquest, such as the *Qaysariyya* (caravanserais) known as a *khan* adopting the basilica form, the *Hammam* (public bath), some main thoroughfares for example what is now known as Medhat Pasha Street in Old Damascus, and the central position of the main congregational mosque occupying the former location of the main agora or temple, also seen in Damascus where the Great

---

<sup>3</sup> Sauvaget suggestions were based upon archaeological studies of the traces of the Seleucid (Hellenistic) urbanism within the walled City of Damascus that continued during the Islamic epoch.

Mosque occupies the former location of the Jupiter Temple, preceded by the main agora which is now the open space between the Great Mosque and al-Hamidiyya Market (fig.1.4). In fact, Damascus was one of the best examples of the continuation of classical elements during the Islamic epoch of the city, rather than an overall adaptation of a framework or a structure of a pre-Islamic urbanism. However, even this continuation cannot be generalised, especially when we reconsider the role of the Arabs and the Islamic teachings coming from the Arabian Peninsula.

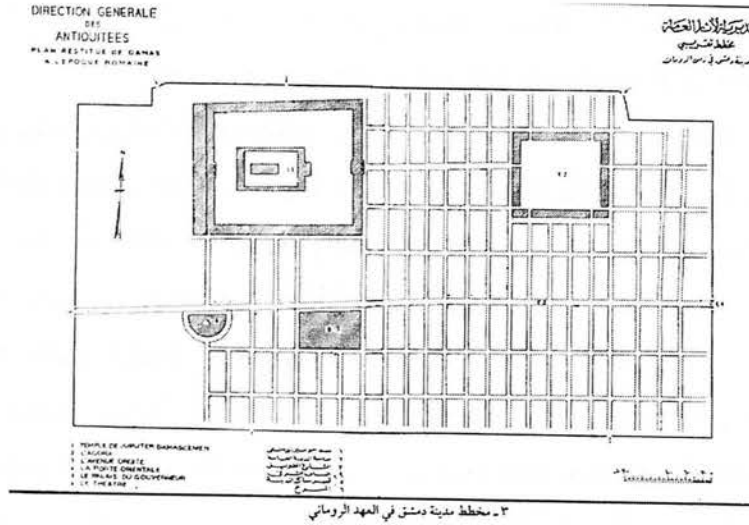


Fig. 1. 4a: Map of Damascus in the Roman period. Source: A. Al-Rihawi (1996).

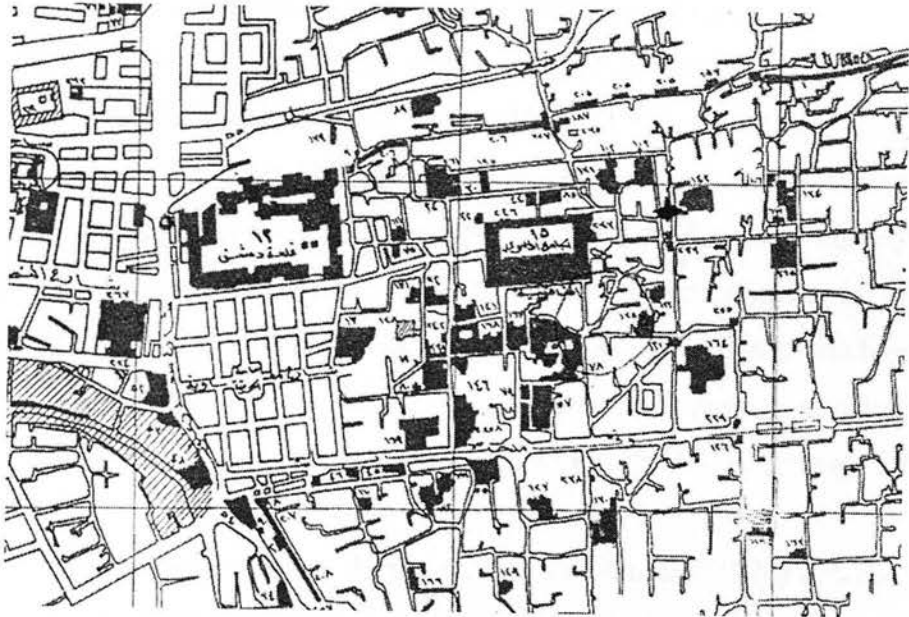


Fig. 1.4b: Recent map of Old Damascus. Source: A. Al-Rihawi (1996).

Islam is essentially an urban religion (Hassan, 1971; Abu Ayyash, 1985 and Akbar 1992; Kisaichi, 1994). The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) “himself was an urbanite suspicious of nomads” (Abu-Lughod, 1987, 156). Medina in Arabia (the first actual base of Islam) was nothing but an urban model for the faithful to illustrate the lifestyle of orthodox Muslims. In fact Medina was not a city before the Prophet’s migration to it. It consisted of scattered tribal settlements, known as Yathreb, which were restructured in a form of a more elaborated urbanism, acquiring the name of the Madina (lit. the City), with the mosque and the Prophet’s house in the middle. During the lifetime of the Prophet in Medina and through the teachings elicited from the incidents and the rules of his biography there, the Muslim believers were requested to induce the rules and guidelines to organise their life. This was studied in depth in a recent study of Medina (Kaki, 2000), and directs our attention to the Islamic dogma’s role in the evolution of the Islamic City as a concept. It is thus that “...religious traditions of Islam are underlying factors in the evolution of Muslim urbanisation” (Hassan, 1971, p. 61).

Seeking the actual meaning of the Islamic City we might not, therefore, be tracing the continuing elements from pre-Islamic cultures as much as tracing the introduced urban concepts shaping the city. We seek to examine the *Islamisation* of the pre-Islamic city and the concepts introduced in newly-founded Islamic urban centres. It is essential therefore to readjust the above-assembled hypothetical notions of the Islamic City.

The sophistication and complexity of the concept “Islamic City” could not be grasped in the urban studies literature of the first half of the twentieth century. It was not before other studies in environmental behaviour and perception studies that one was able to comprehend the sophisticated urban qualities of the “Islamic City,” with its curved streets, now praised for its imageability. For example, the decentralised control over the built environment – enabling locals to secure their sense of territoriality and to create bonds with each other through group communication and decision making is another quality that has been pointed out recently in the environmental behaviour studies (Coleman, 1990 and Akbar 1992).

The question now is what is the “Islamic City”. To Hourani (1970) it is much safer to say cities in Islamic World rather than Islamic Cities. And since we are seeking the concept (Islamic City), we have to understand the long epistemological debate about it. Kisaichi (1994) seeks it through studying and readjusting the relation between the urban



and rural phenomena in the Islamic realm, refusing the dichotomy between urban and rural, and stressing the social relationships that made order and community possible.

Hourani and Abu-Lughod (1970; 1987) tackled the same quest through a different approach. They compared between contemporary Islamic and European medieval cities, which resembled each other, especially those in the Byzantine Empire and Italy before the eleventh century. They aimed to distinguish what is Islamic about the city, in other words, to define the role of Islam in shaping them. This can be integrated with Akbar's (1992) doctrine, addressing dogmatic influences through historical and hermeneutical analyses. However for clear comprehension of the 'Islamic City' as a concept, it is necessary to learn how it functioned and what sources influencing it. Therefore the present investigation addresses urban management and the dogmatic references influencing Islamic cities.

### **1.2.2. Urban Management in the Islamic City:**

This section is concerned with the urban management system of the Islamic City which can be understood further when compared to that in European medieval cities. The main distinctive difference is the municipal organisation responsible for managing the relationship between individuals and the nation in the city. "One of the striking differences between the society of medieval western Christendom and Islamic society was this: that whereas in the former all sorts of corporate institutions proliferated, in the later they were entirely absent" (Stern, 1970, p. 47).

The lack of a municipal institution puzzled Massignon and Max Weber. They searched for a parallel institution, which acted as a municipal entity, suggesting a type of socio-religious institution dominating the life of the Islamic City. Massignon suggested it to be the professional corporative guild (Hourani, 1970), and thus found what he needed to interpret the Islamic City from the perspective of a European City. This was necessary in order for him to bridge the gap he perceived between the individual (*Fard*) and the Nation (*Ummah*). However, Massignon overlooked the fact that the individual's rights, are protected in Islam, and that the individual is regarded as a member in a family, and that the family was considered a very important unit constituting the nation, and sanctified by religious dogma (*Sharia*). The right of the family to live enclosed in its house led to a clear separation between public and private life (Balbas, 1942 and Masatoshi, 1994).

However, Cahen and Stern (1970, 1970) rejected the theory of the corporative guild institution of Massignon. To Cahen, they were not 'guilds' in the medieval European sense, but in so far they existed, were instruments of state control. Moreover, Cahen suggests that it was only at a late period that they acquired a life of their own. In addition, Stern (1970) stressed the lack of historical references to the municipal organisation for the first Muslims occupying the pre-Islamic urban areas. This is because of the decline of the idea municipal organisation known in the Roman Empire and in antiquity. Even during the Byzantine Empire the organisation and control of the provinces was in the hands of the military, who then reported to the Emperor, thus eliminating any chance for autonomous organisation. In parallel, it is worth mentioning that the Persians had occupied Syria and Egypt for fifteen years before the Arabs, and had eliminated all the traces of this administration system. This left no reference of any pre-Islamic municipal/corporative intuition that could have been adopted by the Arabs.

The question now is how the Islamic City organised itself and continued without an intermediate (corporative) institution to organise the relationship between individuals and the nation such as that in the European medieval city. However, before we answer that question, it is necessary to understand that it would not be true to say that because municipal privileges never existed in the cities in Dar al-Islam, urban life never existed (Hourani, 1970). The demand, thus, to understand the urban management mechanism of the so-called Islamic City necessitates discussing it within its wider regional context of which it forms a part.

The basic construct of Near Eastern society was the agricultural market town.<sup>4</sup> Cities with their hinterlands formed a mutual conglomeration exchanging products and maintaining order and required services as maintained above. This operated through a regional order of control and power between cities and their hinterlands in a succession of importance as explained by Muqaddasi's theories on the typology of Islamic Arab settlements and their regional organisation in the tenth century (fig.1.5) (Ismail, 1972).

---

<sup>4</sup> Many European cities were established by their agricultural wealth and lasted until late periods as in Northern Europe and Italy; they were termed by Hourani as agro-cities (Hourani, 1970).

## Arab-Islamic Context

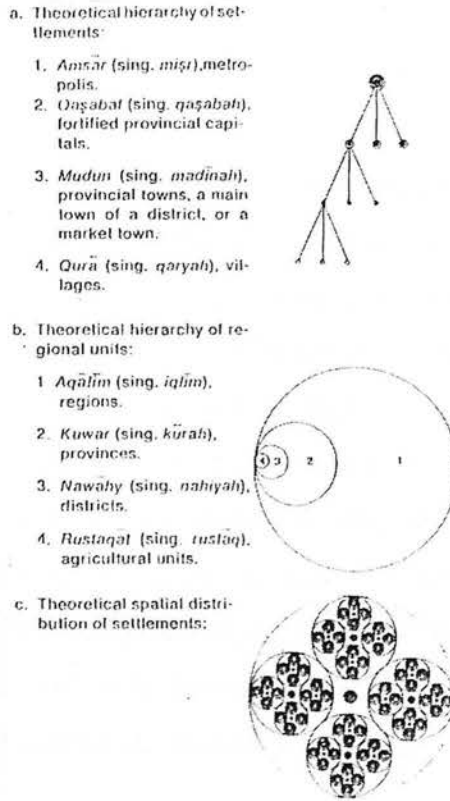


Fig. 1.5: Muqaddasi's grading of settlements and regional units and their spatial distribution. Source: Adel Ismail (1972).

From the above structural (regional) level we move to an infilling level, probing the issue of tribalism as an organising unofficial institution of the Islamic City. Tribal bonds are regarded as a powerful tool in the evolution of the Islamic Cities, especially when we consider the nomadic origins of the first Arab Muslims.<sup>5</sup> This is best illustrated in the theories given about the evolution of the City of Fustat in Egypt founded by the Muslim leader Amr Ibn al-As. For the sake of epistemological justification about the actual origin of the so-called Islamic City, it is important to study a city that was newly founded by the Arab Muslims. This can serve as the plateau upon which the first urban principles of Muslim community were applied and experienced. Therefore, Fustat is one of the best cases. In Fustat, tribal forces were regarded as the entity responsible for the way that it was planned.

<sup>5</sup> However, this is questionable if we consider that there were many non-Arab cities within the Islamic cultural sphere like those in Iran and Turkey, which acquired similar character. Add to that that the Arabs were not only nomadic groups (tribes). In fact, as stated above, the Prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him) made of the Medina an urban model of life, where the first Arab Muslims were to apply the practical teachings they experienced through the Prophet's life in Medina.

Hathloul (1996) suggested that there was a planning system in Fustat, represented as a unified urban unit, the *Khuta* (a sector of the city consisting of more than a quarter) attributed to each tribe, which was consequently responsible for the inner planning of each quarter in a form controlled by the tribe itself. It might be argued, however, that Hathloul was influenced by the idea of Baghdad's foundation as a circular city in accordance to the plans of its founder. This may have been the case during the first three centuries of the life span of Baghdad because it was a Royal city but it could not have been the case of the other *Amsar* (metropolises) of Dar al-Islam, such as Aleppo, Damascus (both cities were already Islamised two centuries after the Islamic conquest), or Fustat, which were more organic, and based on natural growth and migration, and consequently, showed more responsive expansion. Meanwhile, to Von Grunioebaum tribal control was regarded as the main organising factor of the planning system of the Islamic City in general; thus leading to chaotic urban development. Yet, one has to consider the above critique of Von Grunioebaum School, which interpreted the Islamic City, solely in relation to the classical European city.

Kubiak (1987), however, put forth a theory taking the same line of argument as Hathloul but suggesting a categorisation organising the allocation of each tribe according to their military privileges after the Arab conquest in Egypt. In other words, that there was a hierarchy in which the most important tribe was allocated close to the central location of the leader's station followed by another less important one etc. Although Kubiak's work was based on the previous research of the orientalist school as well as some archaeological work in his excavations, it was more speculative than accurate as the Fustat archaeological site witnessed numerous unmethodical approaches to excavation in the 1920s, and consequently, there was a lack of accurate stratigraphic analysis that could be made to examine the city as a whole. Not to mention the successive destruction and dramatic changes occurring in the city during the Ayyubid Period (twelfth-thirteenth centuries).<sup>6</sup>

---

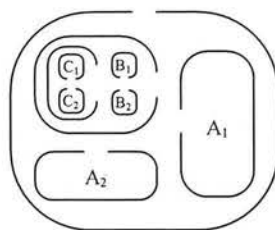
<sup>6</sup> For further details about this subject read George T. Scanlon ARCE reports, the American Research Centre Archaeological Excavation Reports in Fustat (1960s-1980s).

Akbar (1992) deconstructs the above through his historical and hermeneutical analyses.<sup>7</sup> He suggests that Fustat's urbanism was the result of successive decisions made in a very responsive manner by its occupants and that there were no specific assigned planning units given to each tribe or ethnic group. Instead, settlements were planned in an integral, responsive way based on an accumulative development managed mainly by the individuals within each tribe and the communications they made within each group or through an inter-tribal communication to decide the location of routes and the intermediate areas among the *Khutat* (sectors including quarters).

There was no centralisation adopted in the urbanisation process of the Fustat, not even in the four quarters described by al-Maqrizi, the fourteenth century historian, in his city's biographical account *al-Khutat* (the Quarters of Cairo) which was the main reference of researchers, such as Hathloul, who adopted the theory of the quarter as a unit of planning. In fact the location, shape and size of each quarter were the products of the accumulation of the decisions made by each individual and the negotiations among different groups. This process was also organised by other cultural (dogmatic and social customs) controlling factors that acted as the urban reference according to which the planning decisions were made (Akbar, 1992, p.186). In addition, and as stated above, homogeneity was the main distinctive feature characterising each quarter. The occupants of each shared many cultural and ethnic similarities. Such homogeneity derived from ethnic or clan-based bonds gave each quarter or sector of the city its internal structure. This can be illustrated in a hypothetical model based on a relationship hierarchy within each homogeneous group, e.g., a tribe that is expressed in a physical form evolving during the course of time, especially during the first centuries following the foundation of the city (fig.1.6).

---

<sup>7</sup> This is through studying the historians and travellers accounts regarded as the main reference for Hathloul and other researchers seeking the urban evolution of the city of Fustat.



The inner structure of the *khutta* (Quarter) and it is also a hypothetical organic developmental system based on a clan relationship

Fig. 1. 6: Source: Jamil Akbar (1992).

### Traditional Institutions of Urban Management in the Islamic Cities:

The above suggests a Down-Up model of planning, in which individuals played the major role in shaping their built environment. Yet there had to be a disciplinarian institution, whether official or not, that maintained the well-being of the urban life in the cities of the Islamic Realm. According to Hourani (1970), this was the bourgeois (merchants-theologians) class that was formulated by commercial partnership and social integration through marriage, being also consolidated by the community support for the theologians and religious leaders. It was a class that possessed economic and social power, through their control of the *Awqaf* (religious endowments).<sup>8</sup> Both groups (merchants and theologians) shared an interest in a stable, prosperous and cultivated urban life. They acted as the people's spokesmen, collaborating with the ruling class, not out of weakness, but to ensure civil peace. This could be achieved through the integrated interests of both groups seeking wealth based on cultural piety.

This social and political juxtaposition cannot be understood without understanding Arkoun's (1983, p. 52) model about the paradigm dominating the Islamic City. This can be summarised in three words: '*Din*' (religion), '*Dawla*' (state) and '*Duniyya*' (life), which suggests a holistic approach of dealing with life's problems in an integral manner

<sup>8</sup> The *Awqaf* is the plural of *waqf*. The *Waqf* is the religious or civil endowments that were left to be supervised through civil inspectors or the Ministry of Waqf. Many beneficiaries received the revenues of these properties and rural lands if they are private *waqfs*. This suffered much corruption and the government dissolved them theme in 1950s leaving these properties and lands to be scattered among huge number of heirs, after they were supervised by the Ministry of Awqaf. Most of these properties were in market creating a temporary flourishing in the real-estate market, which suffered much stagnation later especially after the rent control la, mentioned below.

employing one's beliefs with his worldly skills. This contrasts much with the more secular model of the European city, which has prided itself for having rendered unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God that which belongs to God.

The merchant-theologian class, therefore, was responsible for maintaining and organising social peace and urban life, controlling the masses and preventing chaos. However they could never oppose the ruling power because they were not highly integrated among themselves and their influence was concentrated within their groups and in their quarters thus securing a more decentralised control in these quarters. They acted as public leaders responsible for the urban population, acting therefore as the public representatives to formulate the Down-Up political model needed to integrate and to formulate the overall sophisticated political equilibrium of the Islamic City. Public places, as venues of social interaction, were needed therefore, not in the classical form and grand scale of the agora and forum of antiquity, but as more integral, urban, social and public places, such as mosques, public baths and bazaars, which could all exist in the same quarter.

In addition to the above, the *Muhtasib*<sup>9</sup> (inspector or commissioner) was an executive institutional post that existed in the Islamic City to ensure the environmental urban quality. The *Muhtasib*, literally derived from the Quranic call for a group of people among faithful to secure the right and to ban the harm (Akbar, 1992), "Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good enjoying what is right, and forbidding what is wrong: they are the ones to attain felicity." (The Holy Quran, Sura: Umran, Verse: 104).

The citizen's obligations towards his community is almost summarised in the previous verse and it is the duty of all Muslims in their community; therefore, the

---

<sup>9</sup> The *Muhtasib* acquired different titles in the later period in different countries, such as the *Umda* in Tunisia, *Shikh al-Harah* in Egypt and the *Mukhtar* in Damascus. They were the link between the people and the central authority. However, they lost gradually their role acting more as governmental clerks transmitting the government laws especially during the phase of Europeanisation of the administrative systems in the Near East starting in the nineteenth century when the central administrative systems were imposed replacing the traditional ones, as in Tunisia, Egypt and the colonial and modern quarters in Syria. Nevertheless, this institution still exists in Syria, Damascus but within the old quarters of the Old City, the *Mukhtar* in Damascus represents the government as the national registrar and other civil jobs in addition to solving conflicts among the occupants—I have made my own investigation in Damascus and was informed about the details of the *Mukhtar*'s Job through an interview with Mr. Sadiq al-Riyyan, the *Mukhtar* of al-Qimariyya in Old Damascus, August 2000. I have also observed a working *Mukhtar* office in Suq al-Khiyyatin in the old city in Tripoli, Lebanon -- in a way similar to the described jobs of the *Muhtasib*.

*Muhtasib* here as a more intermediate, organising institution is based on dogmatic qualities rather than a municipal order or system. With the growth of the city size and the sophistication of its urbanism, his role has grown more and more sophisticated, yet remained based on Islamic dogma, to become a governmental institution resembling the executive authority today (Bagader, 1994).

Employing dogmatic and regional customary laws, known as *Urf* (fig.1.7) also developed from Islamic dogma and other ecological factors as explained below, the *Muhtasib* interfered to solve confrontation and to prevent the harm in the built environment whenever his interference was requested.<sup>10</sup> He was also responsible for the executions of the laws and judges' orders. His role was also very prominent in protecting and assuring high preservation of the environmental quality of the communal assets and spots such as river banks, which lacked someone directly responsible for their up-keep and were therefore subject to threat of deterioration or contamination.

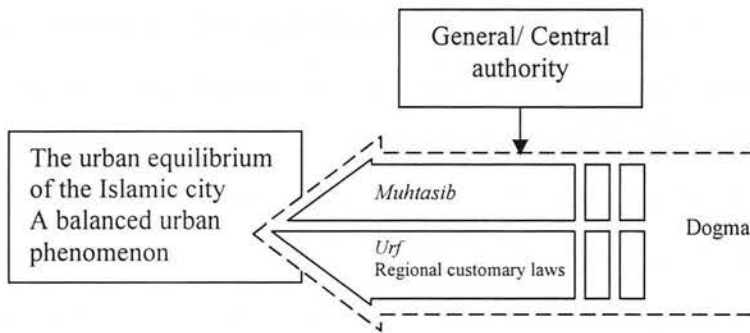


Fig. 1. 7 A hypothetical model illustrating the role of the *Muhtasib* in the Islamic city urban phenomenon.

So far we cannot specify a classical social and urban system of control that is central and resembles the typical municipal system, commonly known in Europe, in other words, a more coercive system that can guarantee an immediate pattern of control. On the contrary, in the Islamic City, a more subtle method of control was to be found. In this sense, the method of control can be envisaged as being similar to those used in nature

<sup>10</sup> It is important to know that even the central or executive authority never interfered with the conflicts of different groups' unless they are requested to by means of the raising of problematic issues to court (Akbar, 1992). City urban development was always a free process of trading off, estimating and measuring and responding accordingly. It was, therefore, a mutually interactive process that secured a very dynamic environment.



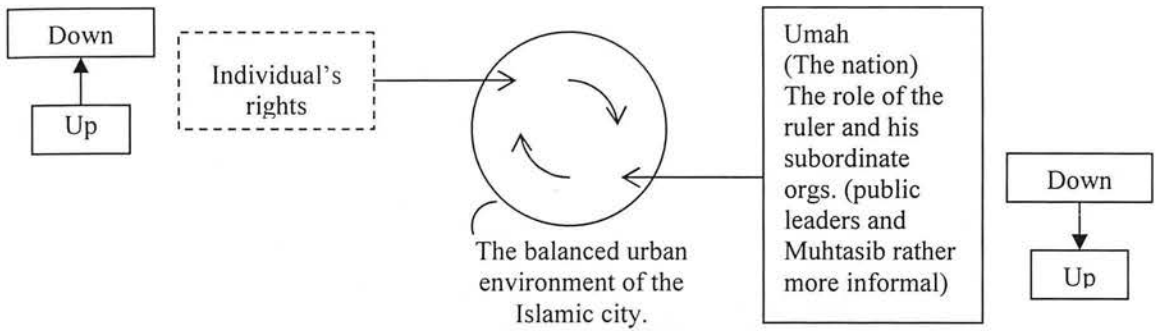
particularly by organic systems, in that it is more natural more pervasive, and therefore more responsive and less dictated.<sup>11</sup>

Such a pervasive quality comes from the spread of the notion of control and discipline in the lower level (among the people), not being merely imposed by the upper level (the ruler or the central power). The question now is what was responsible for the generation of this notion of control and discipline and that had been responsible for the continuation of the Islamic City as an urban phenomenon for more than a millennium. The answer, in fact, can be obtained when attempting to re-examine the term Islamic City, more precisely the word 'Islamic'.

Islam as a religion is composed of worldviews and a body of ethics, the main constituents of any religion in general (Pals, 1996). Moreover, Islam is characterised by its holistic view integrating the doctrines and principals of faith with life matters, as emphasised in Arkoun's (1983) writings mentioned above (the three-Ds model mixing "Din" religion, "Duniyya" life and "Dawla" state). Therefore, it is quite acceptable to distinguish a strong force serving as the main reference and organiser of the urban development of the Islamic City, in other words, the dogma. This was also mentioned by Abu Ayyash (1985, p.34), Akbar (1992, p.51) and Kisaichi (1994, p.42), stating that the Islamic traditional environment is that built with reference to the *Sharia* (Islamic teachings) and dogma. Consequently, and since the teachings of Islam emphasise the individuals' rights that are sanctioned as long as they bring no harm to the community, a more sensitive urban organisational system was formulated (fig.1.8), creating a sophisticated urban system characterised by its dual nature to integrate the benefits of the community as a whole with that of the individuals' demands.

---

<sup>11</sup> It can be thus induced that the Islamic City as an organic system here resembles that in cybernetics and the concept of control in the general system theory. It is a system that is a pervasive notion (being rooted through Islamic teachings laws and ethics in the community of the faithful) inasmuch as it represents the means by which purposive systems achieve their ends (McLaughlin, 1970).



The right of individuals + Laws of harms (dogmatic) etc.  
= the urban equilibrium of the Islamic city.

The dual (two-way) character of the Islamic city that secured the continuity of its urban Phenomenon in a more natural (responsive) paradigm different from that of the classical European municipal (central) system.

Fig.1.8

Representatives of both the central authorities and the locals were to be present in the Islamic urban equilibrium. Together they acted both informally and formally, yet in an integral way, linking the upper level (ruling class) with people (citizens) and as in the devised conventional institutions, such as the *Muhtasib* (fig.1.7) and the community leaders, also mentioned above. All these parties were responsible for the upkeep and the continuation of the studied urban phenomenon. They shared one goal which was to keep the urban balance of the Islamic City as an urban equilibrium, having developed conventional urban doctrines flourishing as the fruit of the accumulation of local (regional) factors and the teachings of Islam, the *Urf* (fig.1.9).

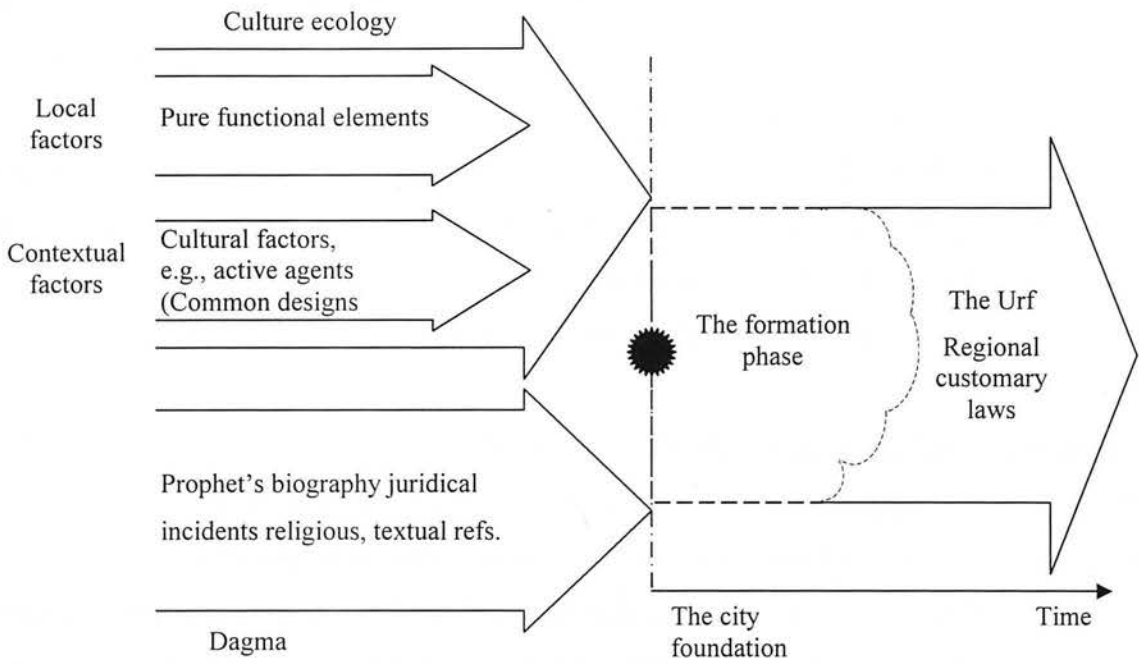


Fig.1.9

$$\text{Urf} = \text{Artefacts (vocabulary/ elements urban \& architectural)} + \text{Regulations (construction syntax)}$$

In a later phase of the city live cycle, after its formation, the *Urf* acts as a comprehensive active agent preserving the meanings of the city and its elements. It is possible, therefore to educe that it acted as the informal, intermediate, corporative urban management organisation, together with the *Muhtasib* and other formal institutions (fig. 1.7) seeking a balanced prosperous urban equilibrium which could be achieved through a more sophisticated, dual urban management system (fig. 1.8).

The term regional factors refers to functional aspects such as the materials existing in the region where the city was founded and the construction techniques available that existed before Islam and continued after the Arab conquest to serve the newly residing community of the faithful. For example the technique of turned wood was very common in the Fertile Crescent Region and Egypt, and flourished during the Byzantine Period. It continued after the Arab conquest as an element of fenestration and developed to become a cultural element distinguishing the architecture of this region of Dar al-Islam. Thus, turned-wood fenestration (*mashrabeyya*) became an active agent eliciting a domestic quality of the structure in which this technique was employed. This is the regional cultural factor that explains the preferences and the adaptation of different architectural forms in different areas in Dar al-Islam. This is more a cultural-ecological interpretation which was

emphasised by Abu Lughod (1987) in her argument about what is Islamic about the cities in Dar al-Islam.

However, according to the above we cannot only count on physical and regional cultural factors. It is a necessity to integrate them more with the Islamic views that dominated that realm in which the studied urbanism flourished (fig.1.9). It is, thus, important to know how the Islamic Teachings and Dogma served as an urban code of laws and contributed to the urban management system in the Islamic City.

### **1.2.3. The Dogmatic Urban Principles Influencing the Cities in the Islamic World:**

According to Islamic dogma, there are two main principles controlling urban development in the Muslim settlements, the *Ihyya* (vitalisation) and the *Darar* (harm) (Akbar, 1992 and Bagader, 1994). It is the right of any Muslim to own the land that he built on or cultivate it to benefit from it as long as it is satisfying his needs and not causing harm to his neighbours or to the general community of faithful.

The first principle (right) maximises the individual's freedom over the land he occupies and allows him to develop it to meet the needs and changes in his life. The built environment in Muslim settlements was dynamic and always in change, responding to the requirements of its occupants. Yet this had to have some criteria controlling it and organising the relationship between the neighbours at the level of the alleyway at least, such as a case of an adjoining wall between two houses, or even between the individuals and the whole community, for example, the extension of existing houses in a neighbourhood.

This was dealt with according to the law of *darar* (harm). It is the right of any Muslim to own his place and to develop it in a way that does not cause any harm to his neighbours and his community. This could be achieved through sub-principles, for example, the *Haram* (zone of control) and forms of submission. The *Haram* defined the premises of the territorial domain of each property, whether spatial or visual. The goal was to define the boundaries of ownership and control, to make it possible to ascertain whether development was legal, or whether it was in violation of social codes. As every house required its own zones of privacy, the *Haram* as a principle was needed to define the non-built premises of each property.

Such issues were dealt with on both a material and philosophical basis, such as incorporation of dogmatic and intellectual thought in defining the right of the owner to raise the height of his property in a way which would not violate the privacy of the courtyard of the house next to him. Other examples were reported about permissions denied to shops and workshops if they were a visual intrusion, penetrating the gateways and the courtyards of existing houses. While in other incidents it was reported that occupants were allowed to build over the road creating mews because the right of vitalisation was controlled because of the road but the air above is not as long as the neighbours are not prevented from ventilation and light.<sup>12</sup> It can be, thus, be deduced that the developed designs and activities were always the result of a dynamic process of communication sequencing from the ruling and dogmatic rights and the individuals interactions.

Akbar (1992, p. 166) probed more in the meaning of *Haram* giving two types. The first is functional, which is the area required for the function to be performed, e.g., the minimum area surrounding a public well which cannot be violated by any construction. The second, is the *Urf*, which is the recognised area for a certain activity within a certain culture, like the permitted area surrounding a well; it can vary depending on its location from country to country.

The forms of submission introduced by Akbar (1992, pp.42-43) (fig.1.10) are hypothetical models that help to define the parties involved in the decision making process in the Islamic City. Islam in general tends more to the unified form of submission (fig.1.10a), in which the limits of responsibilities and the rights of occupants are clear, for example, the way in which a person owns, controls and uses his house. This helped to secure a strong concern and interest in properties, even among neighbours, as each was concerned with protecting his control and domain of his property. However, other forms of submission existed as a result of the variation in the idea of the Islamic City. Adding to

---

<sup>12</sup> The right of the preceding properties is known as the right of *Sabq* (existing before) which gives the right for previously existing houses to build in their own fashions and permit the coming occupants to respect the designs of the preceding properties, such as complementing the location of openings in the previous houses and to build in a way that secure privacy for the old and the newly built houses. This was known as *al-Tahayyul ala al-Darar* (dealing with the harm to eliminate its negative impacts which was achieved through different interventions, depending on the type of harm). Akbar, Kaki and El-Kassar (1992, 2000 and 2001) have discussed in depth different issues of the Islamic dogma and rights and their impacts in the shaping and the management in the built environment.

## Arab-Islamic Context

that, the laws of *Darar* (harm) and the roles of judicial and *Muhtasib* institutions were other helpful tools dealing with problems on a case-by case basis.

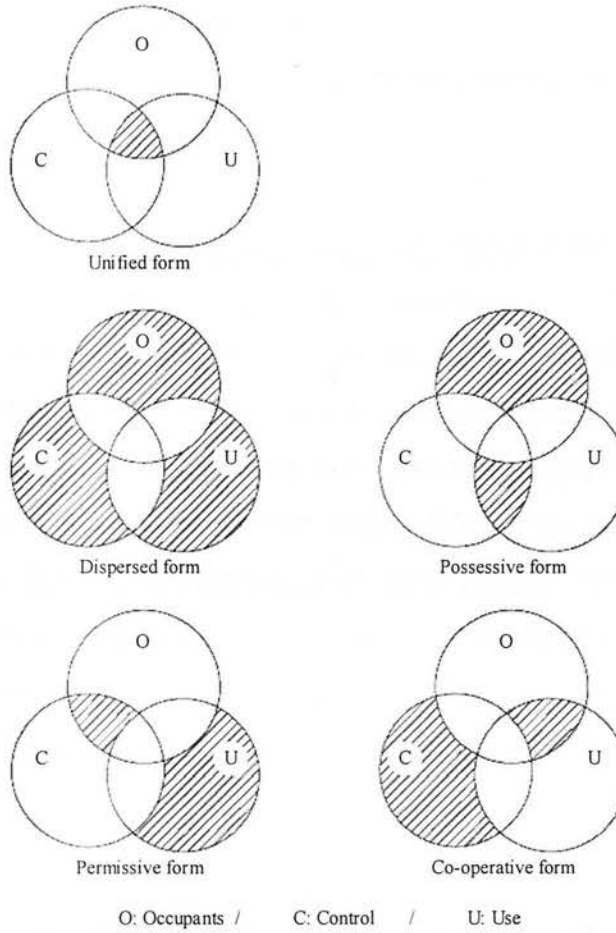


Fig. 1. 10: Forms of submission.

In general the built environment in the Islamic City was a natural product of an accumulative process of decision making that respected much the individual's right as well as the community as a whole, as stated in Islamic dogma. The idea of control was very subtle and dynamic, being achieved through a sophisticated process as a negotiation process inspired mainly by the philosophy of Islam (its dogma) that was used to give measure each case and problematic issue. This could be achieved through continuing communication activities among the different parties involved in the city development process. It was a decentralised process, at least on the infill level as in the case of Baghdad the net planned royal city. Its districts however were left for the occupants to shape them.

The richness of the numerous incidents and its contribution to the experience of these involved in judicial or municipal jobs, together with the cultural ecological factors have developed a more sophisticated reference the *Urf*. Moreover, as stated above, the juxtaposition of earthly with spiritual in Islam has led to a more meditation-oriented critical approach when dealing with urban matters in a form based on a case-by-case basis rather than a code of laws.

### **1.3. General Review of Urban Transformation in Arab-Islamic City:**

As reviewed above, the Islamic City as a system was a responsive phenomenon guided by dogma as well as other traditional and informal institutions. This, however, could be argued as the first layer of the studied Arab-Islamic City phenomenon. Yet, in the course of history, many other factors were introduced acting as driving forces such as those illustrated in (fig.1.2) adding various layers responsible for the current status of the Arab-Islamic City. These forces could have pure physical impacts, such as introducing a new construction technology or planning approaches, or it could be of a non-physical nature, e.g., a newly introduced social quality or lifestyle (ills. 1.1a, b). These forces should be reviewed to comprehend the transformations that have occurred in the Arab-Islamic City.



Ill. 1.1a Cairo from the Citadel in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.



Ill. 1.1b Cairo from the Citadel in 1980s.

To conduct a comprehensive review to study urban transformation in the Arab-Islamic City, we will need to move along a chronological axis (fig.1.11) the first period is that during which the concept of Islamic City was introduced in the Islamic Realm as presented above. The urban principles that evolved in this first period (seventh-tenth centuries) crystallised during the following period (tenth-fourteenth centuries). It was also during this period when Islamic Cities started to expand behind their walls, developing

luxurious quarters adjoining and bounding the city walls, such as the case of al-Darb al-Ahmar in Southern Cairo, in the eleventh century, and al-Salihiyya in Damascus in the twelfth century. By then, the image of the medieval city hiding behind its walls with humble settlements and cemeteries surrounding it was challenged by having luxurious settlements with natural attractions (vast attractive hinterlands or river banks or lagoons) and high-ranking settlers outside its walls.

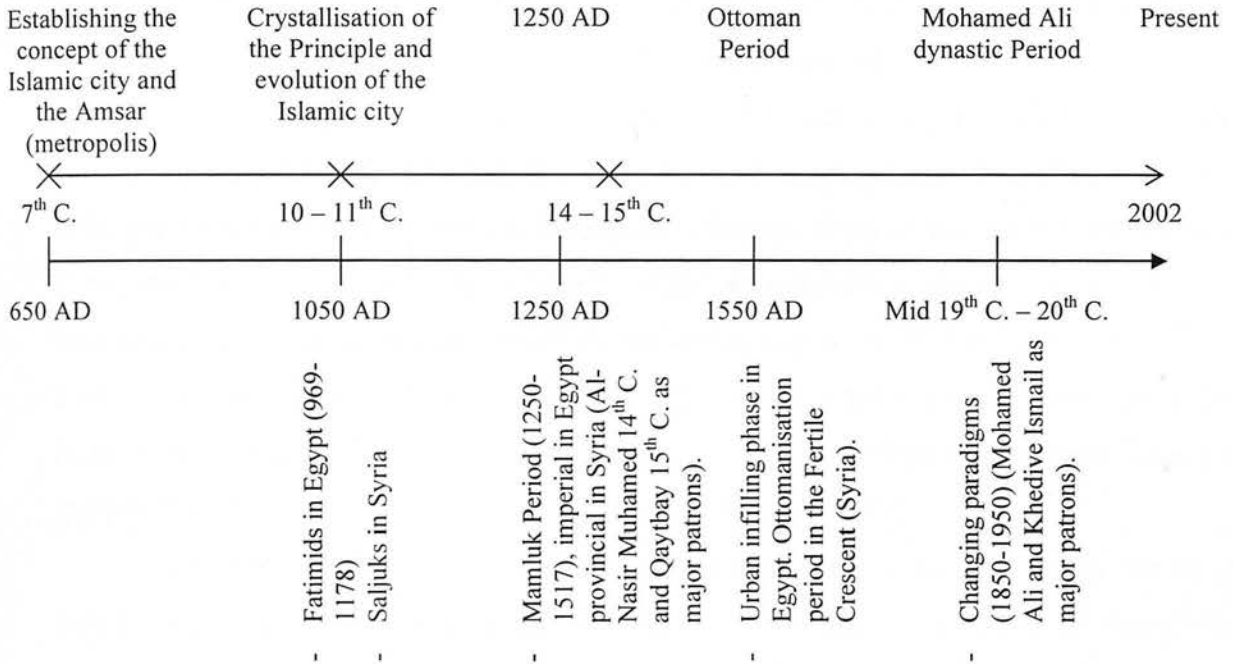


Fig. 1. 11: Morphological patterns in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent (Syria) region.

### 1.3.1. The Introduction of the Europeanised Urbanism:

Islamic Cities, especially in the heartland (Egypt) and the Fertile Crescent Region),<sup>13</sup> reached their heyday during the Mamluk Period (1250-1517). In this period, Cairo was the seat of the empire while other cities in the region (Egypt and the Fertile Crescent Region) were prosperous provincial ones but also continued as *Amsar* (metropolis cities). Urban forms and technologies responsible for shaping the cities continued as an

<sup>13</sup> The present research focuses on Egypt and the Fertile Crescent Region, defined as the heartland of the Islamic Realm and the Arab-Islamic World and the confrontation states (Abu-Lughod, 1996). The countries in this region share cultural and economic qualities, thus classified in the same group and most of the examples used in this research are from one of them. More examples of this geographical zone are consulted in part II, Chapters Three and Four.



uninterrupted system evolving as a result of cultural, ecological, social, political factors. This was also the case during the Ottoman Period, (1517-1805) for there was no substantial cultural, social, or technological change to match the political changes which converted Cairo as well as the whole region into a subordinate Ottoman province. This had an economic effect expressed through the intensification of the existing urban fabric to gain much economic benefit for the new Ottoman ruling class (Sedky, 1997 and 1999) along with the disappearance of the great level of urban patronage that had existed during the reign of the Mamluk Sultans, al-Nasir Mohamed in the first half of the fourteenth century and al-Ashraf Qaytbay in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

It was only in the nineteenth century that the Islamic World witnessed a strong rupture shaking its long established and continuing urban culture with different urban principles accompanied by an out-of-context lifestyle. During the nineteenth century, modernisation, which was synonymous with westernisation (Europeanisation), was imposed by local authorities with non-colonial status, e.g., as in Istanbul<sup>14</sup> and Cairo,<sup>15</sup> and later in the early twentieth century in Iran, e.g., Shiraz Modernisation Plans during the reign of Riza Shah (1925-41). Rulers in Islamic Cities were trying to emulate imported models from France and England (Salib, 1999 and Karimi, 1995).

The above-mentioned transformations are presented in the theoretical model of Islamic City transformation diagrams by Ismail (1972) (fig.1.12). Ismail illustrated the most common land-use patterns in the Arab-Islamic City which evolved over the course of seven centuries (since the thirteenth century), recording changes introduced after the modernisation period, as well as the urban growth behaviour.

---

<sup>14</sup>That was launched enthusiastically by the Minister (Mustafa Resit Pasha) as early as 1836 through a *Tanzimat* reform (Municipal Urban Charter) reshaping Istanbul in a European fashion, having also the first city master plan known as the first regularisation governing urban planning and construction activities in 1848 (Celik, 1993, pp. 49-51), such urban regulations had been conducted almost in the same period in Alexandria in the 1830s (Reimer, 1993) and few decades later in Cairo as mentioned below. This was a trend that had been introduced in the turn of the nineteenth century by Sultan Mahmud.

<sup>15</sup>The autonomous rulers in Cairo had launched modernisation plans similar to that in Istanbul as elaborated below.

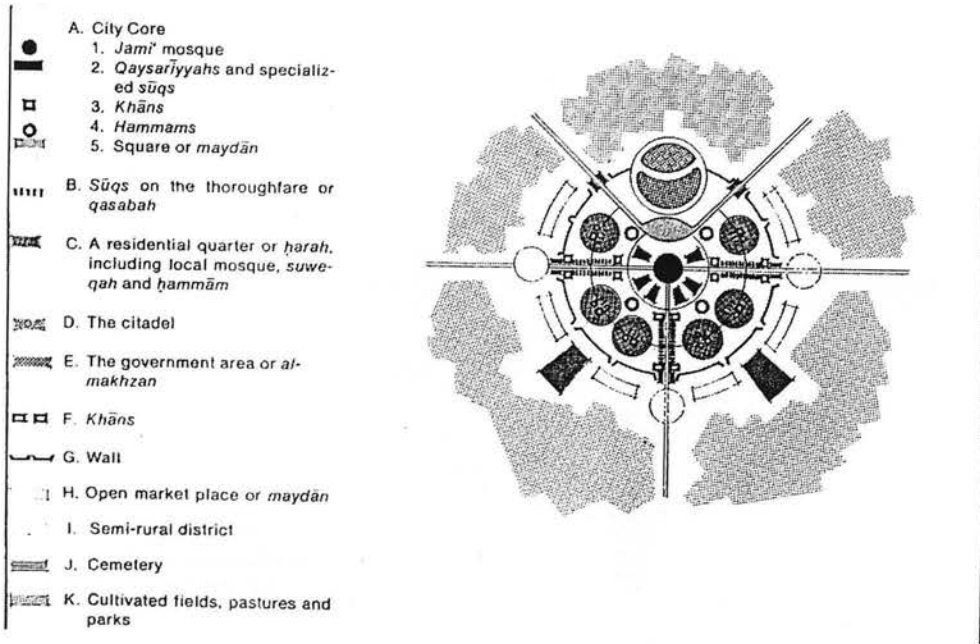


Fig. 1.12a

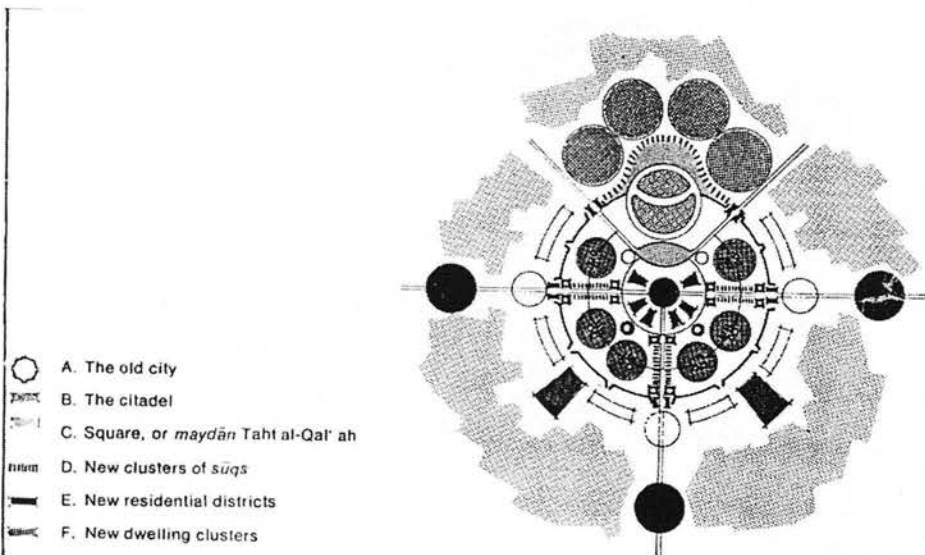


Fig. 1.12b

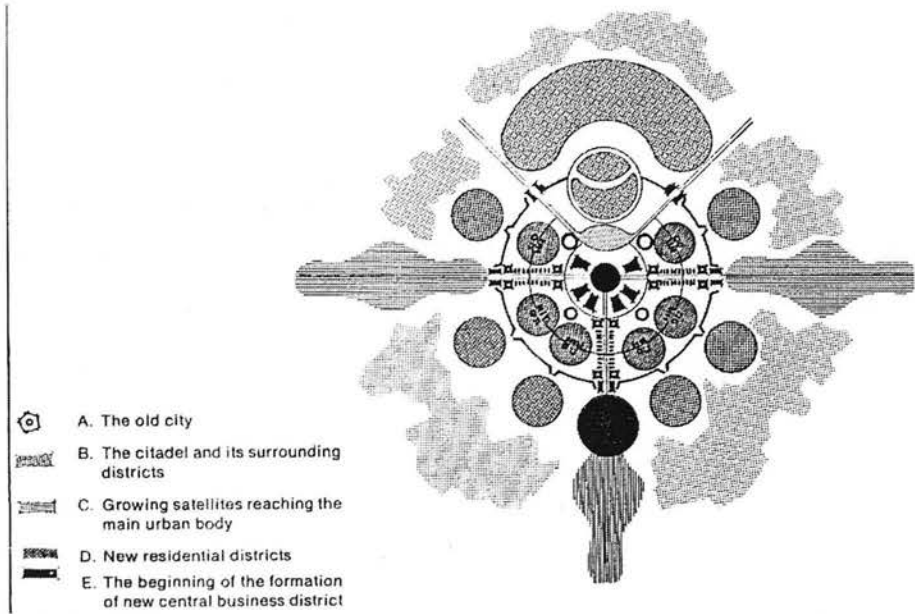


Fig. 1.12c

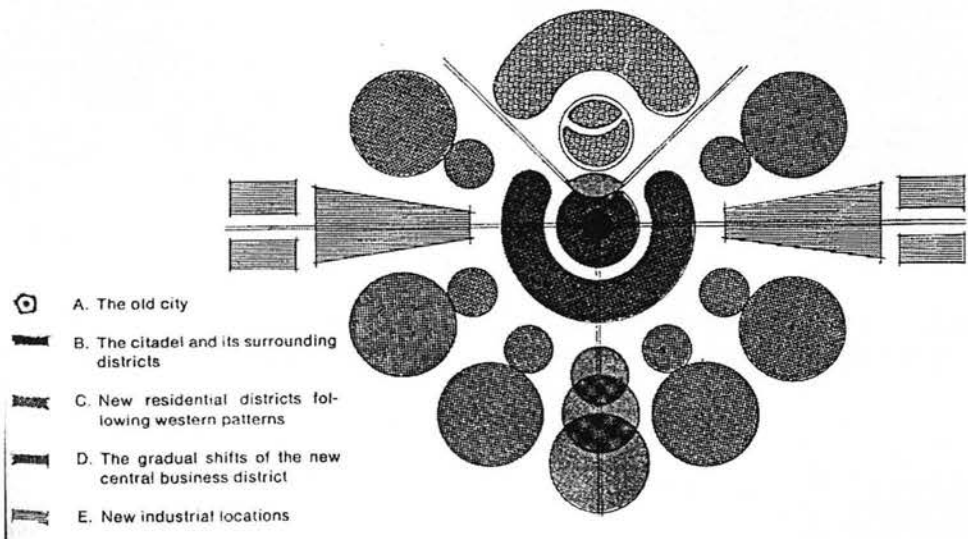


Fig. 1.12d

Fig. 1. 12: Schematic land-use patterns in the Arab-Islamic city. Source: Adel Ismail (1972).

However, this type of urban growth, reflected in a form of city expansion outside the premises of the traditional city in a more regularised urban fabric (in a more internationally recognised urban pattern, “European”), could be seen in new European-style districts bordering the old cities and filling the spaces between old districts and the voids in the already existing old fabric (ills. 1.2a-f). One cannot mistake the neo-classical

facades found within the vernacular housing lots in the traditional quarters, which mark the strong urban, technical and artistic impact of the nineteenth century on the discussed urban fabric. Moreover, newly cut axial thoroughfares were imposed upon the old fabric of the city, which is typical planning behaviour of any modernisation process. Examples of these thoroughfares include Mohamed Ali Boulevard in Cairo, France Street in Alexandria, cutting the old Turkish town, the ring road around the Citadel and the axial thoroughfares radiating from which dissections the old city in Aleppo (ills.1.3a, b).<sup>16</sup>



Ill. 1.2a: A European style building without court in the heart of Old Damascus.



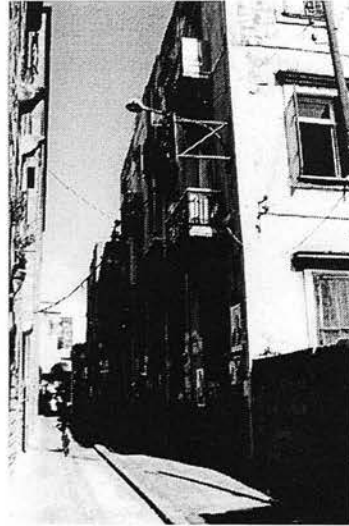
Ill. 1.2b: Municipality Palace, neo-renaissance, Aleppo, located within the old fabric in the core of the old city.

<sup>16</sup> In fact this is a common trend followed even in Paris when adding processional arched boulevards masking the medieval of Paris as an attempt to give it a modern image towards mid nineteenth century in what could be termed as Hufmann Scheme, same as that used in Cairo in 1870s during the reign of Khedive Ismail.

Arab-Islamic Context



Ill. 1.2c: A traditional mansion in the old quarter, decorated with neo-classic fenestration and nortal. Trinoli. Lebanon.



Ill. 1.2d: European style apartment buildings bordering the old quarter. Tripoli, Lebanon.



Ill. 1.2e: A typical med. apartment building surmounting traditional arches marking the beginning of Nahj al-Qasaba, the main street in the old city. Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.2f: Botafliqa Boulevard bordering the old city, Bab al-Bahr area. Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.3a: Axial and ring roads cut through the original traditional fabric of Aleppo around the old city's core, the citadel surmounting a mountain.



Ill. 1.3b: Al-Bab al-Saghir Street cut through the traditional urban fabric inside the walls of the old city in Damascus, linking al-Bab al-Saghir gate and Suq Medhat Pasha (market) which terminates the street with a metal - covered ceiling.

This newly introduced network of axial thoroughfares was challenged by city walls that maintain the coherence of the old city fabric. Even until today it is only the fabric inside the walls of the old city in Damascus and in the City of Susa and Kairawan in Tunisia that have resisted urban fraying, compared to the traditional districts losing their character within the vastly expanding, modern fabric outside the walls (ill. 1.4). The damage of the traditional city character, therefore, is marked by and attributed to the lost the old city walls by Norberg-Schulz (1980, p.189) (ill. 1.5). The opening up of the urban tissue followed a certain pattern. The walls were replaced by ring streets (ill. 1.3a); the gates transformed into nodes connecting inner historic thoroughfares and their modern expansion outside the premises of the old cities (Kostof, 1992) (ills. 1.2a, 1.6). The walls themselves collapsed or acted as a reservoir for construction materials, which led to their gradual disappearance. In the cities where traces of the walls still exist, the city walls act as retaining walls for buildings which have been constructed adjacent to them - a trend common since medieval times in Damascus and some parts in Cairo (ill. 1.7).



Ill. 1.4a: A traditional urban fabric segregated from the new one (the colonial new part of the city) by the city walls. Susa, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.4b: Kairawan city walls bounding a dense traditional urban fabric, separating it from the outer colonial part surrounding the old city. Kairawan, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.4c: The dense traditional fabric within the walls of Antalia where the traditional houses are predominant. Antalia, Turkey.



Ill. 1.4d: The eastern gate and walls of old Damascus bounding a dense traditional fabric of the Eastern District of the old city. Damascus, Syria.



Ill. 1.5a: Just outside the walls of Damascus, Saruja area couldn't sustain a coherent character giving way to the modern development heavily attacking in 1960's and 1980's. Damascus, Syria.



Ill. 1.5b: The traditional Ottoman wooden house became a very rare species within the modern development. Galata area, Istanbul, Turkey.



Ill. 1.6a: Bab al-Aqwas square, a remaining gate in the middle of highways surrounding the old city. Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.6b: The old gate in Bab Toma area became a landmark in a major node linking the old fabric of old Damascus with the colonial part surrounding the walls. Damascus, Syria.





Ill. 1.7a: Houses surmounting walls between Bab Toma gate and Bab al-Salam gate. Damascus, Syria.



Ill. 1.7b: A house surmounting the southern city walls, Darb Shughlan, Cairo.



Ill. 1.8a: Suq Barghut area today is losing any traces of its original, traditional fabric, Beirut, Lebanon.



Ill. 1.8b: Suq Barghut area at the turn of the twentieth century, Beirut, Lebanon.

### 1.3.2. The Impacts:

Such a modernisation process brought about the end of the long established traditional urbanism, interrupting its natural transformation process with a swift conversion into western urbanism. It had a significant impact - the European-style districts negatively affecting the traditional ones (Islamil, 1972). To Karimi (1995) this is because of the contradictions between the already developed post-industrial societies in Europe that generated a compatible urbanism, with the international lifestyle and systems, and the traditions and technologies of the old cities. Old cities thus witnessed economic and social

problems as they came to be regarded as a drawback by the occupants of the modern part of the city and the decision makers. This has led to a complete loss of the city's old quarters, under the banner of modernisation, erasing the past in order to create a prosperous contemporary image, such as in Beirut and Kuwait (ill. 1.8).

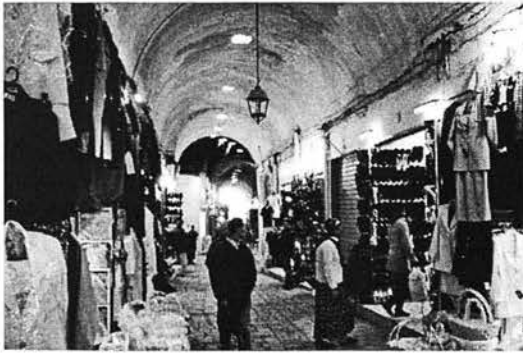
The old fabric segmented by axial thoroughfares also suffered from the loss of their function. After analysis (using Space Syntax) applied to Shiraz (Karimi, 1995) Karimi confirms that the traditional thoroughfares had given up their integral quality to the newly introduced modern axial avenues, which act as urban poles depriving the traditional fabric from their long established economic bases. This is easily observed in al-Nasr Road outside the old city walls in Damascus; in the main axial road leading to the citadel in Aleppo; and in the Azhar Road and Muhammad Ali Street cutting the city fabric, and Port Said Street bordering the Old City in Cairo, except for some surviving economically active areas - mostly *Suqs* (surviving medieval markets that still sustain their original goods retailing activities) (ill. 1.9). These *Suqs* are located along traditional thoroughfares such as al-Hamidiyyah and Medhat Pasha Markets in Damascus, al-Muski and its extension (al-Sikka al-Jaddida, (literally "the new road," cut through in the nineteenth century) in Cairo, selling traditional and economical kind of goods, for they are the most desirable shopping areas for the lower and lower middle classes.



Ill. 1.9a: A traditional market with an open area preceding a vaulted part, selling economical goods: clothes, utensils... etc. Old Aleppo, Syria.



Ill. 1.9b: Goldsmiths market in old Tripoli, Lebanon.



Ill. 1.9c: A traditional covered market in Susa, selling average contemporary clothes (economical pieces), Old Susa, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.10: Qalawun Complex (thirteenth century), Al-Muiz thoroughfare, Old Cairo.

The old urban fabric, however, has lost its original function, and subsequently deteriorated physically. Historic urban fabrics were described by Abu-Lughod (1971) as ruinous, deteriorated fabrics disguised behind the popular tourist-attracting traditional thoroughfares, showing off their out-of-function historical monuments (ill. 1.10) as well as

exhibiting antiques and other kitsch goods as in Gamaliyya and the famous Khan al-Khalili Bazaar in Cairo and the area immediately surrounding Oqba bin Nafi Mosque in Kairawan, Tunisia.

Exceptionally, this pattern of urban deterioration in the traditional fabric did not occur in Tunis City where the governmental bureaus never been shifted from the Old City, maintaining thus a certain degree of importance giving a strong reason for the area's continuous up-keeping of the area together with the efforts of the municipality and the tenacious hold of the occupants to their traditional lifestyle (ill. 1.11). In addition, the local elite in Tunis<sup>17</sup> never migrated to the peripheries before the mid twentieth century unlike their counterparts in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent who moved to European-style districts as early as the turn of the twentieth century. Until today one can see the Tunisian Cabinet Office, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Social Affairs on the *Qasaba*, the main historic thoroughfare in Tunis; and the Ministry of Culture close to the Citadel bordering the old city.

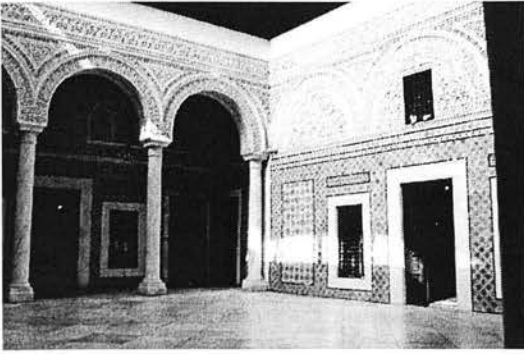


Ill. 1.11a: Al-Shuhada Square, facing the Ministries Complex (square) at the end of Nahj al-Qasaba, Old Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.11b: The headquarter of the Ministry of Public Affairs, Nahj al-Qasaba, Old Tunis, Tunisia.

<sup>17</sup> The local elite called Baladin (lit. Vernacular/ natives) in Tunis were responsible for the self-regarding social qualities distinguishing the old fabric of and the families long occupying the old city in Tunis. Their preserved their lifestyle and social/cultural pride as late as mid twentieth century with the migration of Hajj Ahmed Larsam (ill. 1.12) to al-Marsa Suburb, a suburb with modern planning that can accommodate the newly adopted lifestyle. That was followed by the migration of other elite families, leaving their traditional



Ill. 1.12: The house of Ahmed Larsam, currently the headquarter of the ASM (Association of Safeguarding the Medina), 3 Nahj al-Terribunal street. Old Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 1.13: Shepherd Hotel, by J. P. Sibah (ca. 1880), typical neo-classical architecture, colonial Cairo. Source: (Iverson, 1994).

In cities in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, full conversion into the modern urban system and lifestyle by the central authorities and the local intellectual elite - educated in Europe- occurred as early as the mid nineteenth century (ill. 1.13). The government bureaus and elite also moved to the newly planned districts, bordering the old cities, consequently causing chronic cultural temptation for the old city occupants to give up their long-established technologically, economic, and culturally compatible lifestyle.

Such conversion inevitably left the old city as a historic core occupying a significant location of a precious land value, to deterioration. Consequently, planners' and officials' response (in the very few incidents when they showed any action) to this urban problem was through a slum-clearance attitude of planning which occurred in the Saruja (ill. 1.5a) and Salhiyya area or even more dramatically as the case in Beirut (ill. 1.8) and Kuwait. Fortunately, this planning approach has been reviewed since the 1980s.

Another cycle of deterioration was against the first modern expansions of the medieval old cores. The first axial roads lost their economic importance after many political and economic events lead again to the migration of the bourgeois from these districts to other newly established quarters (the second modernisation cycle). This is best to seen in Mohamed Ali Street in Cairo, in the Fener and Balat Areas in Istanbul (ill. 1.14),

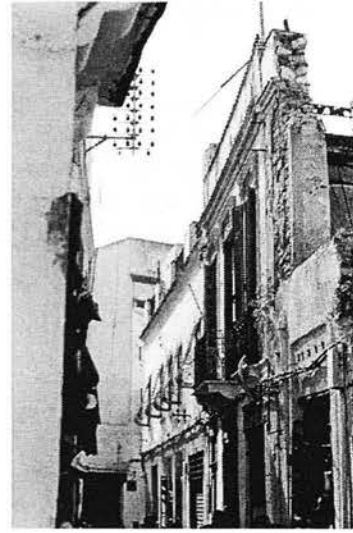
---

dwellings as an easy prey to deterioration or to new rural or poorer occupants (tenants of lower classes) having many families sharing the same dwellings (McGuinness, 1996 a, b).

and Bab al-Bahr and Hafsiyyah Areas in Tunis (ill.1.2f and ill. 1.15). All these areas were the modern expansions abutting the historic (medieval) cores of their cities attracting foreigners with growing economic and political influences since the mid nineteenth century, as well as the local elite adopting the European lifestyle. Such areas had their original function transformed to cope with their new (deteriorated) character. For example, Peirra, which was initiated as a bourgeois residential areas in the heart of the modern Istanbul, was converted into a heavy commercial area; Galata a much older residential district in Istanbul, was converted into commercial and industrial areas full of workshops resembling al-Ataba and Bab-al-Shiriyya Areas in Cairo (ill. 1.16).



Ill. 1.14: The Balat area, Istanbul, row houses, originally occupied by Jewish and Greek occupants before 1950's.



Ill. 1.15: Hafsiyya area, Old Tunis, Tunisia, the first Europeanised zone inside the walls of the old city, was the Jewish quarter.



Ill. 1.16a: Galata area, Istanbul, now the headquarter of electrical fixtures and construction finishing materials.



Ill. 1.16b: Pierra area, Istanbul, originally an upper-class residential quarter by the turn of the twentieth century for Greek and Jewish rich merchants, now a very active retailing place for clothing and entertainment.

#### **1.4. Conclusion:**

The built environment in the Islamic City was a natural product of an accumulative process of decision making that respected the individual's right as well as the community as a whole as stated in Islamic dogma. The control was subtle and dynamic being achieved through a sophisticated process, involving the essence of Islamic laws and thinking. That was used to give measuring meanings to each case and problematic issue, similar to the work of Qiyas (lit. measuring/ matching) to reveal the rational with any incidence that cannot be verified through a direct Quranic or Hadith reference. Thanks to the richness of the numerous incidents involved in juridical or municipal jobs, together with the cultural ecological factors (cultural, more habitual and inheriting, and physical matters) have developed a more sophisticated reference the *Urf* (customary regional laws).

Moreover, as stated above the juxtaposition of the earthly with spiritual in Islam has led to a more meditative, critical approach when dealing with urban matters in a form based on a case-by-case order (very contextual) rather than a restrictive application of a code of laws. While in other incidents it was reported that occupants were allowed to build over the road creating mews because the right of vitalisation was controlled because of the

road while the air above is not as long as the neighbours are not prevented from ventilation and light. This sequenced more responsive and sophisticated urban patterns that requested much attention to understand their actual meaning compared with those easily decoded (modern urbanism) in our time. Such patterns and systems are responsible for the environmental significance of the Arab-Islamic urban phenomena.

The Islamic City started to evolve in the seventh century. It reached its peak in the thirteenth century. From the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, it witnessed ups and downs but suffered a continuous decline towards the end of that period, especially in the Arab-Islamic cities. This paved the way for a cultural rupture in the early nineteenth century with the advent of the Europeanisation of the traditional lifestyle.

The impact of such transformation has authenticated an inferiority perspective of the traditional urban fabric, architecture and lifestyle among officials and elites. They adopted and promoted a European image of life. They applied western architecture and urban management systems. Consequently, the traditional urban fabric of the Arab-Islamic city was already besieged by European urbanism, which started to have a negative impact on the traditional fabric, as early as the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The traditional urban fabric of the Arab-Islamic city was cut to permit colonial thoroughfares for vehicular traffic. Gradually, the traditional fabric deteriorated and declined with the emigration of the elites, as aristocracy shifted to adopt European image. Thus, traditional fabric developed to be a refuge for poor and small and middle-size industries.

Nevertheless, despite the similarities and the isomorphic urban transformational patterns among the Arab-Islamic Cities, studying contextual considerations are essential to interpret any urban phenomenon. It is recommended, therefore, to shed more light on the Cairene urban phenomenon, which can pave the way for this research introducing the reader to Historic Cairo, the main case study of the present research, as will be elaborated in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CURRENT MEANING OF HISTORIC AREAS IN CAIRO

### **2.1. Objective:**

This chapter traces the previously defined values of the Arab-Islamic cities. It traces their persistence in Historic Cairo, aiming at defining its current meaning, the main case study of this research. In addition, different transformations affecting and influencing the nature, traditional character and urban expansions are addressed. This is to be able to formulate a subjective perspective that illustrates the current meaning of the studied urban phenomenon. This is essential to introduce the reader to the physical and cultural context of Historic Cairo to establish a contextual familiarity/ comprehension when tracing the different changes that have occurred and given Historic Cairo its current meaning.

Furthermore, this is essential to define the actual and current significance, even that driven from latent cultural (whether social or related to physical environmental potentials) values. This is to emphasise the main qualities and values to be safeguarded at any historic urban phenomenon in the Arab-Islamic Context, which meets the what-to-serve inquiry.

### **2.2. Historic Cairo:**

‘Historic Cairo’ as a term is used to define a specific zone in Cairo that is slated by different governmental and international organisations to be upgraded through different area conservation projects. This section is concerned with identifying the boundaries of such a zone.

Originally al-Fustat was the first urban settlement that was founded beside the Babylon Fort, the Byzantine settlement that developed to be the Coptic quarter in Cairo. Al-Fustat was founded by the Muslim leader Amr Ibn al-As in the seventh century. It served as the seed of a fast-growing Islamic metropolis that merged with two successive expansions known as al-Qatai and al-Askar in the ninth century. In the tenth century al-Qahira was founded as a walled royal city for the Fatimid Royal Family and their leaders and troops, but was later integrated with al-Fustat and the other quarters outside the walled city to compose one of the largest medieval urban phenomena in the World known as al-Qahira or Misr al-Mahrosa (lit. the protected Egypt).

Therefore, Historic Cairo covers a wide geographical zone (see fig.2.1) that is composed of Fatimid Cairo, al-Darb al-Ahmar and the Ibn Tulun Mosque Area (the intrinsic urban fabric between al-Fustat and the southern gates of al-Qahira) and Coptic Cairo (also known as al-Fustat Area). This large medieval urban fabric grew in the south-

north direction. This is because the Moqattam Hills have been always a topographical boundary limiting the city expansion to the east. To the west, the River Nile has marked the western limits of the city's expansions. However, the western boundaries of Historic Cairo was marked by al-Khalig al-Masri (lit. the Egyptian Gulf), which was a stream that ran parallel to and lay a few kilometres to the east of the River Nile. The area between al-Khalig al-Masri and the River Nile were full of gardens and promenades. This area was redeveloped in the nineteenth century to be the Ismaili Town (the colonial part in Cairo), named after Khedive Ismail. Al-Khalig al-Misri was filled in to become Port Said Street, which is the western boundary of Historic Cairo.

The growing calls for area conservation in Cairo, starting in 1980s,<sup>1</sup> have always focused on the Fatimid part of the city, known as 'Fatimid Cairo', which is currently bounded by the Northern City Walls (known as Bab al-Nasr Area) to the north; al-Mansouriya Street to the east and parallel to Moqattam Hills; Port Said Street to the west and the Southern City Walls (known as Bab Zuwayla Area). However, the spectrum of urban heritage safeguarding was expanded further to the south to incorporate al-Darb al-Ahmar and the Ibn Tulun Mosque Areas to formulate another zone that is called 'Islamic Cairo'. Islamic Cairo is bounded from the east by the Salah Salim highway; to the south by Salah Salim highway and the Aqueduct, and to the west by Port Said Street.

In the 1990s with the growing concern with safeguarding the Coptic quarter and the excavations area of al-Fustat further to the south, the above zone was stretched again to the south. This newly defined zone is bounded by the Metro fences to the west, as an extension to Port Said Street. To the east and south it is bounded by newly founded highways and flyovers.

Therefore, what is currently defined as 'Historic Cairo' is a geographical zone that is bounded by the Northern City Walls and Galal Highway from the north; Port Said Street and the Metro from the west; al-Mansouriya Street and Salah Salim Highway and al-Qatamiya Highway to the east and squatters to the south of Qasr al-Sham Area expanding to the south until the flyover known as al-Mounib Accesses.

Nevertheless, the above-defined zone, Historic Cairo, is not yet officially designated. However, it is where all the current area conservation projects are

---

<sup>1</sup> See sections 6.2 and 6.3 in Chapter Six for more details about the different schemes of area conservation and calls for safeguarding historic quarters in Cairo.

concentrated. It is predominantly medieval for it does not incorporate Colonial Cairo located between Port Said Street and the River Nile, which despite being of high architectural and historic importance suffers from severe alterations. Yet, there are other medieval quarters of significant historic value that are located outside the boundaries of the above defined zone, Historic Cairo, such as Bab al-Shariyya Quarter that is located on the other side of Port Said Street to the west; al-Hussayniya Quarter and some significant mausoleums and funerary complexes in the Bab al-Nasr Cemetery to the north and the Northern and Southern Cemeteries located on the eastern side of Salah Salim Highway.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Bulaq, which is a very significant historic quarter founded in the fourteenth century to serve as the main harbour for different trades across the Nile River, is located outside the defined zone of 'Historic Cairo'.

---

<sup>2</sup> These cemeteries contain some rare examples of Mamluk and Ottoman architecture; yet being bounded by a very strong boundary Salah Salim, al-Nasr and al-Qatamiyah Highways makes them an heritage urban island.

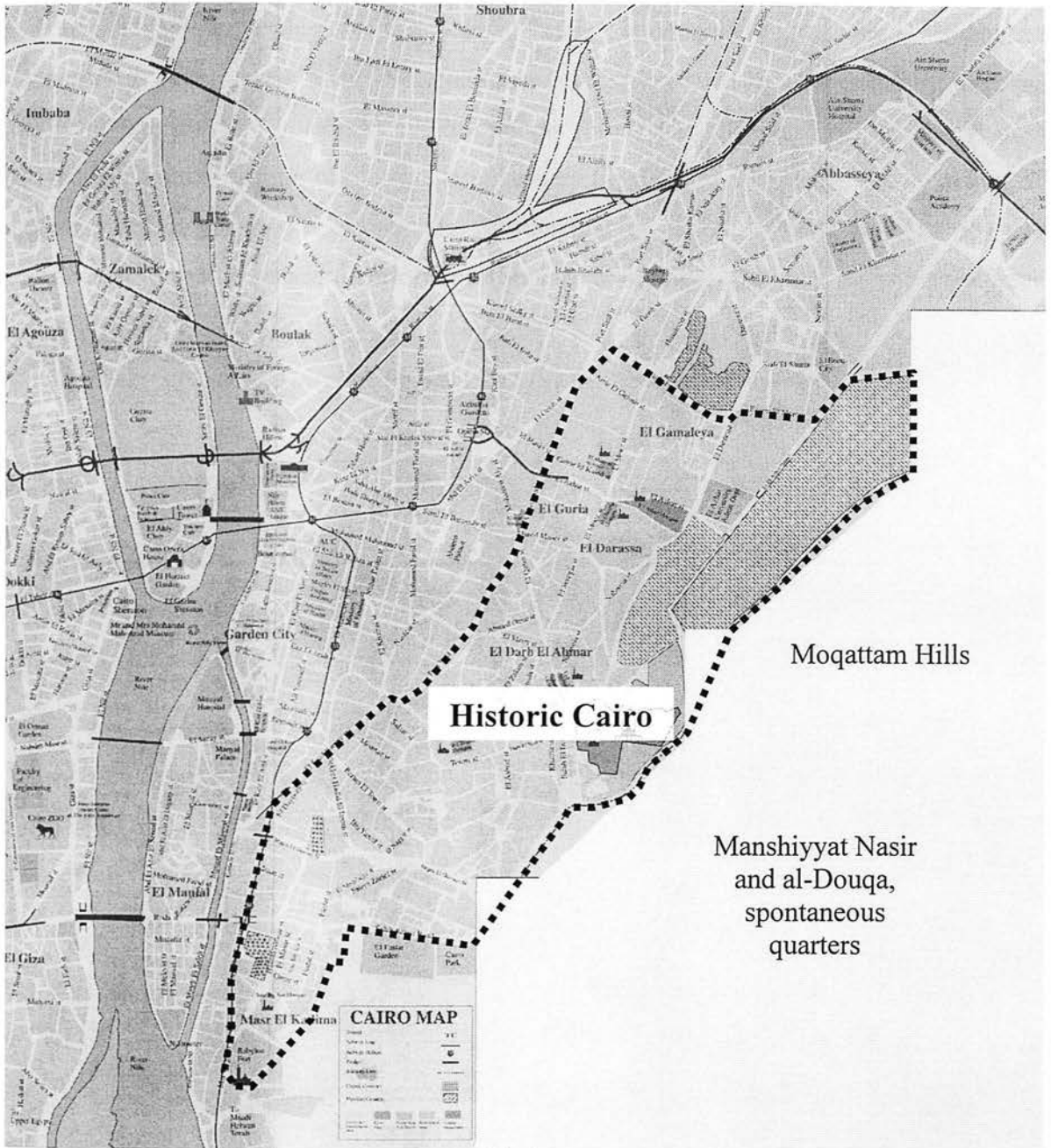


Fig. 2.1

### 2.2.1. Typical Characteristic Urban Problems:

All the urban problems distinguishing historic areas in Cairo are more or less those marking the deterioration of the physical environment in every ancient urban fabric. They vary from problems caused by the occupants, such as litter, public messages (e.g. election posters and advertisements), violation against public properties and services, unsuitable activities jeopardising historical structures, to other types of problems caused by planners and decision-makers such as insensitive planning, bureaucracy, and negligence as active

deterioration tools.<sup>3</sup> These are just a few among a long list of symptoms of deterioration and urban malfunctioning of the studied urban phenomenon (see many examples/indicators in illustrations 2.1-2.11). Therefore, compiling such indicators might diagnose more the deterioration as caused by both people (occupants and regular users and visitors of Historic Cairo) on one hand, and the planners (professionals and decision makers) on the other. Both groups act as vandals, responsible for different types of violations that contributed to the discussed deterioration (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002); see appendix three below.

---

<sup>3</sup> Elaborating on more problems in Historic Cairo and some other historic towns in the Middle East Region are illustrated in Sedky (2000, 2001a, 2001c) and Shehayeb and Sedky (2002).



III.2.1: Sabil-Kuttab (a water fountain surmounted by an elimatory school built ca. seventeenth century) the inhabitants of the neighbouring building added the upper part illegally to their apartment.



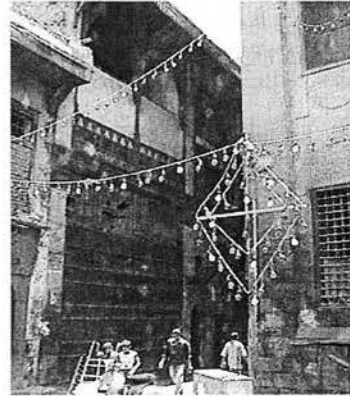
III.2.2: A traditional lane behind Qijmas Mosque, al-Darb al-Ahmar, see the 1960s governmental building contradicting with the context.



III.2.3: An economical housing scheme built in 1960s, Ahmed Mahir Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar. A drastic dilution of the original character of the historic area emphasised by a development that is launched by the government.



III.2.4: A registered monument (traditional mansion) in a very ruinous condition, Al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar



III. 2.5: An Ottoman monument, al-Tabbana Street, currently used as an elementary school



III.2.6: Bab al-Wazir Street, a conflict between vehicle and pedestrian movements.



III.2.7: A nineteenth century apartment building, see the unsuitable finishing material adorning the ground floor and the modern building in front permitting limited illumination.



III.2.8: A collapsed Rab' (collective housing units), al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar the building was altered having hovels to house those who lost their units, and it is typical situation to have only the shops that still function.



III.2.9: A modern reinforced concrete building, al-Tabbana Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar, see the attempt cope with the historical context using pseudo traditional turned wood fenestration however it came as an ugly interpretation of the heritage due to the lack of architectural guidelines.



III.2.10: Bab al-Nasr Cemetery families occupying funerary courts.



III.2.11: Bab al-Nasr Cemetery undefined borders between the funerary courts and the domestic area.

In addition, the problems stated above (indicators of urban deterioration) together comprise a complex system of urban deterioration. The overall problem (status of deterioration) of any historic area can be regarded as a phenomenon composed of many problems interacting together through a certain framework. This creates a certain urban problem structure in which a problem of a higher level surmounts other lower-level



problems of lesser importance and impact. This can be illustrated in series of what can be called problem chains. Each chain is composed of a series of problems in a sequential order according to importance; i.e. the most influential problem is followed by another sequenced problem, for example:

-Lack of public awareness → Lack of know-how → Lack of aesthetic values.

-Lack of an active legislation system → Loss of distinctive character → Lack of aesthetic values.

-Lack of active legislation system → Loss of distinctive character → Lack of basic hygienic needs.

-Political problem → Economic problem → Housing crises in Cairo → Cemetery inhabitants. (an especial problem chain, limited to Cairo).

-Lack of active legislation system → Ownership problem → Individuals as vandals → Absence of aesthetic values/ Absence of basic hygienic needs.

-Bureaucracy and negligence → Conservation problem → Stagnant environment → Lack of aesthetic values.

These chains are hypothetical.<sup>4</sup> They are presented in a random order, and they are just a few among plenty of similar chains. This has maintained the continuing degradation of the urban environmental quality in Historic Cairo as well as dwarfing the different upgrading activities because the deterioration wheel runs faster than the upgrading one. However, to envisage how these chains interact and contribute to the discussed urban deterioration, an accurate attribution of each chain and its generators (the planners and professionals, the government/ decision makers, or the people) needs to be made. This can be achieved through tracing the role and effectiveness of each actor indulged in the urban upgrading in Historic Cairo, which can be traced in the current area conservation projects launched in different quarters in Historic Cairo, as will be discussed in section 6.3 in Chapter Six.

---

<sup>4</sup> These chains always end with the absence of aesthetic and hygienic values and thus degraded environmental qualities, defined above as the indicators of the physical problems and they are actually more the signs/ symptoms of deterioration and degraded environments. Therefore it is necessary that any upgrading attempt trace such chains back to the root (principle cause) and understand how they are generated and interact to synthesis the above indicators, deterioration. In addition to any more hypothesised ones, are illustrating various problems that can be always traced up to an institutional cause, e.g., bureaucracy or absence of effective planning legislations or law enforcement, etc.

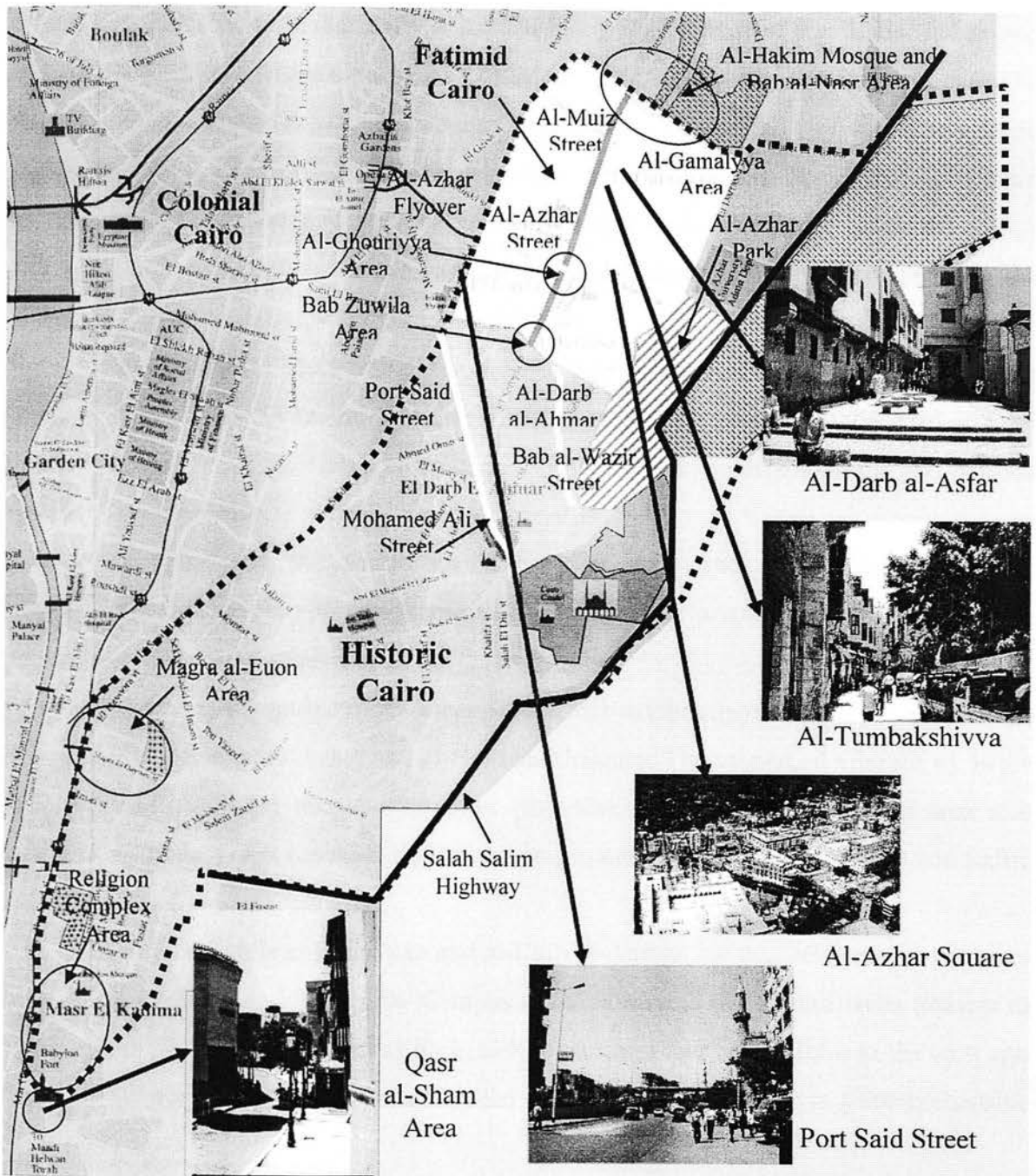


Fig.2.2

**2.2.2. Current Area Conservation Projects in Historic Cairo:**

Area conservation projects in Historic Cairo are spread in nine main areas: Bab al-Nasr, al-Darb al-Asfar, al-Tumbakshiya, al-Muiz Street, al-Azhar Square and al-Ghouriyah, al-Batniyyah and al-Darb al-Ahmar, Bab Zuwayla, Magra al-Euon (the Aqueduct) and the Religions Complex Areas (fig.2.2).

The first, Bab al-Nasr Area is located along the Northern City Walls. It has two main projects: the Northern Gamaliyya Project and al-Hakim Mosque Neighbourhood. The Northern Gamaliyyah Project is located on the northern side of the city walls, concerned with streetscape and traffic and redevelopment of Bab al-Nasr Cemetery.<sup>5</sup> Al-Hakim Mosque Neighbourhood is located on the southern side of the city walls, inside the walled city.<sup>6</sup> It aims at upgrading the area around al-Hakim Mosque and the area between the historical city gates, Bab al-Nasr and Bab al-Futuh.

The second, Al-Muiz Street, is the main thoroughfare of Fatimid Cairo stretching between Bab al-Nasr Gate and al-Azhar Street. Together with the first, the third and the fourth areas al-Muiz compose al-Gamaliyya Quarter, the most important and vibrant medieval part in Cairo.<sup>7</sup>

The third and the fourth are al-Darb al-Asfar and al-Tambakshiya Areas, respectively. Each is *harrah* (neighbourhood) and is under a conservation scheme. They are located at the heart of al-Gamaliyya Quarter.<sup>8</sup>

The fifth is composed of al-Azhar Square and al-Ghuriyyah Area.<sup>9</sup> The first is the area bounded between al-Azhar and al-Hussain Mosques. The second, al-Ghuriyya, is the area between al-Ghuri religious complex (the *Madrasa* and Mosque). This area also contains al-Azhar Street (avenue) and the scheme is concerned with streetscape and traffic management of the area.

The sixth area is al-Batniyyah and al-Darb al-Ahmar, located between the premises of al-Azhar Mosque and University Campus to the north and the eastern walls (known as Salah al-Din Walls) and al-Darassa Park, al-Khaiyamiyya and Mugharblin to the west and Muhammad Ali Street and the Citadel to the south. In this zone there is a comprehensive

---

<sup>5</sup> Pursued by Cairo Governorate, under the supervision of Mr. Mahmoud Yassin the deputy of the Governor and the co-ordinator of the Executive Committee; the Ministry of Social Affairs to do the social studies for the inhabitants of the Bab al-Nasr Cemetery; see Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.b.

<sup>6</sup> Pursued by the Historic Cairo Organisation (Urban Development Studies), Ministry of Culture and based on studies prepared by the Arab Bureau and the Conservation Department of the Arab Contractors Company, Ministry of Housing.

<sup>7</sup> Only studies and proposal for projects have tackled al-Muiz Street, through the studies of the General Organisation of Physical Planning (the Egyptian Ministry of Housing, GOPP), Cairo Governorate and the UNDP 1997 study.

<sup>8</sup> The Mashrabiyya under the umbrella of the SCA, the Ministry of Culture, was responsible for the area conservation of al-Darb Al-Asfar Area and the Friends of Environment and Development Association NGO (FEDA) as responsible for area conservation in al-Tumbakshiyya Street after co-ordinating with the Executive Committee, Cairo Governorate, as elaborated in Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.i.

<sup>9</sup> Studies conducted by the Cairo Governorate and the Ministry of Housing through the Arab Bureau and the construction and the restoration was conducted by the Arab Contractors Company, Ministry of Housing.

urban upgrading scheme called, the Revitalisation of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area.<sup>10</sup> This scheme incorporates different projects, action areas, i.e. Suq al-Tablita (the vegetable market behind Abu al-Dahab Mosque and close to al-Azhar Mosque, al-Azhar Alley located along the southern gate of Al-Azhar Mosque, Darb Shughlan (also known as the Revitalisation of the Aslam Mosque Neighbourhood) along the Eastern Walls and al-Darassa Park, al-Khiyyamiya and Bab al-Wazir Areas.

The seventh is Bab Zuwayla Area. It is located within the boundaries of the above area. However it differs in being a major restoration scheme, a restoration scheme of a complete cluster of monument that is conducted by a different actor/ organisation.

The eighth is the Magra al-Euon (the Aqueduct). It is concerned with streetscape and urban redevelopment of the squatter area surrounding the aqueduct.<sup>11</sup>

The ninth is the Religions Complex Area, marking the southern boundaries of 'Historic Cairo'. It acquired its title because it includes Jewish, Christian and Muslim prayer historic places. This area also contains the Fustat archaeological excavation area, Amr Ibn al-As Mosque, the Coptic Cemetery and the Coptic quarter (within the Babylon Fort Site) and Qasr al-Sham Area. There three major projects: upgrading Amr Ibn al-As Mosque area and its surroundings and appropriating it for tourism,<sup>12</sup> upgrading the Coptic Quarter and the Babylon Fort Area<sup>13</sup> and Upgrading Qasr al-Sham Area.<sup>14</sup> This is in addition to urbanising the areas between Amr Ibn al-As Mosque and al-Qatamiya Highway, part of which is the archaeological site of al-Fustat, as well as many other scattered projects to upgrade the squatters surrounding the area, those located outside the premises of 'Historic Cairo'.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Studies and urban regeneration scheme in al-Darb al-Ahmar Area was conducted by the The Aga Khan Culture Service-Egypt, Aga Khan Organisation (AKCS-E); see Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.i.

<sup>11</sup> Urban Studies for this project was conducted by the GOPP. The restoration and conservation studies and streetscape etc was prepared by the Engineering Centre for Archaeological & Environment, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University (ECAE) in collaboration with the SCA and the Governorate.

<sup>12</sup> This project is pursued by Dr. Mona Zakariyya Team, the consultant of the Ministry of Tourism who finances the project. This is pursued in co-ordination with the Governorate; see Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.f.

<sup>13</sup> This is mainly a major restoration project financed and supervised by the SCA; see Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.d.

<sup>14</sup> This project is conducted by the Historic Cairo Organisation, Ministry of Culture; see Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.d.

<sup>15</sup> These projects of upgrading environmental qualities in such spontaneous quarters are pursued by The Anglican Coptic Association (ACA); see Chapter Six, section 6.4.2.b.

### 2.3. Urban Transformation in Cairo:

Chronologically, there was an urban isomorphic pattern in Cairo, as a typical *Amsar* (metropolis) in the Arab-Islamic context, when a traditional system was predominant until the nineteenth century. It started to witness cultural challenges leading to traditional-system entropy until the twentieth century, when we started to witness complete replacement of all the traditional urban system which was replaced by western (European) ideas (fig.2.3).

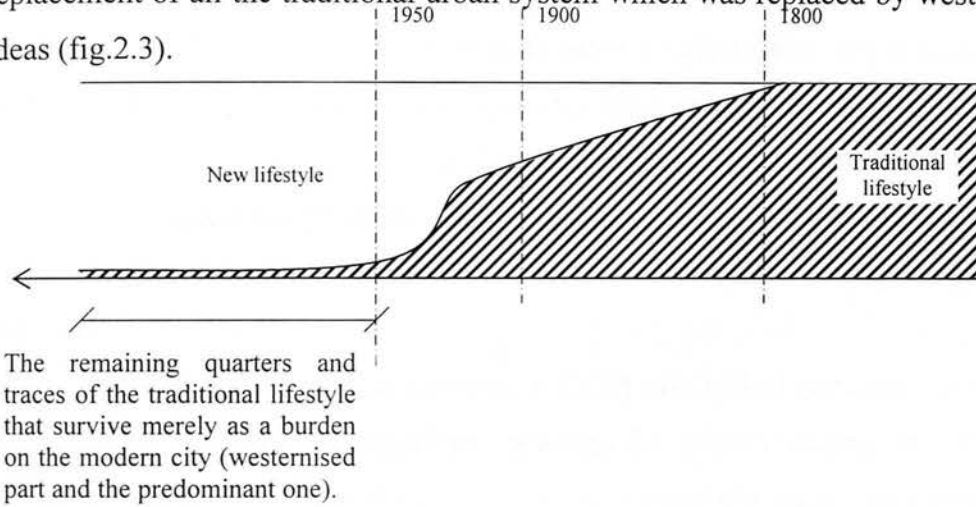


Fig. 2.3: A model of the change in the adopted urban system in the studied region.

Focusing on Cairo, we can regard the period when the concept of Islamic City flourished and established in Cairo as a classical period. Despite changes and extensions in the city, no dramatic urban changes could be recorded before the 1800s, as stated above. However, I would start briefly with the city before 1800 (from the Fustat, the first Muslim settlement, to al-Qahira, the name of the most developed urbanism and acquired in medieval times).

Al-Fustat was the first Muslim settlement founded as early as the seventh century. It was followed by successive extensions: al-Askar founded by the Abbasids adjoining al-Fustat in 751 AD, to which the seat of the Egyptian provincial rule had moved until it was replaced by the autonomous Tulunid rule. This was marked by the establishment of al-Qatai as another adjoining city (settlement) circa. 870 AD. Al-Qatai continued to be the seat of government until 905 AD when it was demolished by the Abbasid troops who regained Egypt as a Abbasid province, until it was captured by the Fatimids in 969 AD. That year was also marked by the establishment of the walled city of al-Qahira. Al-Qahira,

however, was more or less a royal city built to accommodate the seat of government and the Fatimid imperial palace and the nobles (Wahba, 1963).

Al-Fustat, al-Askar, the demolished al-Qatai and al-Qahira were more like extended settlements; while al-Fustat alone was a major city bordering al-Qahira (the last was almost a forbidden city). It was, however, not before the Ayyubid Period (during the reign of its founder Saladin) that those cities/ settlements united to form the region's most flourishing metropolis in the medieval times. Saladin took over in 1171, opening the gates of al-Qahira to the people while al-Fustat became little more a village. The city continued to flourish, expanding more and integrating the different settlements outside and inside the walls of al-Qahira. The Citadel (founded in Saladin's reign) had become the seat of governance since the Ayyubid period and since the twelfth century Cairo could be envisaged and interpreted isomorphically according to Ismail's theoretical Arab-Islamic morphological city model (fig. 1.11).

The city was known, as a whole, as Cairo (al-Qahira) and considered as one of the distinguished medieval metropolises, reaching its heyday during the Mamluk Period. During this period the Mamluks were able to maintain a more pervasive, decentralised urban management system. Their ruling system was described by Lapidus (1967, pp.187-190) as "...[a] fluid system of a political relationships governed not by administration but by holding all the vital threads in their hands. They established high ties with the *Ulama* [theologians and community spiritual leaders] high and low, to merchants, to the common people of the quarters and markets...[The Mamluks thus became] important participants in the society...these direct ties of the Mamluks to all classes created configuration of relationships [that integrated the ruling class with the different strata]." The countryside still preserved its mutual inter-dependant relationship with the city as explained above in the present chapter.

When the Ottomans came to power (after they defeated the Mamluks in 1517) the above balanced system of urban management continued but witnessed a considerable weakening. Egypt had become a province, and its capital, Cairo, had lost its role as the seat of the Mamluk Empire. The ruling class, (Ottoman viceroys and some remaining Mamluks normally lasting in office for a year or slightly longer) were segregated from people.

The two-way urban management equilibrium hypothesised in (figs.1.7, 1.8) was negatively altered. The countryside suffered the raids of nomadic tribes, while other institutional amenities and urban services suffered severe deterioration. The atmosphere

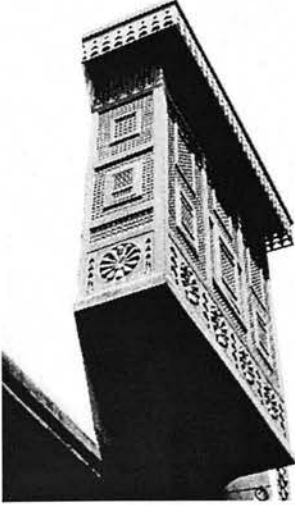
thus was prepared to reject the decentralised urban management model which distinguished the Islamic City, even by the people themselves (Miura, 1994). This is besides the culture shock brought about by the advent of the French campaign. Thus way was almost paved to Mohamed Ali, the autonomous Ottoman viceroy taking over in 1805, to convert the country's urban and institutional systems into a more pre-planned systems; while the most widespread planning paradigm (then as today) was the centralised administration system, which was in essence a European one.

Enthusiastic conversion attempts, started by Mohamed Ali, included the founding of l'Oranato as early as 1835 in Alexandria, a European municipal organisation responsible for the present nipple-like city of Alexandria that was taken further in Cairo to give it the European-like image during the reign of Khedive Ismail and his enthusiastic Minister of Public Works, Ali Mubarak. Ali Mubarak praised the new neoclassical style, while describing the traditional vernacular urbanism as unhygienic (*al-Khutat al-Tawfiqiyya* (1865). This was a continuation of an already established approach of urban planning launched by Muhamed Ali who banned the *Mashrabiyya* (traditional turned-wood fenestration) (ill. 2.12) and encouraged an imported style from Istanbul (Rumi-Balkan) which was an Italianate (neo-classical) Ottoman style that flourished in the area of the Balkans (Sedky, 1998) (ill. 2.13). This trend continued to dominate all the traditional building crafts, leaving them no much chance to survive naturally as a market-demanded crafts. It was only to reappear on the facades of Cairene houses at the turn of the twentieth century in what was known as neo-Islamic style. This type of architecture was a non-authentic revival, which was meant to distinguish a sophisticated elite class, patronised by Khedive Abbass Hilmy II and the Europeanised elite (Sedky, 1998) (ill. 2.14). Thus, by the turn of the twentieth century the traditional artefacts distinguishing the traditional house became products of the elite and did not appear on the houses built by the natives in the historic quarters that filled the intrinsic voids or replaced ruined traditional buildings with neo-classical houses (ill. 2.15). These also became more apparent in bourgeois mansions in the new upper-class districts of Cairo, such as Zamalik and Garden City.<sup>16</sup> In other words, traditional artefacts became a "high" art, losing all of their folk-art functions. This is, certainly, quite far from the original meaning of art in the Arab-Islamic City where there had never been any disassociation of 'high' art from 'folk' art (Fathy, 1963) because Islam

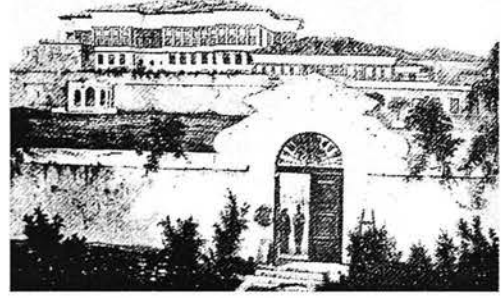
---

<sup>16</sup>See Abu-Laghud (1971) for further social descriptions of Cairo, (fig.2.15).

looked at art not as a pure aesthetic product but rather as a refined application of different dwellings, and utensils necessary for day-life activities.



Ill. 2.12: Mashrabiyya, house of Jamal al-Din al-Dhahabi, 1643 AD. Photo by Ahmed Hassaballah.



Ill. 2.13: Ras el-Tin Palace, an example of the Rumi-Balkan style. Source: (Tamraz, 1998).





III. 2.14: Eclectic composition of Mamluk ornaments in an early twentieth century apartment building, Heliopolis, Cairo. Source: (Sakr, 1993).

III. 2.15: Neo-classical building within the traditional fabric of the old city, Cairo. Source: (Iverson, 1994).

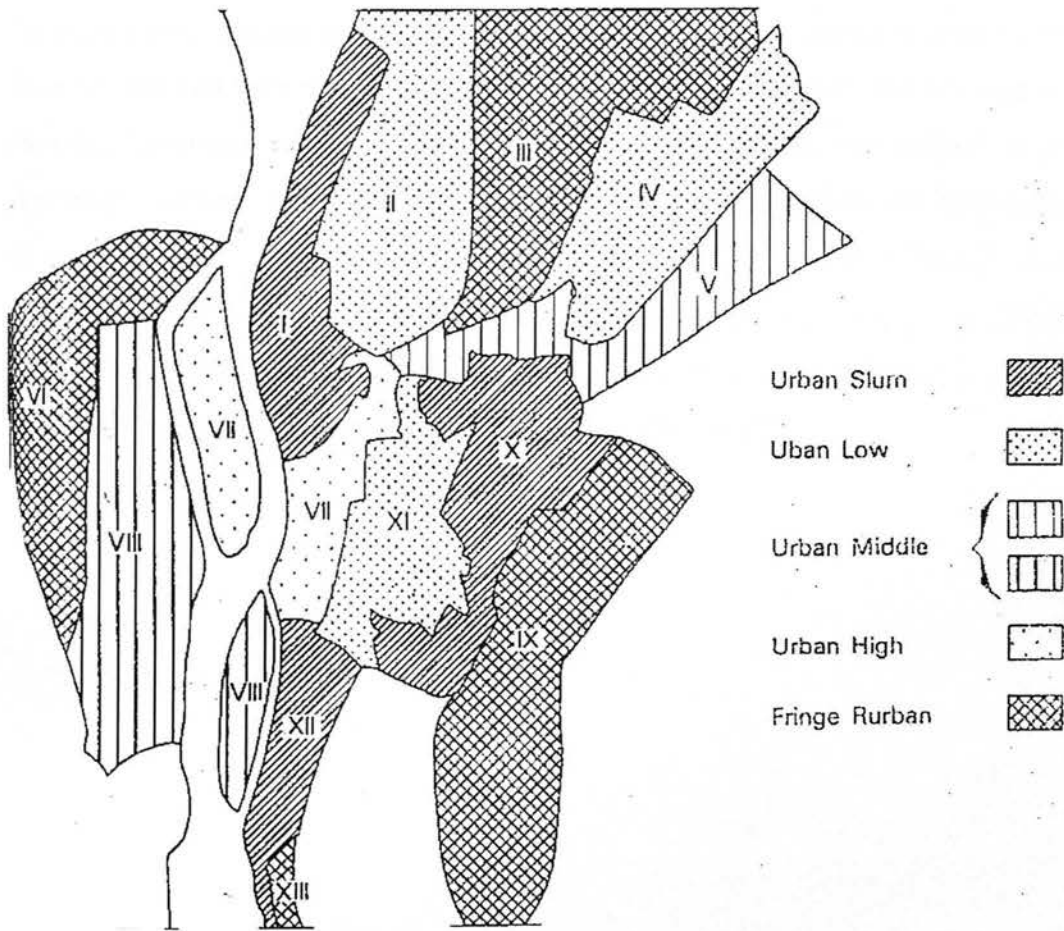


Fig. 2. 4: The distribution of social classes in the districts of Cairo.

Also, unlike Tunisia (ill. 2.16), traditional architectural artefacts were not encouraged to continue as focal elements (active agents) to consolidate the city's urban and architectural identity before the patriotic attempts of some Egyptian architects in late 1920s- 1940s, for example, Mustafa Fahmy, and his students: Ahmed Sharmy and Ahmed Sedky. Their style was an avant-garde adaptation of the Art Deco based on the Beaux Art principles, dressing the academy-like architecture with simplified Islamic traditional artefacts as an attempt to give their contemporary building an indigenous character (Sedky, 1998) (ill. 2.17). Furthermore, Dr. Said Karim another pro-modernism architecture and urbanism established his first consultant office in the Middle East in 1939, since that date he introduced very modern clean-cut architecture and even urban planning proposals that were the pioneering guidelines for most of the Cairene formal planning and city's expansions.

This took place while traditional artefacts and crafts had died out, even in their original workshop in historical quarters, due to the disappearance of the market demands for such goods (stucco windows, turned wood fenestration, inlaid marble) (Fathy, 1963). Fathy stated that "when the modern architect in the Middle East- [as that was not only the case in Egypt but it was quite apparent in all the region, the subject of the present research]- adopted the western style of building and discarded the (old fashioned) crafts, he discarded at one go the whole tradition of visual art in the Arab World" (Fathy, 1963, p.226). Fathy, quoted one of the few remaining (retired) artisan in 1960s (Master Mohamed Ismail) who said to Fathy: "if you want to revive the trade [i.e., the traditional crafts and artefacts], then give us work" (Fathy, 1963, p.225).



Ill. 2.16a: A modern house in the old city, Tunis, Tunisia; still employing the *mashrabiyya*, the traditional bay window.



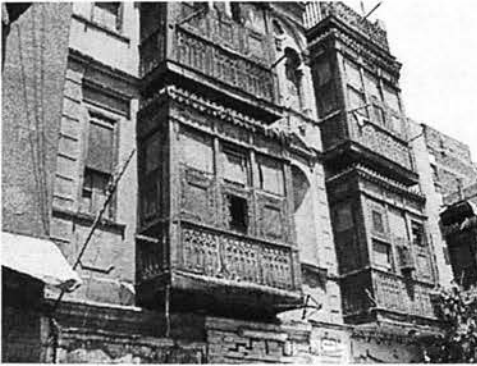
Ill. 2.16b: A modern villa in the suburbs of kairawan, Tunisia; still employing the *mashrabiyya*, the traditional bay window.



Ill. 2.17: Doctors Syndicate (Dar al-Hikma), Cairo, a contemporary building using simplified Islamic traditional artefacts. Source: (Sakr, 1993).

The twist here is in the change of tools. The traditional built environment with its artefacts in the nineteenth century shifted completely to a European-style architecture with a chaotic status developed from cultural demands and the newly adopted built environmental system. In parallel, in the new districts accommodating the elite community, traditional artefacts were more or less decorative features ornamenting a western urbanism. That is to say, using the vocabulary of the traditional architecture for nothing but decorative demand in the case of non-religious architecture, which we can describe as an inner orientalism.

However, despite adopting new architectural and urban systems, the locals (whether elite who occupied European-style mansions in the districts immediately surrounding old areas such as the Hilmiyya quarter founded in 1860s and occupied by the local intellectual elite, or middle class who remained in historic areas, living in apartment buildings), had domesticated their new environment in a way that preserved their cultural values (related to the social qualities that preserved the gender segregation, thus, certain circulation system. For example, one can never mistake the neo-classical buildings in al-Hilmiyya that are preceded by a male reception area-- mostly in a form of a detached pavilion-- and the wooden parapets decorating the Mediterranean-style balconies so apartment occupants could secure their visual privacy as they did in their previous traditional environment) (ill. 2.18).<sup>17</sup>



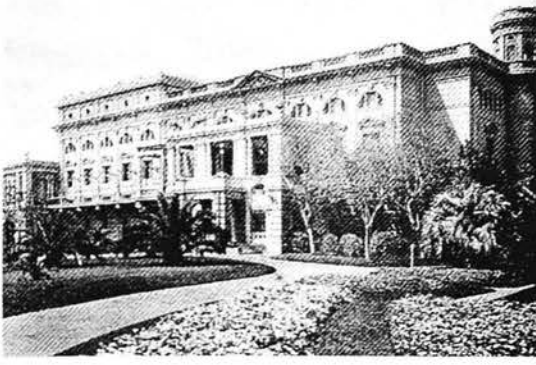
Ill. 2.18: Wooden screens decorating the balconies of neo-classic building, Al-Baghala, Cairo.

Aiming to shed more light on the urban transformation level, it is necessary to concentrate on the rupture phase, which had occurred in the mid. nineteenth century in Cairo. It started without a defined scheme, in 1808, when Mohamed Ali built his palace in Shubra (a suburb north-east of al-Qahira, the old city, where vast cultivated lands were located). Then the whole area between the palace and the old city was urbanised in a European manner with bourgeois mansions resembling the neo-classical (Italianate Ottoman) style palace of Mohamed Ali. Such an approach of urbanisation- founding a structure in a remote suburb to be the node directing and guiding urbanisation activities to fill the gap between such a node and the original settlement, was similar to that during the

<sup>17</sup> This may illustrate the persistence of some environmental values that were expressed as a kind of domestication of the Europeanised urbanism and architecture to be able to practice such values.

reign of al-Nasir Mohamed in the fourteenth century and Qaitbay in the fifteenth century, considered some of the greatest shapers of traditional Cairo; while their counterparts after 1800 were Mohamed Ali and Khedive Ismail. The latter was more enthusiastic.

Khedive Ismail (r. 1863-1879) wanted to have another Paris in the East, and thus, developed an ambitious comprehensive master plan. He was concerned with the upgrading of transportation and road system, health and hygiene, amenities (cultural, educational, social), together with his vast ambitious urban schemes (Abdel-Jawad, 1949; Karim, 1952). Consequently, the city developed in a European fashion in a way that kept the old city bounded to the East side by the Moqattam Hills—with the cemeteries in between the hill and the old city—and filling in the canal to the west side of the old city, converting it into a road (which is known today as Port Said Street) which formed a physical barrier separating the old fabric and its lifestyle from the vast agricultural lands to the west separating the old city from the Nile River. Therefore, a large area of great potential, including a splendid waterfront, developed. Cairo, described as Paris of the East, saw al-Hilmiyya Quarter close to al-Darb al-Ahmar and Ismailiyya replacing Bab al-Luq as a place of beautiful houses and gardens and Abdin as the location of the royal palace, replacing the Citadel. All of these developments were European in style. Mansions were designed as parts of a large garden city type of planning, having the Royal Palace itself (ill. 2.19) designed in a neo-classical style resembling that of Buckingham Palace, free of any connotations of the Islamic traditional styles of the old city. The *avant garde* style and the luxurious image of the Louis XVI, Napoleon III and neo-classic styles, was seen in governmental and royal palaces, created by an influx of Italian craftsmen who were employed by the royal family and local elite, and later by the middle classes. Their work can be unmistakably recognised while walking through the narrow streets in the historic areas today.



Ill. 2.19: Qasr Abdin, Cairo, the royal palace built in the late nineteenth century in a neo-classic style. Source: (Tamraz, 1998).

The style in favour and the available technology led to neo-classical architecture, approved by the *tanzimat* (municipalities) who were working towards regularising the old urban fabric, as had been done in Istanbul. Filling the city with gardens, like Azbakiyya to the north; Zamalik Island; and Giza (west bank of the Nile) they established the model for European-style expansion. The number of the city inhabitants started to grow from only 200,000 people in 1850 to be 400,000 by 1880 that continued to grow to be 600,000 by 1900 (Roberts, 1979, p.43), due both to a rising population, and to increased migration from the countryside.

## **2.4. Cairo City Master Plans:**

### **2.4.1. Khedival and Monarchy Period (1863- 1952):**

The above exhibited nineteenth century planning scheme is still the most successful in as far as amenities and infrastructure are concerned. The entertainment places and institutions, founded during the reign of Khedive Ismail gave Cairo its modern look 130 years ago, still function today. People still visit the Giza Gardens on public holidays as a main recreational outing, and today's municipal system is based on that founded during Ismail's reign. The problem, however, is the "densification" of even the modern fabric, and of course, the old fabric as well (in other words, the city as a whole) due to a deficiency in appropriate planning, as since Khedive Ismail's master plan, no plans have been introduced to confront urban problems, leaving the whole city to confront an inevitable urban deficiency. Borsk (1947) pinpointed the urban problems in Cairo, which were more apparent in the old parts than in the relatively more balanced European districts, together

with Abdel Jawad in the early 1940s and Karim in 1938 (Karim, 1952). They all stressed the planning deficiencies of Cairo, and thus the lack of appropriate studies and schemes that could cope with the rapid population growth and the increasing demand for services.

This was followed by a dramatic growth in land values causing a construction boom, especially in Ismailiyya District, today's downtown, replacing the garden-city villas with apartment blocks by 1905-7. This was repeated in the other districts founded as the first modern urban areas surrounding the traditional core of the city, and occurred in parallel with a profitable expansion of the city to newly founded districts (the second modernisation cycle), leaving the first modern area to become more crowded and experience degradation in terms of its function and activities. For example, Mohamed Ali Street that was cut through al-Darb al-Ahmar as an arcaded processional Boulevard linking the Citadel and the major royal mosque in the City (al-Rifai) with the new modern core of the city al-Ataba Square, had become the headquarters of second class singers and musicians, and later accommodated the reprographic and sign making guilds. It now accommodates the cheap end of the furniture industry. The same is applicable to al-Faggala, located at the north of the old city, with its original villas and rich merchants giving way to the press and publication industry and bookshops. Today it is experiencing a more drastic third cycle of transformation (deterioration in this case) becoming the popular place for sanitary fixtures and finishing materials.

#### 2.4.2. Republican Period (1953- Now):

The city then endured administrative alteration after the 1952 revolution; during Abdel-Nasser's presidency (1954-1970) total changes occurred on the economic, industrial, and even social levels, as well as, of course, on the political level. In Nasser's era municipal services were governmentalised, the *waqf* institution<sup>18</sup> was dissolved, stressing the introduction of the modern image to Cairo, and high emphasis was placed on public housing and adopting proletarian architecture similar to that distinguishing the communist countries of Eastern Europe during the Cold War era. An iconographic building illustrating the period is the Mugamma, the main governmental complex located in the heart of the downtown area. Currently it is ironically recognised by Egyptians as the Castle of Bureaucracy.

---

<sup>18</sup>See section 1.2.2 in the previous chapter for the *Awqaf* System.

Moreover, the first master plan of Cairo in 1953, after it became a republican rather than a royal capital, involved laying out the Cornish Road along the two banks of the Nile River. It is also during this period that Muhandiseen, located in Giza and now part of Greater Cairo (but formerly known as the Awqaf City as it occupied vast rural areas belonged to the Ministry of the Awqaf), was laid out to become the newly-planned modern quarter competing with Zamalik and Garden City as a bourgeois district. This amplified the importance of the already laid out bourgeois districts introduced in the second cycle of modernisation in early twentieth century, especially al-Roda Island, al-Zamalik, al-Agouza and some parts of al-Dukki. It also had negative impacts on the first modernisation-cycle areas, such as Sayyida Zainab, Monira, Ataba- all of which bordering the old core, and continued to deteriorate.

Public housing and rent control defined this period. They were meant to fulfil the revolution's promises to the lower classes of adequate shelter, at the expense of the feudal classes. Similar projects were launched during the monarchy by the Institute of Housing Research Report about the condition of the public housing in Egypt, yet such projects were never effectively launched before 1953. This gave Nasir and his government strong popularity, especially with the housing problem being a very prominent one after the World War II.<sup>19</sup> This was in fact the major concern of the above-mentioned master plan, which was meant to meet this shortage for housing and the unbalanced market. As historical areas had already become popular areas, they were the focus of all the efforts, and the target of the public housing schemes. We still can see the look-alike municipal public housing blocks in Bab-al-Wazir Area under the foot of the Citadel Cliff or in Sayyida Zainab District. Their construction was massive and swift but it did not reflect any sensitivity towards the targeted community's lifestyle and actual demands. This is evident when we visit any of these blocks to study how they have been altered by their occupants - generally by adding balconies or marking boundaries in the open areas between the blocks on the ground-floor level, or even by building illegal additions in the form of extra rooms.

It was not before Sadat's presidency (1970-1981) that Cairo witnessed an overall master plan (Abdel-Qadir, 2000). This period, however, was meant to pave the way for privatisation, encouraging more private investments in what was known as *infitah* (open-

---

<sup>19</sup>With the growth in population in Cairo the demand went higher for housing. During the World War II there was a severe deficiency in construction materials causing increase in rent and property prices (Abdel-Jawad, 1949).



door economy) as a reaction against the long years under the socialist paradigm adopted by Nasser government. This master plan, however, was mostly oriented towards economic reform. It was developed on a macro scale, promoting the establishment of industrial cities and new communities close to the capital to encourage industry and to absorb migrants from over-crowded Cairo, especially from its public quarters, mostly the historical ones which now house the lower and lower middle classes-- the blue collar workers, who are the human power for any industrial project.

Such a plan was not too concerned about the urban management level. It tried to decentralise the attraction of the capital through the ambitious attempt of Sadat to move the administrative offices and some ministries to the city of al-Sadat (a city along the Cairo-Alexandria desert road named after the President Sadat in 1970s). The dream collapsed after the assassination of Sadat in 1981 and the decentralisation attempts reversed to turn the newly-founded cities into satellites depending on Cairo, increasing even more the traffic burden for commuters from the capital.

As far as I know, no especial law had been issued to deal with historic areas as an especial context requiring certain planning awareness before the Homogeneous Sector Report, GOPP, issued in 1988, even though it is just technical guidelines with no legislative power.<sup>20</sup> However, it was an effective attempt to cripple the deterioration in these areas.

The following master plan was during Mubarak's presidency in 1991. It is, more or less, an implementation of the previously set plans, also concentrating on adopting the World Bank recommendation on a macro planning level (Abdel-Qader, 2000). Historic areas, thus, continued to suffer from neglect until the ongoing urban conservation attempts called on by the government in mid 1990s.

-Until seventieth century, a traditional environment and a more balanced equilibrium managed through regional customary laws, individual interests and effective indirect institutional control (fig.2.5).

---

<sup>20</sup> This is elaborated in Chapter Six in section 6.4.1.c.

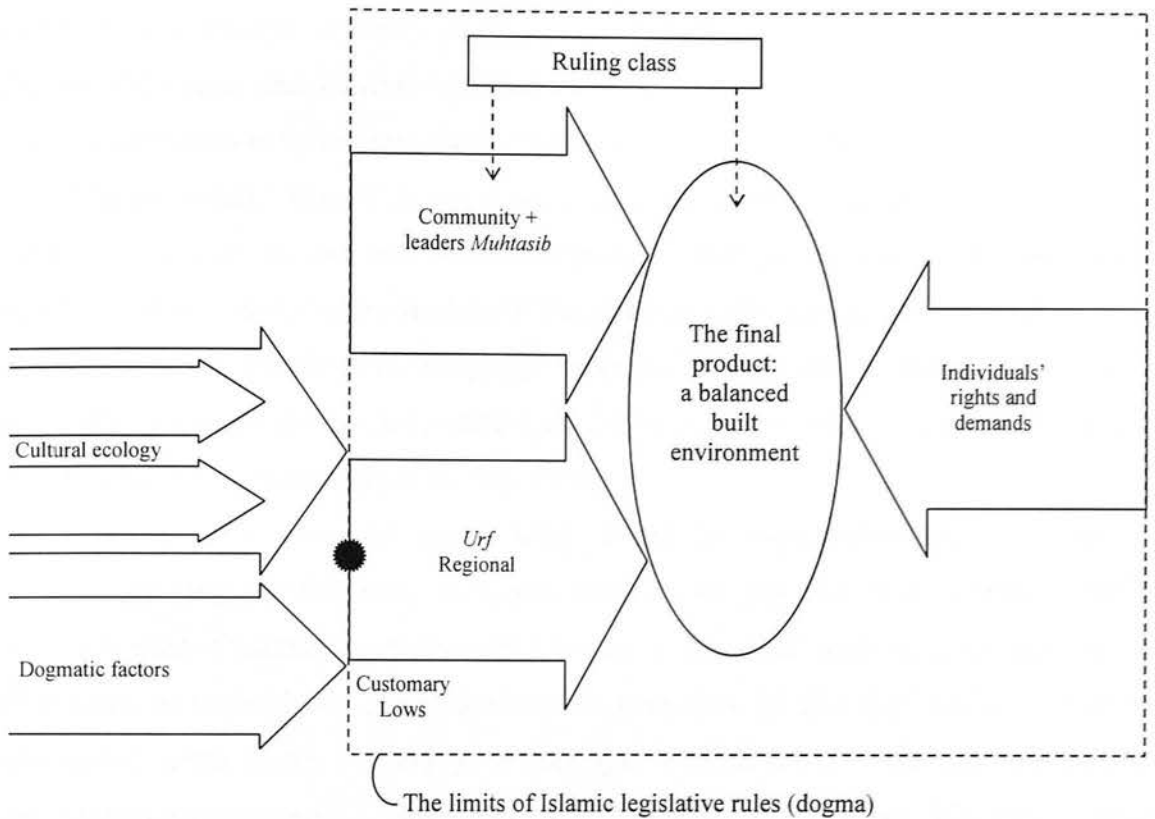


Fig. 2.5: The equilibrium of the urban management system within an Islamic paradigm, developed from (figs. 1.7, 1.8).

-By the eighteenth century, decay and deficiency in the urban equilibrium occurred as the urban traditional management system (fig.2.5) became very weak because of the elimination of the role of the central authority, leaving the built environment in a chaotic situation.

-The above paved the way for the adaptation of the centralised European –type planning introduced in the nineteenth century. However, as introduced in Ismail’s (1972) theoretical model (fig.1.12), this rupture in the urban system and lifestyle had a negative impact on historic areas which were plagued by deterioration after they had lost their importance and primary function; while the city continued to expand to the north and the west of the old fabric, acquiring a cosmopolitan image.

-During the second half of the twentieth century historic areas had their problems developed in a more complicated way to take their present form. This is illustrated as zones of poverty and low environmental conditions in (fig.2.4) as parasitic natures of these areas, due to the squatter conditions of the dwellings of its occupants, many of whom have problems in defining ownership. Furthermore, the physical deterioration in these areas has

resulted from a change in taste, lifestyle, and economic systems. Except for the few buildings and routes that survive with their original functions, architectural styles and the traditional urbanism in these areas did not witness real adaptive reuse.

Metaphorically, becoming out of use marks the death of a place; if it is not useful anymore, it goes out of use, and will accommodate other parasitic activities. This is the case of one of the important institutions of the original Arab-Islamic City, the public bath. As these no longer constitute an integral part of the Cairene lifestyle, many of them have become dangerous places, accommodating a lot of social deviant practices (becoming gay gathering places, for example) (Al-Hatim, 2001).

Consequently, historical areas today might be misapprehended as slums or squatters, applying the following equation: deteriorated physical environment + social deviance = slum. Fortunately, it is not that simple, as historical areas in Egypt are not just public baths or isolated and deserted historical mansions. In fact they are a network of sophisticated urban fabrics that enjoy, for example, a much lower crime rate compared to other informal/spontaneous settlements that resemble the current historical areas' deteriorated environmental quality and the lower classes they accommodate. In fact, some of these informal settlements developed twenty or 40 years ago as an economical answer to the growing need for housing by very low-income Cairenes or rural migrants.

### **2.5. A Slum or a Deteriorated Physical Environment?**

Both spontaneous quarters and historical areas share physical similarities represented through their deteriorated urban environmental qualities that emerged from the growing population,<sup>21</sup> as well as the gradual degradation of old quarters as explained above.<sup>22</sup> While in the case of the spontaneous quarters, this deterioration was mainly for

---

<sup>21</sup> Two thirds of this population growth is due to the increase in birth over deaths and the rest is due to the regional and national migrations (Abu-Lughod, 1996, p.196). The regional level of migrations is from the surrounding governorates. Migrants are mostly peasants who have been seeking better job opportunities or urban and other classes from the nearby towns, seeking good educational or job opportunities in the capital. The national level one is migrations from all over the country as Cairo is the major national business, religious, and intellectual centre (Himdan, 1993, p. 133).

<sup>22</sup>Such degradation was caused by, and was maintained and developed further because of, the segregated nature of the historical quarters, as well as the case of the spontaneous quarters, and the activities conducted in them. Such segregation was emphasised more through the planning practices with land-use segregation through concentrating services and amenities in new districts rather than old ones. Such spatial segregation reinforces the social class system (Lozano, 1990). This has contributed much to the class gaps in Egypt (Hussein, 1973). One can guess the social and education level of a Cairene if you know the name of his district. They became more limited to certain classes, especially lower class which is the working class (blue

economic reasons. The increasing demand for cheap housing along with a growing population and increasing housing prices, paved the way for poor quality housing meeting the limited resources of lower occupants at the expense of the environmental urban quality of such areas.

The question is whether we interpret historical areas as slums. This would require a definition of the slum. To El-Naggar (1963, p.160) the slum is a blighted area; it is an image of substandard living, distinguished by poor economy and quality of environment. However, this is questionable, as if it is a substandard environment, whose standards are they? For instance, a lower-class quarter in Sweden might be similar to a middle-class, or even an upper-middle class, quarter in Bangladesh. The issue of standardisation is questionable now in academia; it is a dependant product that is based on a specific context.

Rapoport, in his quest to define the meaning of the slum, states that it “involves perception of various characteristics. [To Rapoport] slums must be seen in the total social context and on dwelling or neighbourhood” (1977, pp. 96, 97). This is best illustrated in his comparison between what he described as a slum of hope, such as those in Latin America, and slums of the despair in the USA. The former might be in a more deteriorated physical condition compared to the latter but it reflects more homogeneous character; thus, it maintains a sense of unity and of community. This is because occupants are socially and emotionally tied to their areas (Rapoport, 1977, p. 98). On the other hand, the latter is the case described by Carter being a “state of (anomie) of being lost in the lonely crowd” (1981, p.31). It is the case of these who are socially mobile and not attached to the area (Rapoport, 1977).

In Cairo, in the Regional Arab Conference of Ownership/ Urban Management, held on 21<sup>st</sup>- 24<sup>th</sup> April 2001, the image of spontaneous quarters was been readjusted to be regarded as informal settlements.<sup>23</sup> They are no longer the areas growing parasitically on

---

collar) with little education and insecure jobs and the lower middle class who have white collar work but with their level of education their incomes are no longer than those of the working class. The upper middle class are mostly of civil servants and employees, who have more comfortable salary and higher level of education. They normally exist as a first-cycle, modern districts bordering the historical areas or cut through areas in the fabric of the old city such as Muhammad Ali Street and Hilmiyya. The upper classes however have higher personal wealth and educational levels and accesses to higher positions. They do not live in the historical core or its approximate environ; while they might have a prestigious ancestry root linking them with the historical part of the city in a form of a luxurious resident residence in the first-cycle European areas. They rather live in Zamalik, Garden City or Muhanddiseen or suburbs of Maadi or Heliopolis (Nabih, 1999; Abu-Laughoud, 1971).

<sup>23</sup> ‘Informal’ here is a term used to distinguish the type of the discussed urbanism different from the formal, institutionally and internationally recognised, planned urbanism.

the city's fringes, but are the public compromise and answer to the needs of the masses multitude a poor with economic status. Together with the historic quarters, these informal settlements have been acting an area of acculturation (the cultural measuring-up process required, especially for the rural migrants to the city, (Howton, 1969). Thus, they constitute the ideal major location for receiving rural migrants, as in Carter's model (1981, p.399), illustrating the typical movements of low-income populations in cities in developing countries (fig.2.6).

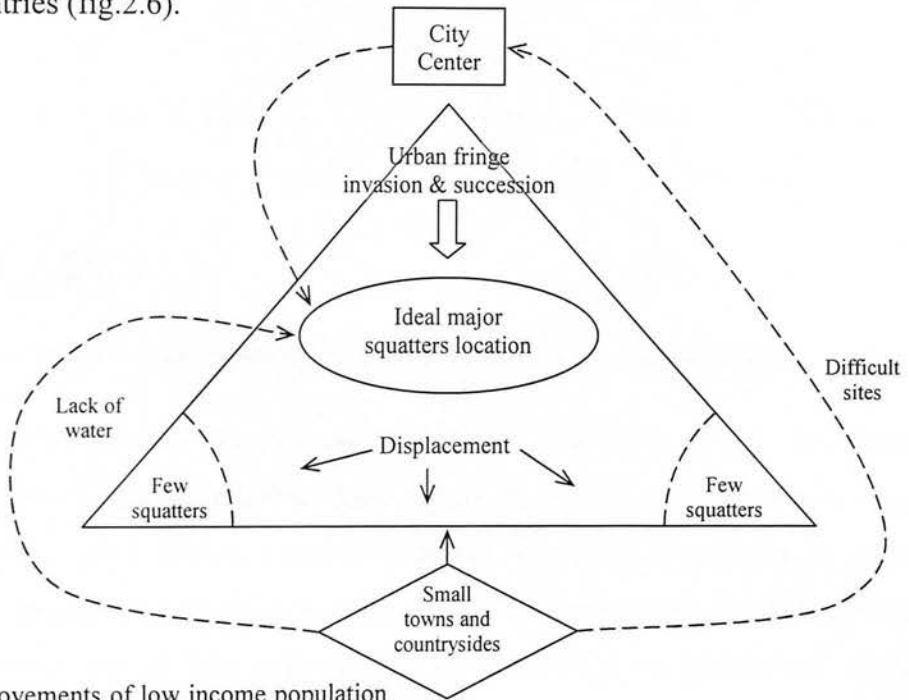


Fig. 2.6: Typical movements of low income population in cities in developing countries. Source: Carter (1981).

Historical areas were the most suitable place to receive new comers especially in 1950s-1970s, when informal quarters did not exist or were in their infancy. By then, historic quarters were the appropriate destination for the limited-resource individual and the place for the city's manual crafts. Its built environment met the requirements of the people's lifestyle in that its small plots were appropriate for their humble incomes. Further, the typical traditional narrow irregular streets were not a problem for the people who have low-car ownership, and the mixed activities represented through the accumulation of services based on individual ownership created nearby job opportunities.

Nevertheless, since the 1980s, historic areas have already become more expensive - an apartment in al-Ghurriyya (also known as al-Ghurri Area) in Fatimid Cairo can be four times the price of a similar one in Bassateen, a popular informal quarter, and the destination of the new generation of families living in historical areas and newly married couples

seeking housing from lower and lower-middle classes.<sup>24</sup> Historic areas, thus, become more saturated no longer a recipient medium of any newly migrants (fig.2.7).

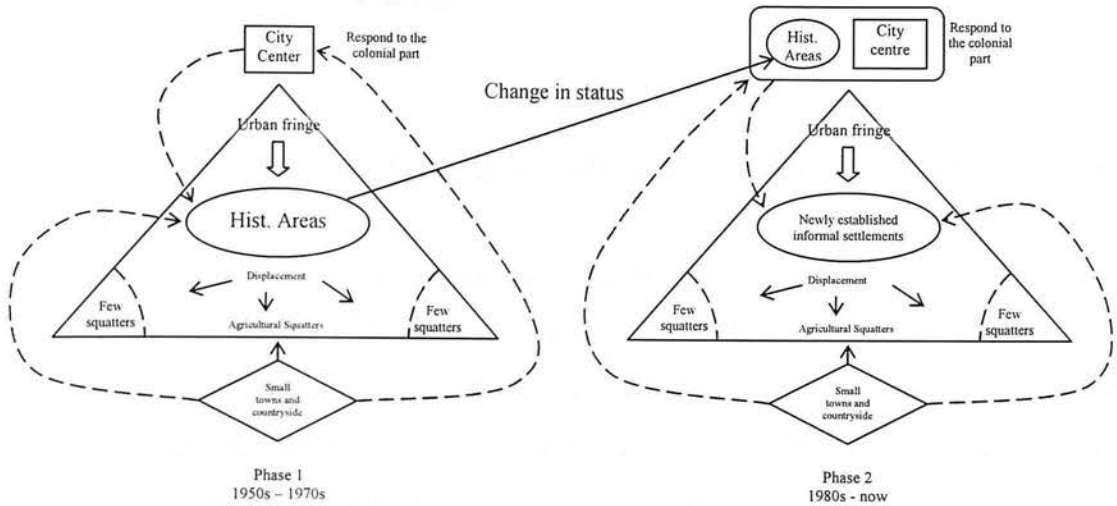


Fig. 2. 7: A change in the typical movements of low-income population in the studied region.

It is appropriate now to distinguish between historic quarters and informal settlements. They both depend on a vulnerable economic system; suffer from a low quality urban environment, due to high population densities, especially in the case of informal settlements, thus enabling landlords to be able to offer low-rent dwellings. It is also in the informal settlements that we find more ambiguous urban-rural environmental character, which negatively affects the settlements, especially those close to agricultural lands at the city's fringes. This is not the case in historical areas, as despite of animal breeding for economic reasons, we find active small-scale retailing and industrial activities, very much distinguishing these areas' urban character. It is, however, in the historic areas that blighted environmental quality is more prominent, generally because the obsolescence rate surpasses that of the replacement rate.<sup>25</sup> This is because of the inadequacies of the various parties (governmental and individuals) involved in managing and controlling the built

<sup>24</sup> The author is indebted to Dr. Dina Shehayeb, Institute of Housing Research, for her knowledgeable discussions and the light she sheds on the urban-social status of the historical areas, especially in Darb al-Ahmar, and their occupants and their links with new informal quarters such as Manshiyyat Nasir and Bassatieen, where they recreate a social and economic, consequently urban, systems similar to that they have experienced in their family dwellings in historical areas.

<sup>25</sup> This is regarded as the cause of blighted environmentally El-Naggar (1963, p.161). However, El-Naggar, was not subjective enough for concentrating mainly on the physical quality without much emphasises on the social qualities.

environment, thus creating pockets of ruins, which turn into potential places for crime and social problems.

It is especially now that historic areas are not only a cultivation station receiving and losing newly comers (fig.2.7). They are rather a group of districts that are distinguished with "...persistence of economic activities, forms of social relationships, and systems of values which are once typical within Cairo of hundreds years ago" (Abu-Lughod, 1971, p.218).

Consequently, the major difference between historic areas and informal settlements is the historic dimension. Historic areas are the sources that manage- by virtue of being more segregated- to preserve their more traditional (pre-colonial) living systems but with side effects, such as physical deterioration and cultural conflicts (the challenge between new and old lifestyles). Thus they serve as a model for an alternative urban living system for those who cannot afford the formal, internationally and institutionally recognised, urban system that is dominant in Cairo, as well as in cities in the Arab World aspiring to be regarded as civilised. Therefore historic areas unintentionally inspire and guide the expansion and the growth in the informal settlements especially those that are more urban (representing relatively successful urban equilibrium) and close to the historical core. Historic areas are also the source of cultural- social attractions and authenticity<sup>26</sup> as construed by the Cairenes, Egyptians in general, and non-Egyptians as will be elaborated below.

## **2.6. The Subjective Meaning of Historic Areas in Cairo:**

The above review familiarise the reader with historic areas in Cairo as a context. However, to discuss the meaning of these areas, it is necessary to deal with the forces that give these areas a meaning of place, where a place is composed of physical settings that are interrelated with other non-physical elements, such as knowledge and environmental cues that are responsible for the distinctive character of historic areas. Rapoport (1995, p.41) defines these forces as the interaction processes and relationships such as evaluations, performances and choices practiced within these areas. Such attributes define the character of any environment and give it a meaning. These forces are also defines as values that give a historic area its significance. Zanchet and Jokilehto (1997) specify two types of values in

---

<sup>26</sup> The concept of 'authenticity' is elaborated in the next chapter at section 3.2.4.b.

historic areas: values of states and values of processes. The former are those concerned with physical aspects of the historic areas. Decision makers and professionals almost always concentrate on such values. The second type, values of processes, are those dealing with the intangible heritage distinguishing any historic area, e.g. social or cultural values that reflect sense of continuity and that are commonly practiced by the occupants and regular users of historic areas. Hence, to define the meaning of a historic area is to define its values, what makes it significant which is determined by many groups of those who have claims for any historic areas.

In general, the main groups with claims to historic areas are: the area's occupants, planners and professionals, and official institutions (Leitmann, 1995). However, in Egypt the planners or professionals and officials are almost the same group, the nation group, with a specific national agenda and strategy to achieve and minimal readjustment or negotiation, as elaborated in section 6.3 in Chapter Six. In addition to the above groups, there is another international group that declares the international community's right to safeguard heritage for humanity, which is introduced and classified as World group by Abu-Lughod (1998). Therefore, we can specify the main players of each historic area phenomenon as: users of this area whether city residents (regular visitors with religious or cultural bonds, such as citizens visiting the historic areas in religious feasts and to do shopping of their traditional goods, or the area's occupants) (U) + the Nation, (represented through its heritage organisations and investment institutions, especially in tourism, as well as its professionals and the planners who follow its guidelines and regulations when proposing any upgrading scheme) (N) + The World, (through the world claim for heritage preservation for the next generation represented through the interested international individuals (researchers and tourists) and organisations, e.g., UNESCO) (W).<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, since any place in general acquires its meaning as much from actors and participants in its equilibrium, then a subjective definition of any studied historic area is the overlap of the different perspectives and factors (Rapoport, 1977), U, N, and W (fig. 2.8). The different perspectives and values of these groups (U, N, and W) interrelate to determine the overall significance of an historic area.

---

<sup>27</sup> This thought represented by Janet Abu-Lughod, social geographer in IHABS 1998 conference, Cairo.



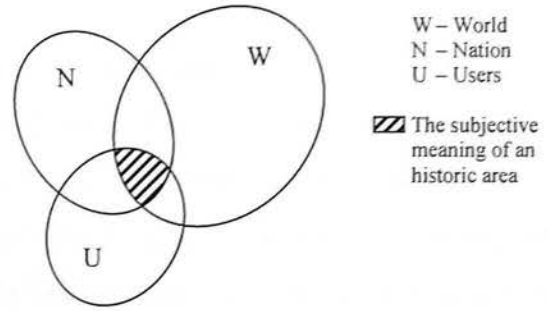


Fig. 2.8: The subjective meaning of an area.

### 2.6.1. U Group:

As the occupants and users of any area are those who experience their area and its particularities, it is mainly through them one learns the especial meanings, function and use, of the different components of their built environment. It is through their daily interactions with their built environment one can decode the different cues of the area (Rapoport, 1982). Therefore, it is the most important group.<sup>28</sup>

The inherited values of this group are continuing environmental ones derived from the dogma and the *Urf*, as introduced in the previous chapter in section 1.2.2. Yet all *Urf*'s driving forces responsible for urban form have continued as latent values and qualities. They remain influential in the conscious of the U group, guiding their interventions, preferences and lifestyle.<sup>29</sup> This is best understood when we study the architectural transitional examples (after mid nineteenth century- the first two decades in the twentieth century) in Cairo, where we find, despite the adoption of neo-classical (Mediterranean/European) designs we still find interventions meant to secure more privacy and gender segregation, e.g., this was expressed and reflected through an exotic wooden screen design (ill.2.18).<sup>30</sup> Such an example we see in Syria, another country that share the same values and social qualities with Egypt, where even in modern neighbourhoods we still find women modify the original designs of their homes, producing modifications that allow

<sup>28</sup> The U group's role is recognised through area conservation charters as elaborated in the following chapter in section 3.2.2.b. and in Chapter Four in section 4.3.2.b.

<sup>29</sup> This has been observed in the case of al-Darb al-Ahmar through the environmental behavioural mapping and studies conducted by Dr. Dina Shehayeb (the Aga Khan Consultant) to define the community's environmental behavioural patterns in the open spaces. The findings assure that some traditional concepts like the charity dispenser of water for trespassers through and the different patterns of using open spaces by different genders are all but cues still following the urban rules introduced in the previous chapter in section 1.2.3., information from Dr. Shehayeb, interview, August 2000, Cairo.

<sup>30</sup> See footnote 17 above.

more privacy common in the traditional quarters in Historic Damascus (Al-Kodmany, 1999).

Consequently, and under the pressure of modernity and social and economic qualities and modern adopted lifestyle standards, we find that the traditional cultural values retreated to be limited and bounded in historic areas, being reflected on a physical form. It is especially there that we find that traditional values still persist and are better preserved.<sup>31</sup> This can be seen through the physical settings and especial configurations of such an environment- which were developed as a result of these values and continued to serve and accommodate them as probed in the original meaning of the Islamic City inquiry above. While in the modern or colonial areas they become more latent and can be only traced through hazy cues (fig. 2.9) (Sedky, 2001a).

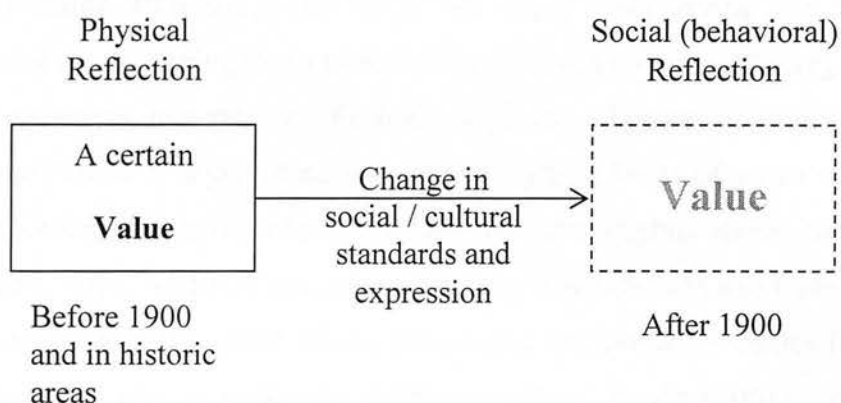


Fig. 2.9: The same value is still alive but becomes latent, only felt through non-fixed cues (individuals' behavior in certain situations and in a certain context, 'community and settings')

<sup>31</sup> This persistence comes from continuing cultural values that are mainly inspired from a religious source. Religion here is not a dogmatic term; it is rather more associated with culture as no culture flourishes without religion. Eliot (2001, p. 21) even goes further inducing that culture is a religious sub product. Moreover, focusing on the case of Cairo, Ibrahim (1984) stresses on the role of religion to consolidate the character of the Cairene community, being steadily supported by rural immigrants with the traditional culture also based on religion to confirm the traditional cultural persistence distinguishing historic areas. Moreover, this persistence should have a kind of relevant logic (derivation) behind it; it could be historical, social, economic logic (origin or logical force that is responsible for its morphology and current status and function) or all of them. For example, the famous street Suq al-Silah (Weapon-Makers Street) in Cairo has its old shops built in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries continue to function as blacksmith workshops, which is a kind of relevance to its original function; a change guided by the original function and the physical properties of the old shops (Sedky, 2001a).

Thus, it can be argued that the continuing cultural values (CCVs) that are still current have maintained the traditional significance of the historic areas. This becomes apparent especially during the religious occasions, like during the holy month of Ramadan, when such areas serve as perfect settings for many Cairenes to experience such environmental values and qualities. This can be achieved through observing how the users of these areas are interacting with their environment. Therefore, historic areas in Cairo, as well as in many other Arab-Islamic cities, are regarded by the Cairene citizens as a still continuing showcase of traditional values and life systems. However, historical areas are not always envisaged as the last refuge of the traditional culture expressed in a physical form. They are also regarded as poverty zones, for their diminished potential and deficiency in accommodating the luxurious spacious modern lifestyle, as well as their social degradation after the departure of the upper class during the first half of the twentieth century, becoming thus more socially and even economically segregated.

Nevertheless, historic areas for their very users, U group, are regarded primarily as an appropriate context of persisting economic activities, forms of social relationships, and systems of values which were once common in Cairo slightly more than a century ago (Abu-Lughod, 1971, p.219). Thus, they give them more choices and trade-offs to manage their lives away from the social taboos dominating the modern societies (the surrounding colonial districts), almost separated. In her reportage, Nagib (2001) recorded how the lower-middle and the working classes manage their life and the different choices they make and their social and economic systems.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the occupants of historic areas developed stronger economic and social bonds with the givens of their built environment, supported by cultural legacy making them unintentionally traditional-culture keepers, yet this is done in an informal, accidental manner, not promoted by the government (which is almost always the main actor when urban management or development in Cairo).

---

<sup>32</sup> The techniques introduced resemble Schumacher's (1989) call for small as beautiful, criticising lavish modernity and making a cry for a return to the smaller but effective life with a more human nature. Schumacher also stresses on the power of religion as a main driver of culture and life making a call for a return to the kingdom of God criticising the current materialism which is challenged now by many events (wars and crimes), "seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things [the material things] shall be added unto you", (1989, p.314). This certainly motivated a strong call to respect the local cultural dimension in development as stressed by the UNESCO (2000), and it is elaborated further through the introduction of a cultural approach to area conservation in section 4.3 in Chapter Four.

This, however, contradicts with the deteriorated condition of their environment, which developed as such due to political and social aspects. Yet, the most important reason behind such a condition is that despite these occupants being the legal heirs and practitioners of the traditional culture in the city, they only inherited some transmitted values but have lost the technical knowledge of managing their especial urbanism and the skills required to produce the appropriate architectural interventions that help them pursue their life in the way they can afford and accept. This is because the pressures stated above in the Islamic City morphology section, as well as, the cultural rupture that deprived these areas from their original knowledge and urban management systems, e.g., the *Urf* and the *Muhtasib* Institution.<sup>33</sup> Both are religiously derived, and this contradicted the nineteenth-century-secular scheme of development launched in Egypt. Such a situation has led to a substandard urban environment characterised by missing the appropriate links between the occupants' values and their architectural interventions. Their appropriation of their environment is regarded deceptively by the decision makers and professionals (N group), which create a kind of contradiction between what these two groups (U and N) value most (Shehayeb and Sedky 2002).

### 2.6.2. N Group:

The N group is that represented by the government and its institutions dealing with historic areas. N's claims to the historic areas can be summarised in two major points through which we can learn N's perspective of historic areas. The first is the preservation of the cultural value of such areas for the coming generation (Similar to W). The second point regards the historical assets as a national resource to be invested in, especially through tourism industry. However, it is more likely that the N group concentrate on preserving the areas' values of status, specified above, for they are more imagery and tangible so they are regarded as potential assets for investment, mainly in tourism.

---

<sup>33</sup> Such institutions, such as the *Mukhtar* in Syria that is still in active until today and the *Muhtasib* in Ottoman Cairo as illustrated in the previous chapter, were effective because they were religiously inspired. The Egyptian government, however, cannot permit any such institutions now, despite of their effectiveness, to avoid any pure religious belonging which might cause the penetration or development of fanatic groups in such poor communities. The author finds this possible especially because people became unaware of the orthodox teachings of the religion as a result of the long adopted socialism ideology in the 1960s and the radical open-market policies launched in the 1970s and the current neo-liberalism (privatisation and globalisation) giving no chance for any rational Islamic thinking to develop and to fill the gap left in the high-level meanings of such community which can guide their urban problems.

Pursuing such goals, the N group, represented through planners and officials and decision makers, produce studies, issue laws and regulations, and introduce interventions in historic areas in the form of urban upgrading schemes and conservation projects. Yet, since these areas are examples of living urbanism, where their occupants still practice cultural traditions, contributing to the traditional character of these areas, they are recommended to be considered as such (living urbanism) as well as being a vessel of historical artefacts. It is recommended thus to have a link between the occupants (U group in general) and the government (N group in general). This would demand a profound understanding of the definition of heritage not merely as physical traces of golden eras represented through historical remains but as a living entity in order to prevent historic areas suffering from museumisation.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, N group's predominant view of historic areas in the Arab-Islamic cities focuses only on the superficial qualities of the historic environment, pursuing its upgrading through major restoration and landscape projects (Sedky, 2000, 2001b, 2002). In Cairo, and through a workshop and a symposium held on the twelfth and the thirteenth of September 2001,<sup>35</sup> many officials and planners confirmed the above view and the majority focused only on how to conserve and restore historical monuments and the appropriate landscape. Moreover, most of those who did not regard the occupants as encroachers could not give a clear agenda, an obvious urban management scheme, for such areas that can bridge the gap (missed link) between the U and N groups recommended above and stressed in the international charters and the right processes for effective area conservation planning and implementation as discussed in Chapter Four in section 4.2.2.

Economic force is currently the most important concern for N group. It is especially since early 1980s that we have started to see a strong shift towards economic reform in developing countries orchestrated by the World Bank and the International Money Fund (IMF). This is to convert their vulnerable economy into the neo-liberalist ideology<sup>36</sup> adopted in the Western World, being encouraged by grants to finance the development schemes in the Developing World (Pryke, 1999). It takes place through liberating local economies, giving more freedom to private sector investment, while the

---

<sup>34</sup> See the gentrification section in the following chapter.

<sup>35</sup> This event was part of the empirical work of the present thesis focusing on Cairo and will be elaborated further in Chapter Six.

<sup>36</sup> Read Allen, John *it.al.* (1999) and Healey, Pasty *it.al.* (1995) for the definition of neo-liberalism and its impact on urban management in developing countries and the official institutional role.

official institutions pave the ground for and facilitate such free-market investment. This is to be thought through a strong structural level of planning which demands governmental institutional effectiveness.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, the N group can be more devoted to the economic infrastructure projects and the development schemes for the low-income groups. However, the situation in Cairo, as well as in many developing countries, was not for the benefit of the low-income groups or even subjective enough for the inefficient institutional role played by the N group. This has caused the urban environment to be left for the market and private capital forces (Allen, 1999), which is responsible for the substandard/spontaneous housing plaguing almost 80% of Cairo city expansions and the encroachments in some areas of Historic Cairo, because of the absence of the institutional monitoring role and the slack urban regulations (Shehayeb and Sedky 2002).<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, because of the fragmentation in the developing city<sup>39</sup> being segregated on a class-basis, elaborated above in the case of Cairo in section 2.2, see (fig 2.4) above, planners as well as other members in the N group are more reluctant to develop their own values and priority system that contradicts with that of the U group (Pahl, 1982).<sup>40</sup> This explains why the N group focuses on historic and architectural value, neglecting the more social aspects of historic areas, and paying a great deal of attention to the investment potential of historic areas, seeking to promote them for touristic purposes. It also explains the weak link between the U and N groups responsible for the conflicts of their priorities.

### 2.6.3. W Group:

The W group, represented through individuals or international organisations, has a claim for the historic areas parallel to that of the local government and the N group in

---

<sup>37</sup> This has been identified as 'Institutional thickness' by Amin (1995) to refer to formal organisations to stress the strong presence of both institutions and institutionalising process combined to constitute a framework of collective support for individual agents to promote private and free-market entrepreneurship. See section 6.5.1.b in Chapter Six to compare the case in Egypt.

<sup>38</sup> Planning policies in Cairo are elaborated in section 6.5 in Chapter Six.

<sup>39</sup> Ballo (1993, p. 23) states that "the Third World [city is] characterised by the fragmentation of its spatial organisation". This is because of the gap between the modern planned districts and the traditional quarters (historic areas) and spontaneous quarters and slums, which is not the case in the European city because master planning has been instrumental in shaping the order of the western city as a whole having a balanced distribution of basic amenities and infrastructure and obvious tenure conditions and land tenure systems.

<sup>40</sup> Pahl describes official and planners who play a professional role in the planning bureaucracy as gatekeepers who have mistaken belief in the validity of their data or lack of awareness of the unintended consequences of their actions, which is elaborated above in Chapter One under the section Planners as Vandals.

general, seeking the preservation of the heritage as a human legacy. However, according to the international conservation charters,<sup>41</sup> heritage preservation is recommended to incorporate a strong social/ human dimension implied in their reports using terms like totality, comprehensive conservation and holistic approaches for urban upgrading. It is recommended to exceed merely archaeological restoration to the safeguarding of identity and culture (in its wide sense). This is to secure social diversity, which is needed to enrich contemporary societies with communication among different classes as well as cultures. UNESCO (1983) states clearly that the historic areas' contemporary role is to maintain and develop the cultural and social values of each nation. Furthermore, UNESCO (1983, p.195) states that "every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organisation and the surroundings. All valid elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded." Furthermore, Historic Cairo is recognised as a World Heritage by UNESCO, mainly because of its continuing 'liveability', for it is a very large historic urban fabric that still preserve its traditional systems practiced by its occupants, dealers and regular visitors which is the actual significance of this historic city.<sup>42</sup>

This, we can deduce that the W and U groups have less conflicts compared to that between U and N. Moreover, it is necessary that this wider perspective to historic area be contextualised (to be recommended to the governments to be adopted by its institutions responsible for heritage safeguarding in a way that considers the especial local qualities, values, culture, and economy of historic areas) to secure more effective urban upgrading. However, W has no direct contact with U and it is only maintained through recommendations and cooperation between W's organisations and N.

Another type of the W group members are the interested individuals, especially tourists, the main clients of the N group's investments in historic areas. In fact, this type is not mainly concerned with the historical or artistic values of the place as much as they are captured by the significant experience of getting introduced to another culture. To them, the historic built environment is little more than settings of a more holistic ambience, i.e.

---

<sup>41</sup> See sections 3.2.2.a and b in the following chapter.

<sup>42</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Mizuko Ugo, Cultural Division, UNESCO Office in Cairo through an interview in April 2002, Cairo.

area character. This is easily understood from the contemporary travellers' accounts who, in addition to listing the locations of tourist essential services, facilities and some hints about the magnificence of a certain historical or artistic nodes, focus also on the significance of the places they visit through the indigenous people (U group) and their predominant culture. Idoux's (2001) account gives the best example for that, as despite being inspired by the core of Historic Cairo, she focuses on the spirit of the Cairene traditional culture with its many layers. She also highlights the continuing cultural values (CCVs) that give the reason for a certain traditional qualities to continue and to remain in practice, thus contributing to the significance and the especial character of these areas, in historic Cairo through an interesting example she grasped in her tour in Historic Cairo, i.e. a still functioning historical 400-year-old workshops in Bab al-Futuh Area, as well as stressing on Cairo as a multi-cultural city especially the historic part which is praised for its influencing intellectual and religious qualities. It gives her the exotic experience, commonly sought by travellers. A tourist, seeking cultural tourism, travels to see a different culture and to feel its truthful difference; this is elaborated further when addressing 'authenticity' as a major environmental quality to be considered in area conservation in the following chapter in section 3.2.4.b. Furthermore, echoing the author's Dr. Zainab Kubat<sup>43</sup> states that some European medieval cities that have been under area conservation schemes, especially in Germany where Dr. Kubat is more familiar, almost look the same; they have a look-alike image. Despite being well equipped and planned to receive tourists, one feels that he/ she can only visit one as it resemble the others. This can be due to the main concern of such schemes that focused on refurbishing the historical environment to acquire the service quality needed for investment, especially for tourism, but the actual significance or distinctive character of each of such historic areas have already suffer severe compromise to a degree that one cannot visit more than one or two and then cannot receive any perceptual deference.

### **2.7. What to Conserve:**

The accumulative values that formulate the perception of each of the above groups integrate to give a meaning, a character, and importance to the historic area. Both types of

---

<sup>43</sup> This information was revealed during an interview with Dr. Zainab Kubat, Istanbul Technical University, ITU, School of Architecture, in April 2000, Istanbul.



values, values of states and values of processes, are responsible for the different cues practiced and experienced within a historic area. They are weighted differently and given different degree of priority, depending on the interests of each group (N, W and U) and what they value most in a historic area.

However, what needs to be preserved is the significance of each area, i.e. its meaning and what makes it important.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, what should be safeguarded, on a conceptual level, are the different values that give a historic area its significance, meaning, and this is oftentimes an overlap of the different involved groups' values and interest in such an area.

In the case of the U group, values in general are classified as the existing ones and the desired ones by Ali and Abu-Zaid (1996). The last are those desired by the individuals of a certain community that are responsible for the definition of the ideal behaviour, imbedded in local culture. The ideal behaviour in the studied context is that inspired from religious teachings or even that which was gained along the history of such a community which was also sifted through the religious cultural filter, for religion was and still is regarded as the main reference and guide for human interactions and rights in Islamic Communities, at least on a public level, (CCVs in this research).

The W group values the CCVs and the traditions parallel to the physical qualities, values of states, of any community. On the other hand, the government with its different institutions (N group) in Egypt develops a different system of values and priorities under the current international economic pressures, focusing on the historical value of the remaining artefacts and undermining the more the more socio-cultural dimension of these areas.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to decide what values, and whose priorities to consider most in an area conservation scheme.

A more cultural-sensitive approach is needed to address a wider spectrum for area conservation.<sup>46</sup> And what should be given the priority to conserve is to be decided according to the circumstances of each case. Each group has a varying degree of claim to each historic area. This depends on the settings and the historical and architectural significance and the degree of significance of the intangible heritage of each case. For

---

<sup>44</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Ana Paolini, Division of Cultural Heritage, the Middle Eastern and ex-Yugoslavian Countries, UNESCO, in an interview in March 2002, Cairo.

<sup>45</sup> This is elaborated further in Chapter Six in general.

<sup>46</sup> See section 4.3 in Chapter Four.

example, an area may not have unique, significant architecture or historic buildings but a vibrant market or craft making tradition. Such an area is given its significance through the U group. Hence, what to conserve is mainly determined through U groups' values and priorities. Another case is the Pyramids Plateau, where the archaeological value surpasses any other; therefore, the first consideration are the values decided by the N group and W group, on a more technical basis. Every case, therefore, would determine what to conserve and certainly the regulations and the techniques needed, as addressed in the following part. Such a critical approach to determine the values and priorities for conservation that guide any motivation scheme will necessitate different types of conservation planning and regulations. Sometimes, there can be more than one approach to conservation planning followed in the same area depending on the concentration of the community in a certain area, their activities, and the environmental quality of the area and the different elements contributing to the character of this area. This is addressed in section 4.3 in Chapter Four.

## **2.8. Conclusion:**

Building on the definition of the original meaning of the traditional urban fabric and the patterns of environmental transformation in the Arab-Islamic city illustrated in the previous chapter, this chapter focused on Historic Cairo. It probed its foundation and its evolution to define its original meaning and study the different forces responsible for the current status of Historic Cairo.

The traditional lifestyle and urbanism witnessed a cultural rupture in the nineteenth century, especially since Khedive Ismail's reign (1863- 1879). It is the period when westernisation accelerated, affecting the traditional urban fabric. Colonial urbanism started to grow, surrounding the fabric defined today as Historic Cairo. Furthermore, such fabric has witnessed much negligence and deterioration since mid twentieth century. It started to acquire a degraded perspective as deteriorated quarters that accommodate lower classes and many crafts and small and middle-sized industries.

Historic Cairo matches spontaneous and informal settlements in their deteriorated physical conditions. It also served before as a transit zone for the rural and poor Egyptian immigrants coming searching for job opportunities and new life in Greater Cairo. Yet, Historic Cairo is distinguished with its latent and persisting cultural values that (are) still active and in use-- controlling environmental and cultural patterns-- which are defined above as the continuing cultural values (CCV). Such values are the essence/ actual

meaning of the historic area. It is the accumulation of the environmental and cultural concepts since the foundation of the traditional fabric (the original meaning of the historic area) along the different period and transformation, which gives 'the current meaning of historic area'.

Such values are envisaged and defined from different perspectives of different groups (N, U and W). Each has a degree of claim to every lane or spot in Historic Cairo and envisages it through different filters, e.g. social, cultural, psychological, etc. Integrating these different perspectives of values constructs a system of values that is dynamic, depending on which spot in Historic Cairo and what tangible (physical) or intangible heritage it contains. Defining the CCV that are esteemed by each group and integrating them gives a subjective meaning of the historic area dealt with in Historic Cairo, which is the answer to the what-to-serve inquiry addressed above.

Based on the definition of the original meaning of the traditional urban fabric and the patterns of environmental transformation in the Arab-Islamic city illustrated in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on Historic Cairo. It probes its foundation and its evolution to define its original meaning and study the different forces responsible for the current status of Historic Cairo.

The traditional lifestyle and urbanism witnessed a cultural rupture in the nineteenth century, especially since Khedive Ismail's reign (1863- 1879). It is the period when westernisation accelerated, affecting the traditional urban fabric. Colonial urbanism started to grow, surrounding the fabric defined today as Historic Cairo. Furthermore, such fabric has witnessed much negligence and deterioration since mid twentieth century. It started to acquire a degraded perspective as deteriorated quarters that accommodate lower classes and many crafts and small and middle-sized industries.

Historic Cairo matches spontaneous and informal settlements in their deteriorated physical conditions. It also served before as a transit zone for the rural and poor Egyptian immigrants coming searching for job opportunities and new life in Greater Cairo. Yet, Historic Cairo is distinguished with its latent and persisting cultural values that still active and in use-- controlling environmental and cultural patterns-- which are defined above as the continuing cultural values (CCV). Such values are the essence/ actual meaning of the historic area. It is the accumulation of the environmental and cultural concepts since the

foundation of the traditional fabric (the original meaning of the historic area) along the different period and transformation, which gives 'the current meaning of historic area'.

Such values are envisaged and defined from different perspectives of different groups (N, U and W). Each has a degree of claim to every lane or spot in Historic Cairo and envisages it through different filters, e.g. social, cultural, psychological, etc. Integrating these different perspectives of values constructs a system of values that is dynamic, depending on which spot in Historic Cairo and what tangible (physical) or intangible heritage it contains. Defining the CCV that are esteemed by each group and integrating them gives a subjective meaning of the historic area dealt with in Historic Cairo, which is the answer to the what-to-serve inquiry addressed above.

## **PART II**

### **HOW TO CONSERVE**

**Part Two. Forward:**

This part constitutes the second theoretical inquiry of this research. It is an attempt to address the question of How to Conserve. Chapter Three, however, focuses on the concepts and environmental qualities to be considered when an area conservation scheme is conducted in an historic area. In addition, Chapter Four focuses on area conservation processes and levels of planning and implementation. For this, the author traces area conservation as a concept, reviewing its evolution through charters and different cases mainly from the Arab-Islamic context; in addition to some international case studies which are also consulted. This tackles some technical issues such as integrity, authenticity and sustainability as the principle environmental qualities of historic areas that can be used to measure the quality of any area conservation scheme, being regarded as units of analysis of the environmental quality of historic areas that have been under conservation. The present investigation will also be expanded so as to discuss the main economic sources of influence (financial mechanisms that are needed to implement urban upgrading schemes in historic areas) in area conservation, namely: foreign aid, tourism and gentrification.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE MEANING OF AREA CONSERVATION

### **3.1. Objective:**

The main principles of conservation that are essential to safeguard the environmental quality of historic areas are addressed in this chapter. It targets defining environmental qualities that are responsible for the balance of any historic urban phenomenon. This is pursued, while addressing the main economic aspects that inspire or motivate any intervention in historic areas. Synthesising such qualities and considerations, it is possible to define the main principles to be considered when area conservation schemes are pursued, which is the first component of the second inquiry in this research (how-to-serve).

### **3.2. The Meaning of Area Conservation:**

#### **3.2.1. Historical Review:**

Conservation in general grew within a nostalgic paradigm, as a call for historic revival during the romantic period in the nineteenth and the turn of the twentieth centuries. This is highlighted in Viollet-le-Duc's call for stylistic restoration (Jokilehto, 1999a, p.202), which represents the French school of restoration during that time when conservation-restoration boundaries were not yet specified. Also during that period, conservation was influenced by institutional (political / nationalistic) motivations that were the trend during the period not only in France but also in many other countries that began actively safeguarding their architectural heritage.

A relatively more comprehensive view of historic towns was later elaborated by Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), who was known for his call for a 'surgical' approach in dealing with the Old Town in Edinburgh, an approach that marked out the dawn of area conservation at this early stage.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Jokilehto (1999a) maintains that conservation has developed to move away from this paradigm after many readjustments in early twentieth century by Adolf Loos (1870-1933) and Max Dvorak (1874-1921) who emphasise the importance of the local characteristics besides the commonly protected historical characteristics. This is taken further by Giovannoni (1873-1947) in his call for the protection of 'minor' architecture. This marks a step towards expanding the remit of conservation to consider the every-day artefacts as being constructs of cultural character.

---

<sup>1</sup> Geddes wished to secure a more hygienic quality for the dilapidated, environmentally deteriorated historic town through upgrading the existing urban fabric and removing as little as possible of the 'infected' parts of the city, the deteriorated or to give access to amenities required for the Edinburgh Old Town



Giovannoni brought his ideas into practice by following an effective planning scheme in Rome, in which he followed a critical, scientific approach to put forward the basis for 'scientific restoration' (*restauro scientifico*). Thus, he made the first step towards Area Conservation as a concept, in his approach of planning. His approach to safeguard historic towns was expressed in his theory of 'thinning-out of the urban fabric' (*diradamento edilizo*) that was a compromise between the complete modernisation of historic area and their safeguarding by keeping major traffic outside these areas, avoiding new-streets cut into them, improving the social and hygienic conditions and conserving historic buildings (Jokilehto, 1999a, p.220). Giovannoni promoted that through a call for harmonious co-existence between the old town and the modern city, which can be achieved through considering the traditional urban values in the old town and through creative development that weave the different urban fabrics and achieve such harmonious co-existence (Rodwell, 2003, p.65).

The second effective move in this direction is made by Boni (1859-1925). He emphasises the dimension of environmental quality when addressing the unhygienic conditions of houses in the historic town of Venice and defending the lagoon area that was constructive element of Venice's character. Boni also stresses another major dimension and, for then, innovative dimension of area conservation, authenticity, although, he defended the authenticity of old buildings. Nevertheless, it was Victor Hugo who first called for an authentic and intuitive continuation of culture and heritage through a real living product (the town)<sup>2</sup>, seeing it not only as an archaeological entity, thus avoiding limiting his call to historical buildings as Boni had done. These thoughts were reflected on an urban scale in Riegl's recommendations for the project of the conservation of Diocletian Palace Area, which had become recognised as a medieval city through an especial commission in 1904. Riegl stresses on conserving the atmospheric quality of the place as a whole, seeing this as the source of the overall ambiance of urban (living) settings and not merely a building or even a group of historic buildings.

These pioneering steps were paved the way for urban conservation as it is known today. Yet it was not able to take its effective and practical move before the concept of 'designated area' was established. The first moves towards this concept were promoted by

---

<sup>2</sup> This call was developed from Ruskin's Lamp of Life. Ruskin was never a restorer but he emphasised the responsiveness and authentic quality of life. This call was for a more subjective way to conserve an historic

Giovannoni and Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat (1907-1992), who were commissioned by the Italian Ministry of Education, the institution responsible for safeguarding heritage, through Giovanni and d'Ossat pushed guidelines for conservation *in situ* and for the conservation and respect of urban areas of historic value. These strategies inspired the protection of sites of natural beauty in Italy through a similar law issued in 1939.

Nevertheless, conservation in general did not acquire a life for itself away from the traditional historic and restoration paradigm before the intervention of Cesare Brandi (1906-1988). Brandi defines conservation as a creative process similar to the work of art.<sup>3</sup> Thus, he gives conservation a life of itself, establishing for it a creative and initial making of the critical approach. He deserves to be recognised as the 'father' of the sensitive and critical approaches followed in conservation today, for his writings inspired the international charters, starting with the Venice Charter (1964), of conservation, despite focusing on paintings and small-scale artefacts rather than architectural and historic sites. Nonetheless, he had introduced ethics and conceptions that required probing the meaning of conservation at different scales and levels, which includes conservation on an urban scale.

### 3.2.2. Review of Charters:

At the time of writing, the concept of area conservation was not clearly formulated for it was not yet developed before a series of charters that probed the meaning of conservation in historic areas had accumulated. For example, the first official recognition of an historic area as a whole with its own cultural significance, and not just as a group of historical buildings, was in Article 1 of the Venice Charter (1964). This was re-emphasised in consideration two of the Amsterdam Declaration (1975). While in Article 1 of the Petropolis Charter (1987) the historic area was envisaged as an integral part of the whole city. This was also emphasised in the same year in Article 5 of the Washington Charter (1987) adding highlighting on the harmonious relation between historic areas and their town/ cities.

---

town. It implied the importance of the main actors of its equilibrium, its people and their activities and its physical elements.

<sup>3</sup> Art is no more a cultural expression tool for seeking truth. It is a kind of work that stands for itself to express itself independently; thus to Heidegger it is even more important than truth. In the light of this predominant paradigm, Brandi associates conservation with art to give it a life of itself.

### 3.2.2.a. Physical-Oriented Approach:

Furthermore, the Council of Europe, in the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria (the Bulgaria Charter, 1975), stresses the sensitivity necessary when dealing with historic town planning. This sensitivity considered many pragmatic issues, e.g., financial, administrative and legislative urban aspects, to ground the theory of conservation programmes of multi-disciplinary nature, as earlier stated in the Amsterdam Declaration (1975) and the Washington Charter (1987), and clarified in the Nairobi Charter (1976). Article 1 of the Washington Charter (1987) recommends adopting a comprehensive approach in conservation through adopting an integral policy of coherent economic and social development and urban regional planning. Moreover, the Nairobi Charter (1976) adds another dimension through necessitating the contextualisation of international standards and principles of conservation for each case adapting them according to circumstances. It states that it is for each state to adopt, as a matter of urgency, comprehensive and energetic policies for the protection and revitalisation of historic areas. That is restated in Article 3 of the New Zealand Charter (1992), another document recommending indigenous methodologies.

In addition, the Amsterdam Charter (1975) stresses the necessity of the preservation of historical continuity (safeguarding continuing cultural principles and activities). It also emphasises the potentials of conservation to bring about more solutions to problems of lifestyle at a human scale, which is currently recommended by modern town planning. This is clarified in the UNESCO's declarations of goals under its different conventions (UNESCO, 1983) and in Article 4 of the Petropolis Charter (1987). It confirms that the main role of conservation is to maintain and develop the cultural and social values of each nation, especially in the light of an economic globalisation that threatens local identities, as well as to improve life quality of the citizens in the historic areas.

### 3.2.2.b. Community-Oriented Approach:

The last states the priority in most reports of the major urban upgrading schemes conducted in historic areas, e.g., the German International Development Agency (GTZ) report on the revitalisation of the Old City in Aleppo (1998) and the Aga Khan report of the revitalisation of Darb Shughlan in al-Darb Al-Ahmar, Historic Cairo (1999). This corresponds with Article 9 of the Washington Charter (1987) that affirms that the

improvement of housing is one of the basic objectives of conservation. Such concepts imply the importance of real community involvement at any thought area conservation scheme. It is also a clear affirmation of prioritising benefits for locals (U group).

Prioritising users' needs can be only achieved through emphasising community involvement, which is stressed as early as 1964 in Article 11 of the Venice Charter. It implied the importance of public participation through stating the importance of involving other parties in determining the value and elements to preserve in historic areas, besides the common dominating parties, i.e. planners and other professionals. This was emphasised in point (a) in Consideration one of the Amsterdam Declaration (1975) regarding architectural heritage as the denominators of people's consciousness of their common history and stressing the role of civilian leadership. It was stressed again in the Deschambault Declaration (1982) and the Petropolis Charter (1987) that called for a democratic management of the city with the involvement of civilian leaders. This view was broadened into calling for the involvement of all citizens of every age and sectors as this was stated in Article 3 of the Washington Charter (1987) and Article 8 of the Krakow Charter (2000), prioritising the residents' role and claim to their historic areas (emphasising the role of the U group). This is to guarantee a comprehensive conservation scheme that complements the different urban aspects of the life system in the area (social, cultural, economic etc) as stated above.

### 3.2.2.c. Subjective Approach:

The above call for the recognition of community's values expanded the spectrum of conservation that had earlier focused on physical aspects. A growing awareness of the intangible values of historic sites has developed, paving the way for a more subjective paradigm, stated as early as the Venice Charter of 1964. This stressed on the importance of the essential qualifying factor concerning determining historic entity's value (Assi, 2000, p. 61), a pioneering step to discussing the more intangible elements of historic entities. That was later emphasised in the Amsterdam Declaration (1975), which necessitated the protection of individuals' values. Such an overall protection was seen to complement the piecemeal protection of individual and isolated monuments and sites. Therefore, the Nairobi Charter (1976) suggested that the way we envisage historic areas is to be through their living presence and statutory condition in a way that complement the diversity of the

society, adding more respect to human considerations through such social values, thus stressing and respecting their community and social systems.

The trend towards a call for the protection of both material and non-material values, respecting the intangible heritage through stressing on the protection of the still surviving experiences of the historic areas' dwellers strengthened. It was declared in Article 2 of the Washington Charter (1987), Article 2 of the Petropolis Charter (1987) and in the Krakow Charter (2000). It was supported by a call to apply the least possible physical interventions in order to minimise the official alteration of the indigenous character of the conserved area, and this method was declared in Article 3 of the Burra Charter (1979), Article 4 of the New Zealand Charter (1992) and Article 10 of the Petropolis Charter (1987), which prioritised the social values to prevail over the market values of urban property.<sup>4</sup>

This new approach to the treatment of an historic area was meant to protect its integrity. Thus, integrity as a major quality to protect began to be stressed as early as 1964 in Article 8 of the Venice Charter. It was also the reason why authenticity, as a major dimension to respect in conservation in general, was addressed in the same charter (Venice, 1964), as well as in Article 2 of the Bulgaria Charter (1975), becoming also re-emphasised as an important issue expressed through society's heterogeneity and plurality—thus recognising authenticity as a social product—in Article 5 of the Petropolis Charter (1987). That was elaborated more in Article 9 of the Deschambault Declaration rejecting musemification, for preference is to be given to traditional occupants, respecting the demands and needs of the local inhabitants. This broadened the perspective of heritage to protect and to include the dynamic and functional character of heritage. Furthermore, a call is made in the Bulgaria Charter (1975) to reject any social injustice that might be caused by the departure of the poorer inhabitants, which was among the first to argue for banning gentrification a process that, despite physically protecting the historic area emptied it of its spirit and meaning. That was elaborated further in the Nara Document of Authenticity, the Nara Charter (1994). In general, Jokilehto (1999b) states that authenticity will emerge as one of the key issues that need to be tackled in the coming years.

Moreover, and in order to secure an effective conservation, the Deschambault Declaration (1982) addressed sustainability as a major dimension of conservation, stressing on the importance of the development of cultural properties through making them

accessible, useful and integral to the daily life of the community. That was also recommended through community involvement and public participation as elaborated above.

In general, the three above mentioned environmental quality: integrity, authenticity and sustainability are considered the three main filters necessary for effective and balanced historical environment, see (fig. 5.2) in Chapter Five below.

### 3.2.3. Review of Charters in the Arab-Islamic Region:

When projecting the above on the thought context in the present research, the Arab-Islamic City, it is necessary to study the Islamic Capital Cities Charter (ICCC, 1997), the Homs Declaration (2001), and the Cairo Declaration (2002). However, although evaluating these charters is not part of the objectives of the present research, it is important to know how far these charters influence the studied context.

The first charter (ICCC, 1997) introduces broad meaning of heritage that is too general to tackle or to classify conservation meanings and processes. The second, the Homs Declaration (2001), raises the issue of lacking an appropriate area conservation charter for the Arab-Islamic Cities. The third, the Cairo Declaration (2002), is constrained by its own agenda, i.e. to evaluate the work of the SCA in Egypt. However, it documents the area conservation projects conducted to that date in historic Cairo without offering a clear evaluation beyond compiling together some conservation issues and principles from those charters discussed above. Thus it does not offer a contextual discourse, being rather general, short summary of some area conservation principles within a general account of the ethics of conservation in general.

Nevertheless, in a more advanced country and in a region that has experienced urban conservation since as early as 1967<sup>5</sup> in Tunisia, we find that the National Institute of Patrimony (INP) is adopting the Washington Charter (1987), and having it translated into Arabic to follow its urban conservation principles.<sup>6</sup> However, there is no contextual charter or any discourse that emerges from the actual problems common in the region and that has

---

<sup>4</sup> Please see the argument in Chapter Two, section 2.6 that seeks a comprehensive view of the concept of value determination to safeguard historic areas.

<sup>5</sup> This is the year the Association of the Safeguarding of le -Medina (ASM), the most effective municipal organisation in Tunisia, was founded.

<sup>6</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. Rashid Gharib, head of the Islamic Monument Department (INP), for the information he revealed regarding the INP strategies and policies of area conservation in Tunisia in an interview in March 2001 in INP, Tunis City, Tunisia.

been written specifically to respond to the indigenous characteristics or requirements of the Arab-Islamic City.

### **3.2.4. Area Conservation Units of Analysis:**

The above review of charters reflects clear concerns with treating historic areas as a whole through emphasising the coherence of the historic urban fabric. Such an environmental quality is termed in this research as ‘the quality of integrity’. The character and the main essence of the historic areas is another environmental quality to be preserved as emphasised above, which is addressed below as ‘the quality of authenticity’ in historic areas. These two environmental qualities are promoted through active involvement of local communities in area conservation, which will necessitate more tolerance to change in the built form in order not to halt the liveable quality of the historic area. Sustainability, therefore, as an environmental quality that is concerned with the thresholds of change in the historic area is also addressed. These defined environmental qualities of any historic area are integrated and are necessarily to be dealt with as an inseparable whole. Thus, it is necessary that any development introduced to an historic area consider such qualities, as through them the quality of any area conservation scheme can be determined. It is for the purpose of this research that these three qualities (integrity, authenticity and sustainability of historic areas under development) are discussed separately in the sections below in order to determine the quality of any area conservation scheme, being recognised as units of analysis of area conservation.

#### 3.2.4.a. Integrity:

Integrity means the quality of the manifested whole which exists in “an indivisible unity that potentially may continue to exist in its parts...and be based on what is suggested by the potential unity of the work of art [the conservation project in our case], taking into account the demands of its historical and aesthetic aspects” (Jokilehto, 1999a, p.232).<sup>7</sup> Integrity can be also a tool for the identification of elements that make up an organic whole, “...such as the complexity formed of the fabric and infrastructures of an historic

---

<sup>7</sup> Jokilehto regards both aesthetics and history as a twofold polarity of the work of art. Since Jokilehto and Brandi regard conservation as a work of art, as maintained above, both aesthetics (as manifested in design, materials etc.) and history (in its wider more subjective cultural sense) are two essential elements that balance, and judge, the quality of any conservation project.

settlement, and the mutual relationship of such elements with the whole” (Jokilehto, 1999a, p.299). Moreover, integrity has acquired strong prominence as an evaluative environmental quality, especially with the growing forces of economic evolution and changing transport requirements that have been harnessed to introduce modernity to historic settlements. Historic areas characterised by architecture without architects, emphasising an integral unity of traditional spatial structures and materials, absent in more recent development (Dix, 1996b).

Furthermore, integrity has distinctive aspects: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association (Jokilehto, 1999a, p.299). These aspects formulate an evaluative entity that determines the quality or degree (whether aesthetical or historical) of the integrity of any area after any conservation project. These aspects of integrity cover the area’s spatial structure and meaning and show whether it had been sustained or violated by any intervention. For instance, the disposition of a city’s spaces and their relations with each other within a certain urban composition or, on different level, between the inner spaces is a consequence of the outer spaces and its surroundings and settings. Materials and workmanship, together with design, focus on a smaller scale within a certain structure, shaping the form and how it looks. Feeling and association are the links that interpret all these aspects and their association, seen through accumulated environmental/ cultural cues formulate a semiological code or system that is understood and practiced, as an environmental communicative tool by the users of historic areas, attributing to the area a meaning.

These aspects function on different ways, depending on the scale of the studied historical entity (a small restored structure, historic site, etc.) or its type (physical such as visual, cultural such as character or meaning of an area). Dix (1996a, 1996b) and Jokilehto (1999a) suggest three major types of integrity, i.e., structural integrity, functional integrity, and visual integrity.

Structural Integrity:

The first, structural<sup>8</sup> integrity, is the most common for it deals directly with the structural quality and judges the quality of restoration of any building. According to this

---

<sup>8</sup> Structure in this context is not only meant for buildings as it is also applicable to urban form, e.g., the traditional structure of the Arab-Islamic city is concentric having the mosque at the centre and followed with rings of markets and districts. Even the function and position of markets are determined by their distance from the mosque, having the noble goods (book sellers and perfumers) markets closer followed with less



level, restoration aims at re-establishing of the potential unity of the conserved work of art. This however, is to be conducted with a critical attitude in respect of the different aspects of integrity as well as their authenticity as a major dimension. So it is not acceptable at all to 'complete' a deteriorated historical portal, for example, with a replica because this might mislead the coming generations and will stand as a false account of the past.

Structural integrity may be also applicable on an urban scale, for any urban spatial system has a structure, e.g., an hierarchy of private, semi-private and public spaces that demarcate the traditional neighbourhoods (ill. 3.1).<sup>9</sup> In the growth of a system, appropriate types of activities and urban spaces emerged in parallel according to the social, economic and spatial potentials of the urban system. Thus when dealing with historic area there is a need to respect the whole structure governing this urbanism and not to interrupt it by for example, cutting through avenues for vehicular traffic.<sup>10</sup>



Ill. 3.1: The textile trade located in al-Ghoriyya close to the central mosque, al-Azhar. A traditional of the common guild and markets distribution around the central mosque common in the Arab-Islamic urban phenomena and still active until today.

### Functional Integrity:

The second, functional integrity, deals with the more intangible heritage and qualities of historic area. It is more involved with character making enabling the activities practiced in the area. This type of integrity is demonstrated in the work conducted by Cairo Governorate in al-Ghouriyah Area in Fatimid Cairo. This area had been used a textile market since the foundation of historic Cairo. It was later partially evacuated from its

---

noble and more utilitarian goods etc. It also serves as a historical integrity for it seeks preserving the traditional framework, founded as the original urban system in the Arab-Islamic city.

<sup>9</sup> Such a spatial structure is still functioning today, governing even the environmental behaviour in the traditional area. The author has experienced this himself during the UNESCO workshop for the rehabilitation of Bab al-Nasr Area, Historic Cairo, held in Cairo from 31<sup>st</sup> March to seventh April, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> This is the reason why Giovannoni proposed to safeguard historic towns through thinning-out of urban fabric rather than cutting it, known as the '*Diradamento Edilizo*' Theory as maintained above. This aims to

wooden shops and showcases surrounding al-Ghourri Complex (in al-Ghorriyyah), aiming at giving the area a 'beautified' look, see (ill.A3.1). Inevitably, the area came to suffer museumification and the functional integrity, not only of al-Ghourri Complex but also the wider surrounding area, al-Azhar the biggest traditional goods market in Cairo, were jeopardised (Sedky 2001b; Shehiyyeb and Sedky 2002).

#### Visual Integrity:

The third, visual integrity, seeks the visual harmony of the interventions within the historical or original entity. This is to secure the environmental visual quality of the historic site. Dix (1996b, p.10) interprets this as sensitivity seeking a modern civic design that fits with the old, especially when all developers are not aesthetically 'aware' and many seem to prefer superficial building treatment to any deep architectural quality. This negative direction is only further encouraged by the vague and slack municipal and institutional regulations in historic areas (Shehiyyeb and Sedky, 2002). Visual integrity seeks to interrelate relation between integrity and authenticity, especially in being satisfied not only satisfied with the physical considerations of visual integrity, such as respecting the texture, materials, and architectural characteristics of the old. Yet, replication should be avoided, as it reflects no quality at all. Built environment is a form of life that is always in a move and accumulating diversity of moods and forms of expressions.

Thus any addition or interventions should responsively express its era, as well as respecting the old (ill.3.2). Dix (1996b) adds another ethical quality when considering visual integrity; that good civic design stresses good architecture above all. One good example is the new addition known as Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, London. To Dix (1996b, p.10), despite this annex respecting the materials and the visual effects characterising the existing National Gallery in an effective way-- i.e. securing good architecture-- the annex is not successfully integrated within its wider urban context. Dix attributes this to the lack of the civic considerations in the design: having its main gate oriented towards the less trodden streets, while giving its back to one of the most active passageways. This is to say that the design respected visual integrity yet it does not integrate the building with the economic and social activities in the area.

---

avoid the segregation of historic areas, from the rest of their cities as the case in historic Cairo, as mentioned in the previous chapter section 2.3.



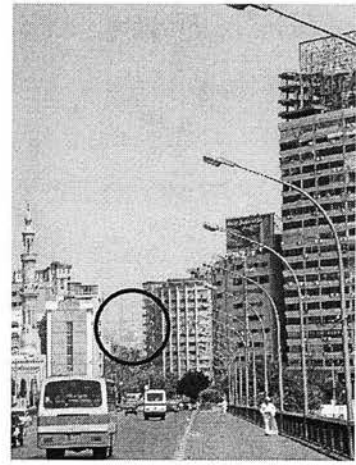
Ill. 3.2: A modern structure in the Royal Mile, the Old Town in Edinburgh; it is not necessary to build an old-looking structure within historical areas to safeguard their integrity, yet it needs much creativity to complement the historical context visually without compromising the contemporary needs.

Visual integrity can be also applicable on a wider scale, controlling the city skyline and securing wider visual corridors for viewing the city's most distinguishing landmarks (ill.3.3). Dix (1996a, p.17), taking Saint Paul's Cathedral in London as a case study, explains how the cathedral dome view has been secured through several 'listed' visual corridors. These has been achieved through controlling building heights in some parts of the city, a process that grew sophisticated enough to give rise to an equation for calculating the height of any proposed building close to the designated view corridor (ill.3.4).<sup>11</sup> Such a visual sensitivity was absent in the typical Arab-Islamic city where large modern buildings dwarf the stone-carved, articulated minarets that used to stand as distinctive landmarks signifying public nodes in the traditional Islamic cities for centuries. This insensitive urban alteration, introducing a different architectural typology (high rise buildings) never balances nor respects the privacy of the traditional housing typology, court-yard houses that are designed to achieve privacy for the inhabitants through a folded inward elevation, overlooking the inner courts). For example in Saruja in Damascus the traditional housing suffered the same situation having the inhabitants deserting their properties as the traditional urban system is intruded. Arkoun (1990) defines this type of change as desymbolising the environment.

<sup>11</sup> Consequently, one of the most distinguishing features formulating the 'image of the city', that is of the landmark (Lynch, 1960) is enhanced.



Ill. 3.3: Nazli Sharif Mosque, built by the turn of the twentieth century; its minaret used to dominate the skyline of the Nile river bank until dwarfed by concrete towers because of the lack of any effective urban guidelines.



Ill. 3.4: Mohamed Ali Mosque, built in the first half of the nineteenth century; a shot taken from the University Bridge, some kilometres away from the mosque that is located on the Moqattam Hill. The Mosque remains, until today, the symbol of Cairo and the dominant landmark in the city.

It is essential to recognise that the different types of integrity are of little value when dismantled into these basic constituents, for they work as a whole. They are linked and associated through cultural meanings, thus, attributing physical settings and their structure meanings. They give in their coherence environmental cues to the users of the traditional environment to communicate with their area. Through their understanding they can introduce any change that would integrate more effectively with the built form and complement the nature of socio-cultural obligations aiming at integrating new and old to form a balanced whole (Arefi 1999 and Dix 1996b).

#### 3.2.4.b. Authenticity:

Authenticity has been used before as a technical term to evaluate the historical quality and provenance of work of art, to determine if it is fake or genuine. It has acquired, however, a more profound meaning when incorporated in other contexts, such as architectural design, urban design and conservation. Authenticity, in general, is used to define the genuine, sincere, original, true and reliable.<sup>12</sup> It is also antonym of the superficial, kitsch, artificial, imposed, manipulated, doubtful, illogical, cliché, deceptive and fake (Jo, 1992; Assi, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Reliability is associated with authenticity through a linguistic link. The origin of the latter term is 'authentēs' in Greek that means the doer of the deed, which necessitates and implies reliability (Jo, 1992, p. 287).

Furthermore, authenticity has acquired prominence in heritage management in traditional societies, specifically as a reaction against the manipulating cultural impact of Western World, and the heavy-footed impact of industrialisation on the vulnerable urban systems of traditional societies, as emphasised in the Nara Charter (1994).

While modern societies promote exaggerated individualism and the restriction of choices in a mechanised environment in favour of mass production (Taylor, 1991), in traditional societies the connection between space, process and people and their cultural associations is clearly defined, which promotes wide range of environmental responsive choices. The later attitude allows the traditional culture and its values to continue with gradual change, for it is generally smaller and homogeneous. This is not the case in the most modern cultures, where such relationships and connections are more ambiguous because of the heterogeneity of their societies with their different backgrounds and interests (Jo, 1992).<sup>13</sup> This conflict has caused chaotic impacts and caused cultural/character dilution in the traditional/ historic areas under the banners of ‘modernisation’ and ‘beautification’ (Shehyeb and Sedky, 2002) (ills.3.5a,b),<sup>14</sup> a planning approach which had been adopted in the Arab-Islamic City since as early as the mid nineteenth century. This date marks out the cultural rupture in the Middle East Region in general as pointed out above. This is also the reason why any call for heritage safeguarding starts from cultural protection, thus focusing on the protection of its indigenous values identified in the previous chapter in section 2.6. This inevitably leads to the protection of the physical enclaves of such culture, always thought as the main concern and priority of professionals.

---

<sup>13</sup> Unlike the concept of *Harrāh*, the neighbourhood unit in the Arab-Islamic city where it is made to accommodate homogenous ethnicity, culture and people of the same guild.

<sup>14</sup> This has resulted in museumification due to the santisation of the already working traditional areas, thus stripping them out their authentic quality and breaking the matrix of their functional and activities systems, as the case of al-Ghouryyah (also known as al-Ghourri Area) discussed in the present chapter section 2.2.3.a.



Ill. 3.5a: Khan al-Hiraf, the craft Market, a traditional Market (*Suq*) that is sanitised and is used as a touristic spot now in Old Aleppo.



Ill. 3.5b: the Old Suq, the covered Market, Old Aleppo, selling traditional goods and accommodating typical old guilds that still functioning until today.

The message of authenticity, thus, exceeds just evaluating the physical conservation of monuments and concerns their wider context, the surrounding fabric (Assi, 2000). Authenticity is no more limited to monuments but to entire historic areas. Yet authenticity is not a property of environmental form but of processes (people's appropriation of space and converting of space into place) and relationships (people's temporal connection to the space, making associations within it). Thus, authenticity can only be tested through people's interaction with their environment. It is through such processes and relationships environment acquires its meaning and significance (ills.3.6a, b). Such processes and relationships were discussed in the previous chapter in section 2.6. Zanchite and Jokelihto (1997) define two types of values in historic areas: values of states (concern with physical elements) and values of processes (concern with the indigenous cultural values that are responsible for the generation of life and activities and organise changes introduced to the area in manageable way). Zanchite and Jokelihto (1997) states that the values of processes are neglected or regarded as the least important for the professionals as compared to their attitude towards values of states.



III. 3.6a: Leather dying in Fez, Morocco, safeguarding the old craft where the industry itself is regarded as an intangible heritage (protecting the industry for the local crafts is to maintain values of processes).



III. 3.6b: carpenters and chest makers and their workshops distinguish the mixed use character of Darb Shughlan in al-Darb al-Ahmar in Historic Cairo, maintaining a medieval craft.

Authenticity as a concept is important in itself. However, more emphasises should be placed on how we define what is authentic, as well as to whom this is regarded as authentic. Many parties (the main actors, those who have claims for the historic areas introduced in section 2.6 in the previous chapter as U, N, and W groups) decide the meaning of authenticity. Each party/ group has its own codes and values determining the authenticity in a certain area. Therefore, safeguarding the authentic quality of a certain area is to protect and to complement the different environmental cues and values of each group in a way that clarify the area's actual meaning. It is a balancing process of the different values formulating the area's meaning and character. Certainly each group has a different degree of rights or claims to their area. So in the area, with more local inhabitants and less historic buildings, acquires its meaning through its local people who have in this case a stronger claim to the area as compared to the N or the W groups.

Furthermore, the World Heritage Committee (WHC), UNESCO, considers the influence of the socio-economic and cultural change in addition to the appreciated aesthetic and historical aspects, and this is regarded as a more realistic approach to assess the authenticity of historic areas (Jokelihto, 1999 and Assi, 2000). This was clarified in the Krakow Charter (2000) defining authenticity as the sum of sustainable, historically ascertained characteristics from the original up to the current state, as an outcome of the various transformations that have occurred over time. Such a definition reflects the

conceptual flexibility of authenticity to permit the continuous changing patterns of social life. This is why the Nara Charter (1994), while seeking a definition of authenticity, also stressed the importance of a concept open to change and of a dynamic nature.

#### 3.2.4.c. Sustainability:

In general, “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present communities without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987, p. 8). It can be achieved only if human work in harmony with their natural and manmade environments in order to safeguard the long-term interests of that environment and its many life forms (Rodwell, 2003, p.58). Sustainable development also looks for enhancing the quality of different aspects of human life (social, economic and environmental) (Barton, 1996). The above three aspects (social, economic and environmental) are defined by Carmona, de Magalães and Edwards (2002a, p.67) as the main sustainable value measures that can assess sustainability as an environmental quality of any area that has been under development.

Focusing on the case of area conservation, as an especial kind of environmental development, Rodwell (2003, p.67) finds that conservation in historic cities places conservation shoulder-to-shoulder with sustainability. Also within the same context, Stovel (1999) recognises sustainability as being concerned with: extending life, balancing conservation, health of the relationship among heritage resources, maintaining ongoing processes which portray character and meaning of heritage, maintaining desirable condition over the span of a lifetime, enhancing the meaning of heritage in daily life, and increasing responsible involvement of citizens.

Stovel (1999, p.8) defines sustainability as preventive (risk sensitive), integrated, comprehensive, focus dynamic and traditions not understood, long term, values sensitive, and grass-rooted, i.e. it considers the different types of values whether those of physical entities or more tangible ones (values of states and processes introduced in previous chapter in section 2.6). Stovel also implies ‘limits’ to development in historic areas, limits to growth, limits to use, limits to exploitation etc. Therefore, Delafons (1997) pinpoints the thresholds for the optimum development without jeopardising heritage resources.

On the other hand, Delafons states that if the preventive view of ‘sustainability’ is carried to extremes it may not produce effective use of resources. This approach, thus, if insisting on emphasising conservation as the primary objective of upgrading policies, may



impose unreasonable costs on the present; it may also impede renewal and creativity that are necessary for a sustainable future. What is needed, thus, is a better integration of conservation and sustainability principles. Therefore, Wallace, Higgins and Raemaekers (1999) recommend that conservation takes sustainability on board and use it to reinforce its case, making, along with Delafons (1997), a call for an integral, responsive urban design in historic areas, which can generate sustainable environment.

This research focuses on 'sustainability' as an environmental quality, necessary for any historic area under development. Since achieving sustainability is only possible when we understand the multi-faceted conceptual nature of sustainability, an historic area can acquire such an environmental quality only if the introduced interventions consider and enhance the social, economic and environmental aspects of such an historic area.

Firstly, the social aspect can be divided into socio-cultural and administrative or socio-political considerations. The first examines the impacts of the introduced interventions on the local community and their culture. In general, any intervention should not halt any indigenous practices or social systems or impose any culturally irrelevant value or lifestyle quality, otherwise the responsive quality of such an historic area is affected and its traditions and concepts can be altered, which might sequence unauthentic environment. In addition, Jokilehto and Laenen (1999) maintain that traditional modes of life, values and know-how can be preserved only as a sustainable part of everyday life, which can be achieved through a sustainable development. However, sustainability cannot be achieved without considering the traditional values in their contemporary relevance. "In order to maintain traditional modes of life, their associated customs and rituals need to be relevant to people today. If and when choices are available, it is possible to continue traditions only if people are convinced that such customs are a valid alternative to 'modern' life" (Jokilehto and Laenen, 1999, p.3). Moreover, and on a more social basis, any intervention should aims at equity among the different social strata and securing different amenities and services (hygienic, educational and many other services) through an equal opportunity paradigm (Arafat 2002).

This perspective regards preserved heritage as an open book of alternative for diversity of lifestyles in a very subjective manner that respects economic, cultural and social values. Conservation here is more for community's demands and not for the big titles drawing ambiguity, such as preserving cultural identity. One good example is that of the traditional and vernacular architecture of Bab Al-Nasr Area in Historic Cairo, the case

study of the UNESCO Workshop held in Cairo 30<sup>th</sup> March- seventh April, 2002. The type of backed bricks used in the buildings of this area is not produced anymore after their ovens were prohibited for their environmental hazards. Thus using such bricks, despite of being perfectly coping with conservation goals, is not sustainable at all for it cannot be replaced in the future or employed at any new development. Thus there is a need for research for new materials for old technologies where new materials can be obtained and behave in a way similar to the old ones; so it can be used equally effective in restored buildings or in new ones.

The administrative or socio-political consideration is concerned with the mechanisms that is necessary to be established to pave the way for sustainable development in historic areas, which can be achieved through inter-departmental co-operation (Wallace *et.al* 1999). This can be realised when bridging the gap between the departments involved in heritage safeguarding and town planning or urban management. It is necessary that both types of institutions deal with area conservation while adopting sustainability principles (*ibid*, p. 69). For example in the case of the UK, Wallace, Higgins and Raemaekers criticise that the PPG15 Planning Policies Guidelines 15) creates a gap between planning and conservation by ignoring the demands of sustainable development and not incorporating it with conservation that is being guided by the memorandum that does not involve sustainable developments in its articles while promoting the listing and designation of historical structures and areas. To Wallace, Higgins and Raemaekers this is not effective and does not seek sustainable benefits for the thought areas in the long-run (*ibid*, p.68). This is why the PPG18 and the Shimuzio plan were issued later to allow much room for change in the historic areas through de-listing and permitted development, see section 4.2.1.c. in the next chapter.

Furthermore, Larkham (2000) finds that involving the local community in necessary decision making is a critical, for they have the strongest claim to their areas. Through his fieldwork he finds that current occupants in historic areas have strong bonds with their areas for they have developed social and psychological links with their traditional environment, which are maintained after the implementation of area conservation scheme because of their sense of belonging and their clarified ownership status. This may explain why the area conservation project in Saruja in Damascus, Syria in

the 1992-5<sup>15</sup> was not a sustainable scheme for it deprived the occupants from their direct links with their areas, turning them into share-holders rather than owners.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, the occupants lost their sense of belonging to the area and they felt that it was not worthwhile investing in the maintenance of their traditional units because it was no longer theirs. This might explain why Saruja's traditional urban fabric has eroded and deteriorated (Sedky, 2000).

Secondly, the economic aspect is no less essential than the social or cultural one for a sustainable environment. Social and cultural well-being of an historic area demands and is based on an economic well-being as well (Bellini, 1998, p. 60). This is because the economy of any area is an integral element of its living systems. Carmona, de Magalães and Edwards (2002a) define the sustainable urban design in any area as an intervention with an economic positive impact on the area under development. For example, one of the positive aspects of the area conservation schemes conducted in the Religions Complex, Amr Mosque Neighbourhood, in Misr al-Qadima in Historic Cairo is the economic flourishing of the area which can be recognised through the increasing value of an average shop of fifteen square metres from 15,000 Egyptian pounds to 60,000 Egyptian Pounds.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand the beautification scheme conducted by the Cairo Governorate has a negative impact on the textile trade in the al-Ghourriyyah, dislocating the textile shops from the area, which had a negative impact on the shop owners and the trade in general in this historic area long recognised for its textile retailing activities. This negative impact is the result of ill-defined values significance of al-Ghourriyyah.

Generally, sustainability as an environmental quality in the case of conservation encourages development that does not impose insupportable costs and that maintains a balance between conservation and change (Delafons, 1997). This would necessitate an accurate definition of which heritage ought to be preserved. Sir Stevens questioned the heritage values that sound deserves priority maximum care.<sup>18</sup> This will necessitate defining the actual values of protecting any historic area under development, defining its values of

---

<sup>15</sup> Such schemes were drafted during (1992-5) and submitted to the Governorate in 1995.

<sup>16</sup> This is according to Act 9 for the year 1985, Syria which encourages this process because of the limited availability of money for compulsory purchasing. I am indebted to Dr. Samir Ahmar (Associate Professor, Faculty of Architectural Engineering, Damascus University) for the information he revealed about area conservation schemes in Syria during an interview in Damascus in August, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Mr. Magdi Shinoda, Area Conservation Team in the Religion Complex Project, August 2001, Cairo.

<sup>18</sup> Sir Jocelyn Stevens, Chairman of English Heritage in a speech to the Association of District Councils in May 1993, quoted by Delafons (1997, p.118).

status and values of processes. What is important now is how to determine the validity and the benefits of such values and if it is economically sustainable to conserve them. Goodall (1993) finds it important to make a feasibility study of any area conservation scheme before it starts.

Yet, it might be difficult to measure or to consider the values of processes, the intangible heritage or the qualitative aspects of an historic area, which will make it unlikely for Goodall's call for a feasibility study. This, however, is resolved through Serageldin's model of the Total Economic Values (2002, p.27). In this model Serageldin attempts to quantify all types of values, arguing that even the cultural and more intangible social values can be translated into a monetary value in the long-run, for they are responsible for sustaining the significance of any historic area and give it a meaning which makes it different and more subjected by tourists or investors etc. His approach is conducted through an economic paradigm, which is logical to have been developed through the World Bank or the IMF with their more monetary evaluative tendencies to development.<sup>19</sup>

The third aspect is the environmental one. It is associated with the preservation of the natural and man-made resources, reusing them with minimal waste (Arafat, 2002). It concerns environmental resources through predicting expected environmental impacts of any project to minimise any deficiencies it will impose on future development. In this approach the historical environment is regarded as a national asset. Thus conservation, adaptive reuse, rehabilitation and using the traditional materials as much as possible are recommended principles parallel to those recommended by sustainable development (Rees, 1994).

Usually development and growth in historic areas are essential but only to a certain extent (limits) as specified in Brundtland's definition of sustainability above. The question of how to determine these limits to ensure sustainable conservation is elaborated and taken

---

<sup>19</sup> Given that Serageldine was the deputy director of the World Bank and involved in many area conservation schemes in the historic Islamic cities, he had to find an economic monetary model that can be recognised by the World Bank and the IMF, the major funding source in the Arab-Islamic countries, see the forgin aid section below. Therefore he developed a contingent valuation approach is applied as an evaluative method to quantify the hard-to-measure values of cultural heritage. This is carried out by asking beneficiaries (research samples) about their willingness to pay to obtain or to preserve a certain environmental quality. This was pursued through adopting a willingness-to-pay inquiry, has been primarily used to value publicly or privately provided goods such as water supply and swage in areas without existing services, but in this case it was applied in the case of safeguarding Fez in Morocco, many individuals in Europe were asked about their willingness to contribute to safeguarding this historic city and how much they can contribute to that (Serageldine, 2000, p. 296). The novelty is in using such a technique to create a more comprehensive

further by Strange (1997 and 1999). Strange (1999) seeks another approach to identify the threshold for development and growth in historic areas, namely 'environmental capacity'. This approach aims to be as sustaining the area demands balancing the needs of historic area planning with the pressures of globalisation to ensure that local distinctiveness remains a political and policy priority in the struggle fit in to a wider economic spectrum. Thus it defines sustainable development as "a limit to the amount of development which an area can take, determined by its environmental characteristics [and]...that if development exceeds a particular level, the loss of or damage to these features [are inevitable]" (Strange, 1999, p. 303).

Such an approach had been explored before by the Building Design Partnership, the UK in their 1994 study as well as by many British planning authorities. These studies intended to tie together local and regional concerns over the future extent of more general issues related to the maintenance of environmental assets, focussing on determining the limits to acceptable growth and identification of development thresholds that should not be breached.

Nevertheless, Strange (1999) drives our attention to the current change that dominates area conservation schemes concerning sustainable development in historic areas. He reveals that the current approach for development and conservation incorporating sustainability has acquired a complex picture, thanks to the local policy makers in the case of UK. He pinpoints the shift from the pro-conservation, illustrated in designating and listing in historic areas which is the conventional approach of area conservation,<sup>20</sup> to a new discourse that he termed 'post-conservation'. In this process the rhetoric of sustainable development is employed as a device to permit development and to give a room for legitimised physical and economic growth with a diluted form of conservation, i.e. to adopt the pro-conservation approach whenever needed.<sup>21</sup>

---

tangibility of unquantifiable values, to translate them into a monetary value, which is required in many cases when dealing with typical projects financial mechanisms, e.g. feasibility studies budget estimations.

<sup>20</sup> This more conservative approach is criticised by Torsello (1998, p.49) for being promoted mainly by the professional groups (conservation practitioners) as the main beneficiaries of area conservation schemes.

<sup>21</sup> See the FWP model introduced in section 4.4.2 in the following chapter. Aiming a more responsive and synthesised approach to area conservation adopting a pro-conservation or post conservation as that introduced by Strange or pro-community one, depending on the targeted area's circumstances and actual and essential needs.

### **3.3. Area Conservation Funding Mechanism:**

Funding mechanisms are strong forces that motivate area conservation projects and frequently they are responsible for the quality of area conservation schemes. It is no exaggeration to claim that many development schemes are currently shaped to meet the criteria of different funding agencies and sources rather than the above qualities (integrity, authenticity and sustainability of the targeted historic area) as their fundamental reference point. Certainly, the optimum gain of any conservation scheme is to match the criteria of funding sources without compromising the above conservation qualities. It is thus a critical issue to deal with funding mechanisms and to incorporate them in urban upgrading schemes in general. Thus it is essential to define the different types of such sources in the discussed context and to try to envisage their motivations and the best way to deal with them.

In heritage conservation in the Arab-Islamic context, there are three main sources to discuss. The first is foreign aid as almost all area conservation schemes in the region are conducted with foreign aid money or are applying for such funding. The second is cultural tourism, for it is regarded by the institutional responsible for heritage management as the most promising means to acquire hard currency. Therefore, tourism attracts national investment in area conservation and is recommended to be regarded as an indirect funding source. The third is a consequence of tourism as well as real estate industry in the developed historic areas, i.e. gentrification.

#### **3.3.1. Foreign Aid:<sup>22</sup>**

In low-income communities, such as the main context of the present research, conservation and development for heritage safeguarding only is unaffordable cultural luxury, especially with the limited financial resources of the Egyptian and The Fertile Crescent Region governments and their different priority systems. Foreign aids thus have grown as the main thought sources for development in historic areas. Major area conservation schemes in the region are funded by GTZ, UNDP, Japanese International Co-

---

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the foreign aid there are many other potential funding sources like private sectors and lottery funds, as in UK, or the co-operation established between different organisations and private investors, defined in the following chapter in the section on partnership 4.2.2.a. However, reviewing different cases in the region, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, there is only financial dependency on foreign aid. There are no partnership schemes introduced in the urban upgrading in historic areas. Therefore, this research focuses mainly on foreign aid the actual and almost the only financial source, in addition to the national money, for area conservation schemes.

operation Agency (JICA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), The French Institute of Research and Development (IRD), etc,<sup>23</sup> either for study or implementation levels. The questions now are how far can Arab-Islamic Cities remain dependent on such resources, what are the motivations behind and effects of such helps and whether it is sustainable and effective to count on foreign aid as one of the principle vehicles for urban upgrading in historic areas?

There are two perspectives assessing the motivations and effects of foreign aids on area conservation schemes: political and conceptual. The first envisage foreign aids sceptically describing them as forces of late capitalism, “as a mean for economic and social domination replacing the traditional nineteenth century modes of domination (colonisation and imperialism)” (Daher, 1999, pp.114-5). What supports this view is the political power imbedded in foreign aids in general where the granting country demands complete political alliances from the donation recipient country or at least it can act as a political tool of economic pressure.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, there is a high possibility that foreign aid may create a strong development paradigm of dependence for any local community, reducing any relationship in national money and local developers, which is loss of confidence in indigenous funding mechanisms. For example, through interviews with the official planners in Anbar Office, responsible for area conservation in Old Damascus, they only maintained that they are developing area appraisal reports to apply for grants from foreign agencies while they neglected mobilising any of the financial resources or create any sort of partnership with the private sectors or individual investors.

---

<sup>23</sup> Normally the geographical distribution of these agencies is defined based on political-economic and even cultural connections between the Arab-countries and the countries of the above-mentioned agencies. For instance, the USAID is more active in Egypt and Jordan especially after signing the peace treaty of 1979. GTZ is more active in Syria because the more academic and economic protocols between Syria and Germany. The IRD –French Fund, in general, is more active in Lebanon and Syria, ex-French colonies-became active in Cairo only recently because of the competition of the USAID. However, it is mostly devoted to urban upgrading projects of the colonial Cairo (European part).

<sup>24</sup> That was exemplified in an interview with Ms. Brigitte Leicht, an anthropologist researcher, School of Geography, Mainz University in Mainz in October 2000. Ms. Leicht quoted Mrs. Diaby-Pentzlin, who gave a course in “Development and Foreign Aid” (1999) in the same school and worked as a consultant for the GTZ (German Foreign Aid Agency). Through the course material Mrs Diaby revealed that the German government contributes in the development of the Developing-World countries through the BMZ (Bundesministerium für Zusammenarbeit) Ministry and the GTZ programmes. However, this is used mainly for the political benefits of Germany and not according to priority status of the grant recipient countries. For example the regularly supported western African countries are left to suffer famine and harsh conditions because the political interest of Germany have grown and developed recently towards Eastern Europe, which channelled most of the German granting monies to Eastern European Countries, the prospective members in the EC.

In addition, there is currently no single area conservation project in Cairo that involves community development (comprehensive scheme) or that is financed by national money, except for al-Darb al-Ahmar Area that is an area conservation scheme managed and financed by the International Aga Khan Trust.<sup>25</sup> Many community leaders are turning into grant hunters rather than being really concerned with actual problems in their local communities, reshaping their proposals, tailoring fieldwork to meet the criteria of different granting agencies. This is most likely when the final product as in most of the cases and as stressed by many granting sources, is in the form of reports, as foreign aid disproportionates its grants to focus mainly on the study phase such that, at the level of implementation little cash is left. For example in the restoration and the rehabilitation project of Bait Jabir in Salt in Jordan, the grant given by the JICA was for the study while the money for the project itself was a loan. Another example is the Rehabilitation of Old Cairo study (UNDP, 1997) generated through a UNDP grant of about US \$ 890,208.00 (UNDP, 2001). Only few recommendations from this study have been implemented while many physical problems are left become more dangerous.

Moreover, foreign aids do not act flexibly. Each granting agency has its own criteria; the final report for these agencies is the most important result for those who control the grant money and not the actual benefit of the developed community or area. For example, and as revealed by the head of the Project Director, The American Research Centre in Egypt (ARCE), Dr. Robert K. Vincent<sup>26</sup>, the ARCE financed by the USAID does not conduct area conservation projects, but the restoration of historical building groups concentrated in Historic Cairo. Dr. Vincent illustrates the inflexible USAID criteria for grants for revitalising Historic Cairo using one case where the sewage system in Bab Zuwilla Area needed to be replaced for a more effective restoration of the historical building group in this area (Sabil Nafisa al-Bida, Salih Talai Mosque, Muaiyyad Shikh Mosque, Bab Zuwila, Sabil Barquq, as well as many other single monument in the vicinity) (ill.3.7). Without the replacement of the old sewage system, as explained and proposed by Dr. Vincent, the whole restoration work would lose its effectiveness in few years. However, according to Dr. Vincent, it was not easy to convince USAID to cover the

---

<sup>25</sup> This notion was developed through a meeting and a brain storming session with Dr. Rami Daher (Ass. Prof. JUST), Adrian McKentire (anthropologist, Berkley University) and the author in Turath, Daher's private office in Amman, Jordan in July, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Dr Vincent is responsible for conservation projects in Egypt conducted by ARCE, through an interview in his office in Cairo, July 2000.



cost of renewing the sewage system of the area because infrastructure upgrading did not match the USAID criteria. In this instance, the project was conducted as a major exception. Another example is the case of Hafsiyya Quarter in le-Medina in Tunis, where the World Bank did not encourage investment in heritage industry until the late 1980s. Thus, it cost the ASM group much efforts to circumvent the then World Bank granting scheme to obtain the needed loans to upgrade the Hafsiyya.<sup>27</sup>



Ill. 3.7: The open space in front of the Zuwila Historical Gate where many historical buildings are under restoration by the ARCE.

Moreover, USAID, as well as many other foreign aid agencies, demand commissioning certain international experts and contracting companies from their own countries. Thus, a great deal of the grant not consumed in the studies is spent or imported goods even if it is relatively more expensive than making use of resources acquired from elsewhere (Daher, 1999 and Matar, 2000).<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, the second perspective of foreign aid is more concerned with its conceptual goal, as determined in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992). It envisages foreign aid as free of any colonial or tendency to control other developing countries and concentrate rather on the motivation behind it. There it was decided that developed countries contribute about 0.8% of their national income towards the development of needy communities in developing countries for bettering life on earth.<sup>29</sup> However foreign

<sup>27</sup> An interview with Mrs. Fayqa Bijawi, vice president of ASM (Association of the Safeguarding of the Medina) through an interview in her office at the ASM, March 2001, Tunis.

<sup>28</sup> Matar (2000) elaborates, focusing mostly on the USAID case in Egypt, that despite the temptation of the mid-period and short-term loans issued in fixed amount, with free interest, and paid back in Egyptian pounds, it is mainly a way to promote American products and applying high interest in later stages of the loan for the benefits of the American enterprises. To Daher (1999) the grants are regained back to the donating country through its imposed experts who are charging international-rate fees consume most of these grants.

<sup>29</sup> I am indebted to Ms. Brigitte Leicht who attracted my attention to this fact in our interview in Mainz in October 2000.

aid can be envisaged as a kind of economic strategic planning practiced by developed countries by learning how they direct and manage this money. This is highlighted through JICA aid programmes, for Japan does not grow or own most of its food and fuel, thus it uses foreign aid to establish good relations with the countries it deals with or has strategic relation with.<sup>30</sup> Foreign aid, also, can be envisaged as a kind of economic preventive care as revealed by Prof. Urbani (2002) who explains that the main motivation behind the European Community development programme for the Mediterranean Region is to protect the European shores from illegal immigration through developing the less fortunate southern parts of the Mediterranean. Thus many programmes are initiated by the European Community (EC) to promote Heritage for cultural tourism as a common theme in the whole Mediterranean seaboard and one of the principals financially rewarding category of investment, see for example the Museum without Frontiers Programme among the Mediterranean Countries that motivates and influencing the agenda and the approach to conservation of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture as elaborated in section 6.4.2 in Chapter Six and Williams (2002, p.457).

Therefore, it is not a long-term solution to count solely on foreign aid as the main vehicle for development in developing countries and low-income communities while neglecting the potential role of local investment. It is important to enrol the local communities in urban upgrading and to encourage them to pave the way for their investment as they own and control 80% of the developing countries economies, which is normally neglected by the local governments for this money, is in forms of informal trades and economy. Thus, neglecting their financial incorporation will lead to no sustainable development (De Soto, 2002). This has been also encouraged through the above call for sustainable conservation that consider the economic aspects of the targeted historic area and which also call for active involvement of the local investments whether that of the locals or private sector in general as addressed in the partnership section in the following chapter in section 4.4.2.a.

On the other hand it is not rational to be sceptical and neglect the potential benefits of foreign aid, especially if it is employed effectively in development and introduces a great deal of hard currency. Attaguile (2002) maintains that Egypt is expected to receive about 698 million Euros from the EC through different development schemes, e.g.,

---

<sup>30</sup> This information was revealed by Mr. Shokichi Sakata, Deputy Residential Representative of JICA in

Euromed and Meda Programmes, within the coming few years. It is neither possible to neglect or reject this money especially with the current economic crisis in Egypt to ignore local know-how and knowledge-based development for they are essential for sustainable, low-cost and more effective area conservation approaches (Van Huyck, 1990). However this approach to the financial management of foreign aid money should not consume the grant money devoted to the physical upgrading itself (Daher, 1999).

Yet, considering the current scarcity of trust between the local communities and their national institutions,<sup>31</sup> local fund raising for development is almost impossible. Therefore, effective loan and fund programmes through foreign aid monitored by local experts and institutions and coupled with local governmental and non-governmental institutional co-ordination is illustrated in some of the most effectively implemented area conservation programmes in the region, best achieved through an effective area conservation management unit as introduced in the following chapter in section 4.3.1.d.<sup>32</sup> Ramahmdani (2001) illustrates this through the loan of residential building restoration fund and the emergency fund schemes in the Revitalisation of Old Aleppo Project in Syria, financed by the GTZ in collaboration with local experts and the local municipality, which represent the different official institutions involved. A similar case is al-Darb al-Ahmar in Cairo financed by the Aga Khan, which employ the same concept of residential restoration loan scheme in its action area at Darb Shughlan (part of al-Darb al-Ahmar). Daher (1999)<sup>33</sup> even recommends that the grant and foreign aid would only be employed at a later stage, after the initiation of the upgrading programme. Thus the direction of development and its strategy are clarified and the money employed is effectively spent with minimum waste. The *Wakail* project (old mansions that accommodated more than one poor family in Old Tunis, le-Medina), a housing project and rehabilitation and area conservation scheme in Medina, Old Tunis, avoided the temptation of assign development to promote tourism in the historical core of the City of Tunis, which is the main criterion for the Arab Fund in

---

Egypt, through an interview at JICA headquarters in Cairo in December 2001.

<sup>31</sup> See section 6.4.1.a and b. and footnote 229 in Chapter Six.

<sup>32</sup> This is the case in le-Medina managed by the ASM in Tunis and The Revitalisation of Old Aleppo Office.

<sup>33</sup> Daher built this recommendations on the cases he studied well in Amman, the case of the restoration and the rehabilitation project of Darat al-Funon; an idea initiated by plastic art advocates and architectural heritage activists who made the first call for safeguarding the house and later tried to attract the potential granting source, the Arab Bank, as well as acquiring the political umbrella involving royal family members interests and concern so the house was restored and became a prominent cultural landmark so effective in the intellectual life of the Jordanian capital as I have experienced myself through a visit to the place in summer 2000 and through an event I co-organised there in January 2002.

Kuwait (ill.3.8). The Arab Fund however, invested about five million D.Ks (about fifteen millions US\$ and about 62% of the funds it offers to safeguarding the Muslim urban heritage) although the project did not meet the Arab Fund's major criterion to invest in conservation for tourism development to enhance the national economy. That was achieved because of the Arab Fund was called in by the ASM in the third phase of the *Wakail* Project, when its conservation principles and upgrading direction were well synthesised and experienced, and started to promise fruitful social, economic and cultural results.<sup>34</sup>



Ill. 3.8a: A court of a historical mansion in le-Median (historic town) in Tunis suffer much deterioration, a typical case of historical mansion that used to be the house of well-to-do Tunisian extended families; now accommodating poor immigrants and settlers from the countryside.

---

<sup>34</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Falih Majid, the head of Kuwait Information Centre in Cairo, and Mr. Abdel al-Rahman the Egyptian secretary for all the information I have acquired about the Arab Fund in Kuwait.



Ill. 3.8b: One of the rebuilt voids in the historic town in Tunis replacing deteriorated mansions of very low environmental quality, located in Nahj al-Basha. Some of these examples were rebuilt as this example; others are restored, depending on the physical condition and the historical and architectural value of the recycled deteriorated mansion.



Ill. 3.8c: The *Wakail*, low-budget housing to accommodate the transferred poor occupants of the deteriorated mansions in le-Medina, Tunis, to especially designed houses designed and placed to suit their social and cultural demands.

In brief, a clear and comprehensive strategy that targets the well-being of the community as well as its built environment is to be the primary goal. It is recommended that the demands of the community and its environment as a whole, with their potentials, be specified and taken into consideration. Development then could rely on, in principle, local potentials as far as possible to ensure greater sustainability and effectiveness of the proposals. If foreign aid is to be called in, it is expected to contribute constructively to an already specified development and upgrading strategy, and not vice versa. This would necessitate especial skills to co-ordinate/ match between the criteria of the international granting sources and the demands and development strategies of the thought developed areas. That was experienced in the case of al-Hafsiyya Quarter in the Medina, Tunis. It was a clever readjustment of the ASM team with the help of Dr. Mona Serajaldin and Ismail Serajaldin (World Bank) who introduced the area as a slum to apply for the World bank Slum development scheme, for during that time in the 1980s the World Bank did not support Heritage Conservation or area conservation projects.<sup>35</sup> It is necessary to be reviewed and managed regularly as a partnership between the granting source, through a representative who monitor the work performance, and the official local institutions as well

<sup>35</sup> an interview with Mrs. Faiqa Bejaoui, ASM deputy director in her office, ASM headquarter, le Medina, Tunis in March 2001.

as community representatives following transparent financial management, given that community and local institutional responsibilities are integral to the work.

### 3.3.2. Tourism:

Tourism can be traced back to the late antiquities when Christians were pilgrimages visited the holy sites. However Tourism as an industry is traced back to the late eighteenth century when European elites developed a taste for travelling to biblical sites and to landmark antiquities. That was coupled with a growing interest in archaeology, also initiated as an elite intellectual exercise, which later served to promote and popularise the uncovered myths of oriental history. However, it was not before the nineteenth century, especially in its second half, when travellers took to visiting other countries as tourists. Thanks to Thomas Cook, the dawn of tourism in its full industrial sense shone over Egypt, as well as on the Fertile Crescent and over Palestine. The first tourists were rich people from different parts of Europe, especially Western Europe eager to view this part of the world, searching for the magical ambiance of the East and the 'Ancient World' promoted through the romantic writings and works of art that flooded into the salons of upper-class in Europe through orientalist works common during that period.

Tourism thus was founded, or best to say motivated and promoted, as a cultural phenomenon. 'Cultural Tourism' thus the precursor of other types of tourism with their political, economic, social, cultural, educational, bio-physical, ecological and aesthetical dimensions.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not until after the World War II that organised efforts were made to define cultural tourism's ethics and meaning. Dower (1975) emphasises that the definition of cultural tourism was initiated in Europe that had seen during the period of 1955 to 1975, a tremendously increased number of tourists visiting cultural sites in Europe, raising a call for the need for sustainable tourism. He also emphasises the high interrelation between tourism and conservation, making a call for high standards of design that respect the vernacular and traditional architecture of tourist attraction sites and their macro zones. This was echoed by the CCT (Charter of Cultural Tourism) held in Brussels in 1976. It was followed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Cultural Tourism Charter, held in Rostock and Dresden in 1984, which stressed on the sensitive

management of historic sites to enhance the experience of tourism. Sustainable development for tourism in such sites was further emphasised in the Earth Summit, Rio de Janeiro (1992).

In general, cultural tourism can be a source of national pride as well as foreign currency. Therefore, the ICTC, resolved that cultural tourism's importance is based on its confirmation of the continuing appeal of the cultural heritage of other nations stimulated by people's interest in monuments and sites of archaeological, architectural, historic or religious importance. Moreover, Dix (1990) regards cultural tourism as the best source to secure foreign currency, as well as the best means to secure income to meet the costs of conservation. Thus, cultural tourism exists as a valuable social, human and economic phenomenon (ICTC, 1999).

According to Goodall (1993, pp. 94-5), there are three levels of cultural tourism: 'Core Product', 'Tangible Product', and 'Augmented Product'. The first is the benefit or service the customer (a tourist) gains from purchasing the product (tourism service). The core product, thus, could be enjoyment, fun, and/or learning. However, it is important that any intervention respects the especial nature and condition of the historical site it promotes so it should not harm the resource itself (the monument or the historic site) or affect its character. That is why Dix (1990, p.395) insists that it is essential to know why tourism is important to a particular site, whether the visitors go to see a religious centre to pray or to admire its historical, aesthetic value. This is critical in order to outline what types of intervention are best suited to any historic area under conservation.

The second level, the tangible product, represents the features of the products that are purchased at a specific site, time and price, such as a guide, guided tours, explanatory displays and historic or cultural artefacts. The third level, the augmented product, is any other type of service that adds value to the tourist visit over the above formal services of the tangible product. Augmented products can include knowledgeable staff through tourist centres or agencies, coffee shop, restaurant or picnic facilities, family ticket concessions, gift shop wares, especial events or exhibitions, interactive interpretation and so on. It is within the later two levels of cultural tourism (tangible and augmented products) that site appropriation and developments for tourism are implemented.

---

<sup>36</sup> This is according to the general definition of tourism in the ICTC (International Cultural Tourism Charter) held in Mexico in 1999.

Moreover, it is necessary that any intervention respect the integrity of the developed area. It is recommended to share a historic reference with its area for the processes of conceptualisation of design thoughts, spatial and perceptual morphology, as well as human activities of which are all influenced by the past and the evolution of the place (Carmona, 1996). For example, the project of Pierra, linking Takssim Square with Galata District, downtown Istanbul, reintroduced the tram as a popular sustainable traffic means, especially for those who do not want to travel on foot from Takssim to Galata, within the main pedestrian route at Pierra, see (ill.1.16b). The tram was reintroduced to the area as nostalgic revival- of the trams introduced there during the first quarter of the twentieth century. It harmonises with the neo-classical buildings of the area while serving its function well as a safe public transportation that does not threaten the pedestrians in the Pierra Walk. It does not only add to the neo-classical character of Taksim Square, which is full of hotels, but also flourish trade activities through making Pierra more accessible for both tourists and other citizens of Istanbul.

Feilden (1990, p. 313) criticises local authorities and planners for over-promoting development for tourism through perfectionist conservation approach (producing glossy walls and neat stones carving aiming a spirit of nostalgic glamorous, which can be also described as beautification or sanitisation) as he sees happening in Rome, Florence, the Middle East, Far East and London, stating that such an approach “can be disastrous. It can kill the goose that lays the golden egg.” It can also stagnate the dynamic and authentic quality of any lived-in historic area. Therond (1999) warns for a return to the elitist approach of tourism, the starting point of tourism since the eighteenth century as indicated above. Orbasli (2000) also criticises the perfectionist conservation approach for reducing the differentiation between the area and newly built ‘themed townscapes’, thus diluting the historic area’s significance and character.

That is elaborated further by Orbasli (2000) describing the growing role of tourism and its influence on conservation in a facial mood, thus promoting façadism. This leads to the emergence of the importance of the façade at the expense of an in-depth understanding of the urban culture, main characteristics and values of the host community. This is expressed through an over-emphatically ‘historic’ environment, glossy in appearance, developing a default image of a historic site appropriate for tourism. Such a replication is almost always characterised by pedestrianised cobbled streets and benches and period ‘bollards’, creating what is called ‘heritage streetscape’ (Orbasli, 2000, pp. 13-4). Such a



mocking image has become the trend; it has even inspired new developments, e.g. the Movenbic Resort on the Dead Sea, Jordan (fashioned as an Ottoman Village), Khan al-Aziziyya commercial and recreational mall in Sixth-of-October City close to Cairo (fashioned after the seventeenth century Khan al-Khalili Mall in Historic Cairo) as well as many newly developed commercial malls and shops in York fashioned in a Victorian 'style'.

Another reservation against cultural tourism is illustrated by Daher (1999), stating that an area conservation approach that is mainly developed to meet tourism or the interpreted desire of visitors to experience historic places creates an isolationist mood for it dismantles the link between lives of the host community and its historic environment.<sup>37</sup> This develops through a process of: dismantling vital relationships between the heritage and its associated host community through the by-default attitude of area sanitisation or museumisation;<sup>38</sup> building dependency while encouraging no other forms of developments or initiatives in the host community; and increasing inequality in the distribution of benefits as the host community usually finds itself empty-handed at the end of such an area conservation scheme because little attention is given in terms of value conservation or interpretation and even community upgrading. For example the result of the area conservation scheme in Qasr al-Sham Area, Misr al-Qadima, Coptic Cairo, and al-Darb al-Asfar in Gamaliyya in Fatimid Cairo where the two areas witnessed beautification and major restoration of abounded historic buildings while the local communities did not benefit much except for painting the elevation of their house as part of a more enhancement of the image of the two areas for cultural tourism, further elaboration in section 6.4.1.f and I (Mashrabiyya subsection) in Chapter Six.

Such reservations against cultural tourism are readjusted in different charters and codes of principles and ethics of cultural tourism including the ICOMOS Statement of Principles for the Balanced Development of Cultural Tourism, 1997, the ICTC (1999) and The Scottish Arts Council Principles (2000).<sup>39</sup> Such charters and codes of practice recommend strengthening the link among culture, economic and development for tourism through detailed strategies and integrated planning. They also stress the rights of the host community, maintaining that any upgrading scheme or development for tourism should

---

<sup>37</sup> Daher (1999) gives a very good example through the case of Um Qais, notified above.

<sup>38</sup> See Shehyeb and Sedky (2002), Appendix Three.

<sup>39</sup> The Scottish Arts Council (Information) Directory, February 2000.

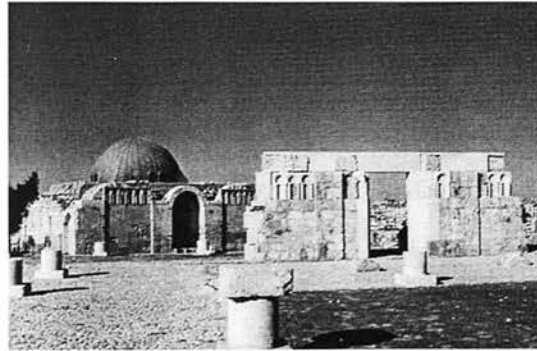
target the alleviation of poverty, through encouraging training and employment programmes in the community. It is also necessary that any development respects the scale, nature and character of the area in which they are located jeopardising no local cultural or social values.

Conserved historic sites should be also accessible to the host community to be more integrated within their urban zone. This could be achieved by integrating heritage sites, such as archaeological sites, with their urban surroundings through site management and landscaping. Aslan (2002) and Mayer (2002) weave a sensitive and balanced management of the archaeological site within a living urbanism. They state that tourism, town planning and the conservation of monuments and archaeological sites are recommended to be seen as natural partners. However they highlight the threats in the archaeological sites caused by the growth of historic towns, drawing such a sensitive and critical debate of archaeological site management within a living urbanism, whether to open the archaeological site as neighbourhood intellectual park or to conceal it completely, ridging the archaeological lyrics until enough awareness and adoptive reuse or finance is granted for more effective and appropriate urban design. Therefore, the antiquities site within the downtown Beirut, Suq Barghut Area, is negatively criticised for being planned to be segregated only visually accessible through some coffee shops overlooking it.

Furthermore, regarding treatment of archaeological sites and historical artefacts in general, Goodall (1993) criticises the creation of contrived heritage attractions based on animation and simulation for they are regarded as impoverishing culture and stifling imagination. This, however, is a very fluid issue determined according to the specificity of the context and situation we are dealing with. For example in the case of the Citadel of Amman, Arce (2002) Director of the excavation and the restoration of the Ummayyad Palace and Citadel in Amman, makes a daring step reconstructing in light structures a simulated form of the Umayyad Palace as part of his major restoration scheme of the site at the top of the mountain overlooking the downtown Amman. According to Goodall, (1993) this is not to be accredited as a scientific approach to deal with heritage site. Yet, it is essential to consider that the Citadel of Amman was always a segregated and deserted spot in Amman without any credit in the perception of any Ammani citizen. Aiming at integrating the site with the Amman community, it is necessary for the site and the archaeological remains to receive especial interpretation and presentation of its historic quality so it can be integrated within the thought urban design scheme of the downtown

linking the Roman Theatre remains at the bottom of the mountain and the citadel at the top through a comprehensive Area conservation scheme to develop the surrounding neighbourhoods getting them physically integrated with their surrounding monuments and creating tourist pedestrian routs and shopping areas (ills.3.9a,b). Arce (2002) also legitimises his interventions for being based on archaeological findings as well as being assembled and composed of light structure and visually distinctive materials so they can be easily removed in the future if needed. This can be seen as effectively performed tangible and tangible augmented products that are meant to enhance the thought core product of the Amman Citadel site for both Amman local community and the international tourists.

For such a goal also, visitors of heritage sites should be able to experience the heritage site at their own pace; thus, specific circulation routes may be necessary to minimise impacts on the integrity of the heritage site within its wider urban fabric, thus avoiding any cut-through traffic or any other urban segmentation interventions that may affect negatively the hosting community.



Ill. 3.9a: The Umayyad Palace, Judging Court, on the Citadel Plateau in Amman, Jordan; the reconstructed dome was added to give an integral form of the Umayyad monuments introduced to the area in the eighth century.



Ill.3.9b: A shot from the citadel plateau overlooking the downtown in Amman with squatters on the cliff leading to the Roman theatre (to the right) and the bus terminus, marking the centre of the city, the whole area is currently under major regeneration studies.

Tourism can also benefit the local community through integrating the host community in the different phases of the development scheme, from strategic design to implementation to guide planners on the extent and the thresholds of growth and development acceptable within the boundaries of each community's codes of values.<sup>40</sup> Thus, it is important that such developments be sought through schemes that allow change in the built environment for urban changes are inevitable and essential for the liveability of any environment. For example, the Aga Khan urban management team incorporated the community of Suq al-Tablita, the vegetable market in al-Azhar Area, in the different phases Suq al-Tablita Upgrading Project, especially when some textile shops are to be moved to Suq al-Tablita which made it a sophisticated job. It was through an interactive public hearing and workshops with the key persons in Suq al-Tablita the planning team became able to lay a design with separate entrances and well-designed circulation for the vegetable market, thanks to the thoughtful remarks of the local people.

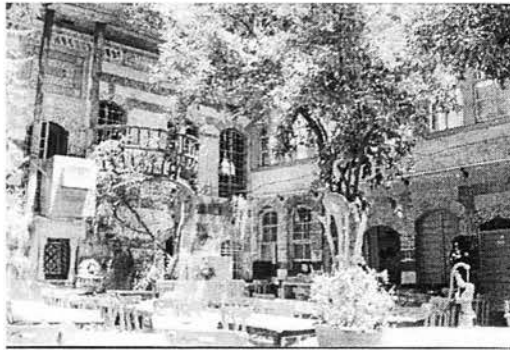
Such recommendations and considerations can not be realised however without focusing on the host community. To Fielden (1990), civilising the city involves enhancing the quality of life of its citizens, for if the city is civilised for its citizens it will offer good services for its tourists as well.<sup>41</sup> This is also supported by Daher (1999), which calls for a community-based (grass-roots development) approach to development, depending more on informal community-based economy and financial mechanism as much as possible. This approach is thought of as a means to slow down the influx of a hegemonic globalisation and its deterministic mechanism that is diluting the character of historic areas. This more community-oriented approach is more effective in and applicable to a wide range of historic areas especially because cultural tourism cannot be always the promising and motivated source for development. This is because cultural tourism comes as a third choice, after ecological tourism and coastal (leisure) tourism, according to the World Tourism Organisation forecasts (Groth, 2000). Cultural heritage represents the third criterion for holiday destination of European tourists to the World after landscape and natural environment, followed by climate (*ibid*).

---

<sup>40</sup> An with interview Dr. Ashraf Botrous, Project Manager of Suq al-Tablita Upgrading, the Aga Khan, in June 2002, Cairo; see also section 6.4.1.i. (sub-section AKCS-E) in Chapter Six.

<sup>41</sup> Fielden (1990) using Edinburgh as a case study maintains that Tourism should benefit the local people not only international hotel chains, which we can see everywhere in Edinburgh through local guest houses and other different types of tourism augmented products.

In addition, through political or community forces, the default motivation claimed by officials and planners in area conservation schemes is development for tourism,<sup>42</sup> which they regard and financially legitimise as profitable investment. This, however, is not applicable in all cases. For example, some areas might be predominantly residential; thus, it is not profitable for tourism, which would bring hazards to the host community which can then fight to halt the proposed development. The residents of the Qimariyya Area in Old Damascus are gradually losing the character of their neighbourhood as a result of the hidden encouragement of the Anbar Office that encourages any development in Old Damascus for tourism while not offering any restoration loan programmes for the local community. This policy raised many complaints of intrusion and noise introduced in the refurbished historical houses that had been converted into night clubs and restaurants (ill.3.10). The question now is: who is going to leave first?



Ill. 3.10: Beit al-Gabri in Damascus. The mansion transformed into a restaurant suffers adaptations such as AC condensers drilled into its eighteenth century walls.

Therefore, it is necessary that any area conservation scheme be exposed to project economic appraisal otherwise very little, if any, economic benefits could be realised (Dineen and Walsh, 1999). Such a scheme likely promises profitability. The proposed tourism development is necessary to be evaluated in a comprehensive manner applying sustainable measures to guarantee its long-term validity and profitability.

What should be given a priority is the enhancement of the local community culture and environment, improving its environmental qualities while respecting its culture. It is necessary to envisage historic environment as a social product that serves a social purpose and the conservation of which is part of the social life of the whole environment necessary

<sup>42</sup> An early example is the case is Nuttgens (1972) stating that conservation always has something to do with tourism. He implies an always and inevitable link between any development in historic area and tourism in

for the liveability of the culture, and not to protect the styles of the past. Visiting such an environment should not be regarded as a visit to a museum where history is represented rather than lived in (Orbasli, 2000).

### 3.3.3. Gentrification:

Gentrification is the practical type of heritage commodification. Generally, it can be defined as the “restoration of deteriorated urban property especially in working-class neighbourhoods by the middle and upper classes” (Soukhanov and Ellis, 1984, p. 526). The word is originated from the word ‘gentry’ (the gentle birth people of good breeding) and ‘fication’ (production or making).<sup>43</sup> Seeking a deeper definition of gentrification, Daher (1999) envisages it through two perspectives. The first is place-centred, through which gentrification is defined as the conversion of socially marginal and working class areas of the city to middle-class residential use. The second perspective is a person-centred one, through which gentrification is defined as the process by which low-income occupants of the developed areas are replaced by higher-income residents.

Certainly the driving forces behind gentrification are investment forces seeking profits from real-estate and tourism industries. A property market value can witness much increase due to its location in an area that is close to the city centre. Pressures to sell this property to be recycled in the real estate market are inevitable. Such a property, if appropriated to accommodate the requirements of the middle and upper classes through incorporating the necessary amenities, can be sold for a good price. Such pressures have become common since the 1960s, and include the Covent Garden area in London (subjected to major redevelopment scheme in the 1960s), Bab al-Faraj in Aleppo (redeveloped in the 1980s), and Suq Swiqqah Area in Tunis (also redeveloped in the 1980s). Gentrification has acquired a notorious status because of many insensitive development that did not complement the character or the cultural values or even the communities where they were introduced. The growing calls for social equality and justice, in addition to the growing awareness of the physical values of historic areas makes it necessary to envisage gentrification in a more critical perspective.

Tourism is another cause for gentrification, the most frequent cause in context of the present research. Here heritage is dealt with solely as a commodity. Daher elaborates in

---

general.

his argument “Stage vs. Living Heritage” (1999, p.44) that the overall appropriation of a traditional area as a tourist settlement freezes the values of processes (the heritage in its living form) into a more theatrical form to meet tourists’ and holiday-makers’ expectations. Daher answers the question of why these forces use traditional or historical settings by stating that “heritage becomes a trend”.<sup>44</sup>

This is illustrated by the many court houses agglomerated within a diameter of almost a hundred metres in the heart of Old Damascus that have been refurbished and sold to well-to-do individuals from families who have never lived in the historic town before (ill.3.11). Such a trend has become common since mid 1990s.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the cases of Sidi Bu-Said Village close to Tunis City and Essaouira in Morocco were witnessed major alteration of their characters as traditional settlement converted into tourist resorts developed initially by individual investors (ills.3.12a, b). By contrast, in Jordan, commodifying heritage is promoted by the Ministry of Tourism aiming at increasing tourist stay over in Amman and southern, central and northern Jordan through enhancing the cultural experiences.<sup>46</sup> This is achieved through dealing with vernacular and traditional heritage as fashionable themes, converting complete Ottoman villages (built in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and urban settlements into galleries, restaurants and tourist spas, as in Khirbat al-Nawafllah, Um Qais and Taibat Zaman Villages (Daher, 1999). Even new

---

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> This idea was revealed through a meeting and a brain storming session with Dr. Rami Daher (Ass. Prof. JUST), Adrian McKentire (anthropologist, Berkley University) and myself in Turath, Daher’s private office in Amman, Jordan in July, 2000.

<sup>45</sup> That was discovered through my fieldwork investigation in Old Damascus in July and August 2000. The investigation revealed that the Old Town is regarded as the original source of the well breeding families thus many gentry families in Damascus are seeking currently a headquarter in a form of a traditional extended family mansion (court house) usually used as a holiday house, Bait al-Attassi (the House of Attasi Family the former President in Syria and the two houses of HRH Shikha Hussah al-Sabah of Kuwait are located close to each other few meters away from the Umayyad Mosque at the core of the historic town).

<sup>46</sup> This is stated by HRH. Sharifa Nofa b. Nasser through an interview with her published in the Jordanian Newspaper, *al-Aswaq*, 27<sup>th</sup> January, 2002.

tourist villages, e.g. the Movenbik Resort on the Dead Sea are designed in such a 'vernacular-like' character.



Ill. 3.11: A restored eighteenth-century mansion in the heart of Old Damascus, owned by HRH Shikha Husna al-Sabah.



Ill. 3.12a: A historic house converted into a restaurant in Sidi Bu Said, Tunis, Tunisia.



Ill. 3.12b: The heart of Sidi Bu Said, currently occupied by touristic activities, coffee shops and souvenir shops converting the whole Sidi Bu Said into a tourist town

Gentrification in historic towns however follows a certain pattern. In the Arab-Islamic context it is mostly conducted by westerners (Europeans, North Americans or westernised communities such as the Tunisians living in Motialville District in Tunis or the Jordanians living in Abdon Quarter in Amman) who seek an 'Orientalist' atmosphere, and occurs through out the Middle East except in Syria where laws make ownership difficult for foreigners. Thus we find that gentrification in Old Damascus comes in a form of a created kitschy atmosphere by Syrian investors converting traditional houses into restaurants, cyber coffee shops, or even residential units used more as resorts where they can practice their regular westernised lifestyle different from that characterising the area and the surrounding traditional community. Consequently, cultural and social separation is inevitable. However, we still can find the House of Stefan Wepper, a German researcher and Art Historian, Gohte Institute in Damascus, renting a traditional house and refurbish in Old Damascus converting it into a guest house especially for German tourists and



researchers. This trend, development for touristic development, is blessed by the Anbar office, the municipal organisation responsible for the Old Damascus.<sup>47</sup>

Then the agglomeration of westerners starts, for the areas attract more westerners in the vicinity (Escher and Peterman, 2000). The new comers tend to be more concentrated in the core zone of the historic town, close to the central market or the central *Rahaba* (the main open space before the great mosque or the portal of the main market), which can be distinguished as the tourist hot-spot. Such areas include the most gentrified zone in Marrakish in Morocco and al-Qimariyyah Quarter, in Old Damascus close to both Medhat Pasha and Hamadiyya Markets and the Umayyad Mosque that is the glory of Old Damascus, where the Houses of HRH. Shikha Hussah of Kuwait and the Attassi family of the Syrian ex-President are located. Escher and Peterman (2000) find that, those outsiders selected their properties according to the following criteria: accessibility (by vehicles), central location, and security. To this the author adds the availability of such properties in a property-selling and marketing machine that moves enthusiastically, as in the cases of Essaouira and Marrakish in Morocco. In general, the purchased properties are converted into guesthouses, restaurants, and museums or galleries as investments in tourism industry or into dwellings used as resort or holiday houses or as a retirement residences for Europeans. This is common in North Africa where the ownership laws are relatively flexible.

Today, and under the current globalisation pressures, gentrification can be argued positively as a means to clean up and to bring money to 'less advanced' traditional settlements. Such a justification was put forward by the American Architect Bill Willis who had been living in a large palace in northern Marrakish since 1973 (*ibid*). It could also be argued that gentrification might protect the physical character of historic areas, for upper class residents can afford the restoration bills. This has even been justified on an urban scale in the case of al-Hamrawi Quarter in Old Damascus where the problem of intensifying the traditional fabric through dividing the old mansions into smaller units began to threaten the urban fabric of the old city (Mansour, 1997). This problem arose as a way of addressing the contingency demands of the local communities, through the humble resources and which drastically altered the environmental condition of the area.

---

<sup>47</sup> Implied in interviews with Anbar office planning staff, mainly the head of the Planning Department in August 2000.

Moreover, Engineer Amer al-Aqad<sup>48</sup> supports gentrification; however, that is conditioned with the lost of the social and cultural values links between the historic area and their low-income occupants, i.e., experiencing a cultural rupture. For example, al-Aqad finds that it is better for the Jewish Quarter southern Old Damascus, currently accommodating Palestinian families who flee to Damascus as refugees during the different Arab-Israeli wars, to be gentrified after compensating the current occupants for they do not homogenise with the traditional Damascian culture. Furthermore, Alili (2002) draws a pro gentrification view, considering the decline of historic areas in the case of Historic Cairo as a consequence of the weakness of their occupants, being low-income groups with less political and institutional influence. Thus, he promotes the replacing of any weak group such as (low-income occupants) with more powerful groups that can protect their benefit thus the area's environmental quality, which might envisage tourism as a suitable development perspective for historic areas.

Unfortunately, gentrification thus is envisaged as a means for development and it is implicitly promoted by governmental organisations, either directly or indirectly. Direct promotion occurred in the case of Suq Barghut in Beirut where the whole area was restored to preserve its 1920s physical form but with a different character. Instead of being the city's centre for all the Beirutians (ills.3.13a,b), it became rather the elitist district of a fashionable 'heritage style' accommodating the headquarters of reputable firms and boutiques.<sup>49</sup> This project was conducted by the SOLIDERE, owned by Rafiq al-Hariri, the Lebanese prim-minister. Other examples of direct promotion are the projects conducted by the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism, which above the Ministry of Culture, is responsible for Antiquity. It has been involved in converting complete Ottoman villages into tourist villages and relocating the original occupants in modern settlements completely different from their original environment (Daher, 1999).

---

<sup>48</sup> That was revealed in an interview, held in August 2000, with Engineer Amer al- Aqad, the project manager of the restoration and refurbishment of the two mansions of HRH. Shikha Hussah al-Sabah of Kuwait in Old Damascus.

<sup>49</sup> The most reliable comment the author received about this case was during an interview with Hanaa Jabir, head of the CERMOC (French Research Centre) in Amman, in August 2000, who maintained that despite of being a Lebanese, born in Beirut but after some years away in France she felt "afraid" when she visited Suq Barghut Area lately. She felt out-of-place.



Ill. 3.13a: An old image of the heart of Suq Barghout (Beirut CBD, Lebanon) from the 1950s where most of the activities and entertainment are centred there.



Ill.3.13b: A polished form of Suq Barghout today after being restored and refurbished to accommodate international brand names and very wealthy international community as targeted by the SOLIDERE in charge of the regeneration of the area.

Indirect promotion occurs when municipal organisations in historic areas neglect any schemes other than those developing tourist amenities to enhance environmental quality of the local communities. Thus, development in its comprehensive sense is absent in place of indirect pressures responsible for area gentrification. This is the case in Anbar office in Old Damascus and Cairo Governorate in Historic Cairo.<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, the side effects of gentrification are very well-known on the social level. It causes complete alteration of any area's character. Daher describes the mass gentrification in the case of Um Qais Village for the local community as a journey from paradise (the traditional environment of the local community that harmonised with its culture and lifestyle) to the ghetto (the modern housing scheme offered by the government,

<sup>50</sup> That was implied by the Governor of Cairo in a TV. Programme titled: "The Symposium of Islamic Thinking", channel 1, Egyptian TV, 9:45 PM on 2 December, 2001. Cairo local time. In this programme the Governor maintained that "the main goal of the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project is to promote economy through investments in tourism for monuments are marketed through tourism".

which halted the traditional lifestyle and practices of the local community) (1999, p.39). On the conservation level this is the museumification of the cultural heritage of the area. Furthermore, Escher and Peterman (2000) question the notion of gentrification's positive economic effects on local communities through job opportunities. They find that westerners (specifically Europeans in the case of Morocco) buy up the properties from and at the same time take the local communities into their services, which Escher and Peterman define as a new form of colonisation. Even the notion that gentrification of historic areas might preserve their physical character is not accepted anymore. What now happens in Marrakish is that the Europeans who started to purchase traditional houses appropriated them to their western lifestyle adding fireplaces, swimming pools that overstretch the capacity of the traditional structures. Some buildings were even dismantled up to the outside walls and were replaced by open-plan concrete constructions, promoting façadism (*ibid*).

However, gentrification in certain cases has been the only means for the survival of certain areas, e.g., Sidi Bu-Said in Tunisia had already witnessed gentrification since the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thus the area's indigenous character had already changed; therefore, gentrifying the few remaining houses scattered in the area in the 1980s meant more revenues and no much social hazards for the original community had already left and the original character of the area had already been changed.

Another important positive example of gentrification, as a social class replacement, is the *Wakail* Project in le Medina, Tunis. In such a project the ASM replaced the occupants of traditional mansions in the historic towns, who are rural immigrants who immigrated to the city after the 1950s. Many working-class families were crammed in what used to be in houses that used to belong to upper-middle class families. The traditional houses could not offer human standards of living for these poor families; thus becoming squatters within the historic town. Therefore, these poor families exchanged willingly their traditional mansions where they crammed for new houses with designs that complement their culture and lifestyle in locations that are not very far from their work in the old town (Bejaoui, 1997). The project was meant to restore the swiftly deteriorating social and environmental character of the old town as mansions and quarters for traditional middle and upper classes through restoring these mansions, and thus to encourage and attract reverse immigration of the intellectual Tunisian middle-class families back to the historic town again. Thus, the ASM avoids any cultural conflict between the still existing

local community and any newcomers who are not aware of the area's culture, such as the Europeans gentrifying Sidi Bu-Said a few miles from the Medina.<sup>51</sup> This is because in Sidi Bu-Said the socio-cultural dimension is relatively diminished when compared with the vibrant culture still alive in le Medina, the historic town in Tunis.

Thus, to permit gentrification or not is a critical issue dependent on the context and the circumstances of the targeted area. Primarily, planners (area conservationists) have to delineate if there is a still working cultural and social system to respect so they do not interrupt with any conflicting development or intervention.

### **3.4. Conclusion:**

The above considerations are different aspects necessary when any area conservation scheme is proposed or implemented. They cannot, however, be considered systematically to develop a compact and effective comprehensive scheme. Yet, the success or deficiency of any scheme can be attributed to the well adapted or ineffective use of one or more of the above environmental qualities and considerations for area conservation.

Moreover, the above qualities and considerations mirror the shift in the conservation paradigm from the elitist, antiquarian and scholarly pursuit of conservation to a more pro-community approach as reflected on governmental policies, mainly in the developed world, reflecting wider social or cultural influence (Delafons, 1997).<sup>52</sup> This is further promoted nowadays, thanks to strong calls for human rights and sustainable development that necessitate the wider involvement of local communities.<sup>53</sup> Even town planning today is no more the imposition of master-plans imposed by municipal authorities; it requires more negotiation among the different parties involved respond to the well-being of the local community as well as coping with the nation's agenda for development.<sup>54</sup>

These conceptual views and concerns are targeted to safeguarding the liveable quality of historic areas to avoid any inauthentic consequences that may occur due to

---

<sup>51</sup> Interviews with Mrs. Faiqa Bejaoui and Mr. Zubair Muhli, ASM, in March, 2001, Tunis.

<sup>52</sup> That was illustrated in the conservation historical review above and by Arafat (2002) describing the shift from the more preservationist paradigm in conservation to the current area conservation urban management paradigm.

<sup>53</sup> See next chapter, section 4.2.2.c.iv.

<sup>54</sup> "Planning is becoming less and less a mater of a single grand design [the master planning paradigm], and more and more one having series of proposals ready to be put into operation as the opportunity occurs [such as all tools of community participation at any planning or even area conservation scheme, e.g., public hearing sessions]", (Dix, 1996b, P.21) quoting Sir Colin Buchanon

neglecting the role of the local community or its cultural values, especially the values of processes, while concentrating mainly on protecting the values of states of a certain historic area. This would promote change as the main associated quality of liveability-liveability sequences move and move occurs through change. This is why Kostof (1992) and Zancheti and Jokilehto (1997) stress on incorporating 'change' as the most fundamental element in defining conservation today. This takes us to another prominent question to be able to determine more accurate definition of conservation; that is to what extent can we permit change?<sup>55</sup> This is determined by the context and the situation of each historic area. It is a more critical planning issue<sup>56</sup> to decide and depends on the needs and the nature of each environment, which may also suggest different approaches to area conservation as elaborated in the next chapter in sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Yet if the above qualities and considerations of area conservation are developed, tested, experienced, or practiced in the more developed nations the situation in the Arab-Islamic City is different. While area conservation's definitions and rhetoric, in UK for example, is more subjective and advocate breaking the preservationist stance to give a room for change, the situation is different in the Arab-Islamic City, which follows a more façadist approach to conservation (Sedky, 2000; 2002; and Shehyeb and Sedky 2002). This is most typical in Syria and Egypt, as elaborated below, while in other countries such as Jordan this superficial approach has become a default development reflex to promote development for and investment in tourism. Larkham (1999) attributes this difference in conservation approaches between the West and the developing world in general to the degree of community involvement in area conservation schemes.

Generally area conservation should be regarded as sustainable development guided by and composed of fluid concepts,<sup>57</sup> always provisional and socially structured. Every

---

<sup>55</sup> See the sustainability section above.

<sup>56</sup> Conservation in general is no different from town planning, sharing many similar policies and philosophy (Nuttegens, 1972). It even predates town planning in its legislative form, in the case of UK (Delafons, 1997). It is integrated into town and country planning by virtue of coming under the direction of the authorities practicing planning control (Cantacuzino, 1987; Delafons, 1997). Conservation acquires its definition as a dynamic process/ mechanism of complex attitudes seeking the maintenance of cultural heritage and its values and significance (Burra Charter, 1979; New Zealand Charter, 1992; Zancheti and Jokilehto, 1997; and Krakow Charter, 2000). It is however different from planning in working more on a grass-roots level, following a bottom-up model, which is different from the classic planning top-down model expressed through master plans and institutional imposed schemes. This is elaborated by Feilden (1990) signifying conservation as working upwards from what exists while planning works downwards from macro-scale considerations.

<sup>57</sup> Fluid here means flexible easy to be adapted to each case's especial needs and conditions, depends on the targeted area. The above addressed considerations and financial mechanisms are essential to provide planners

intervention is to be determined according to the context and situation, for every area is a unique case. This would necessitate that area conservationists always adopt an evaluative critical mood, through which every major planning decision is decided during an interactive process between the community and the planning authorities in charge in a more dynamic and cultural-sensitive manner.

The question now is how to realise such inklings in the very especial Arab-Islamic context, and more precisely in Historic Cairo. This would necessitate exploring the sensible aspects of area conservation, the processes and the contextual approaches to area conservation that complements the speciality of such a context which is addressed in the following chapter.

---

with qualities to be considered in their schemes, while they are not meant to be imposed as a 'well-to-do' area conservation elements. They serve more as definitions of environmental qualities to be targeted when area conservation scheme.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **AREA CONSERVATION PROCESSES**



#### **4.1. Objective:**

The area conservation principles, qualities and considerations defined in the previous chapter are to be complemented on the planning and implementation levels. This is achieved through specific processes that guide the planning and implementation of any area conservation scheme. Such processes are addressed in this chapter to be compiled with the investigations conducted in the previous chapter, which is the second component of the how-to- conserve inquiry in this research.

#### **4.2. Area Conservation Process:**

An area conservation project/ scheme is primarily a planning endeavour. Thus, it has a specific context with specific problems to be dealt with according to certain regulations within specific timing and the available resources. Generally, Thakur (1990, pp.347, 8), Evans (1999, p.345) and Trache (2001, p.160) specify certain stages to accomplish an area conservation project: constituting the context (documenting the environment dealt with its values problems); formulating the general policies and detailed guidelines; and implementing the scheme. However, elements such as developing criteria for a value system or developing policies and legislations are discussed on a national scale, while detailed guidelines and implementation are associated on an area scale. No conservation scheme starts until a conservation management unit is established on site. There is much work on a national level that precedes the project and that may incorporate discussing all the above named stages of any area conservation project.

In general, area conservation can be divided into statutory and action phases. The first ones concern specifying the context of the area conservation scheme, discussing the current legislative and general national policies and the organisational structure that will follow the work. The latter is associated more with a very specified context (a specific area) examining it closely to come up with more contextually driven guidelines and thus more tailored interventions to meet the particular needs of such a context.

##### **4.2.1. Statutory Phase:**

###### **4.2.1.a. General Area Appraisal:**

There are two types of area appraisal, also known as character appraisal, general and detailed (STHI 1999c, p.1). As a beginning for any area conservation scheme, the general appraisal is conducted as a first scan of the area. It is a more tentative attempt to

sketch a general character of the targeted historic area. It aims at outlining the different environmental aspects in the studied area, e.g., location and population, the origin and development of the area, land uses (both current and former), architectural and historical significance and people and their social status.<sup>1</sup> SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis might be used in this appraisal to grasp a focused perspective of the current status of the studied area.

The main objective of such appraisal is to emphasise different aspects of the targeted area, introduced as priorities to decision makers so it can become a national concern, a step needed to mobilise any efforts for any area conservation initiatives. At this early stage, however, more emphases are given to the jeopardised historic and architectural values of the targeted areas to attract such an official/ governmental concern, especially in Cairo. Although such a call for safeguarding Historic Cairo was launched in 1980, it saw no progress before the 1992 earthquake, which caused tangible threats to major registered monuments. Another objective of the general appraisal is to help specify the boundaries of the historic area that needs to be upgraded, i.e., tentative designation. However, general area appraisal acts as the preliminary sketch pad that helps those involved in area conservation to explore the targeted context. Their perspective will be frequently amended more and more through feedback generated through actual involvement in conservation problems during the implementation phase.

#### 4.2.1.b. Area Designation:

Based on the above preliminary character appraisal, demarcation of a specified geographical zone are necessary. Thus, a clear context of a distinctive character or value is specified serving as the base map for the area conservation process. This is also to specify a context where legislative protection can be exercised to enforce certain planning control and regulations in the form of area conservation guidelines. Pickard (2002, p.75) traces the first attempts of area designation in various European historic towns, including UK. He maintains that the 1943 Act in France could be among the earliest of such attempts, if not the first. The 1943 Act was concerned with the safeguarding of monuments within their wider urban context, specifying the area within a 500 metre radius around each monument

---

<sup>1</sup> A detailed checklist of the features discussed in area appraisal reports are listed by Larkham (1994, p.223), English Heritage (1996, pp.3,4), and the National Planning Policy Guidelines 18 for UK issued in April 1999 (NPPG18), p.21, paragraph 31.

as a sensitive zone. Such a monument-oriented approach is adopted by the Ministry of Culture in Egypt until today. The SCA claims an area of about 30 metres around each monument, regarding it as the 'intimate zone' of the monument.

A more comprehensive approach to area designation developed later in 1960, also in France, specifying boundaries for complete areas that included many valuable monuments and required upgrading and safeguarding efforts (Pickard, 2002, p.75). Nevertheless, designating areas of value does not always secure complete protection for the qualities of historical and visual integrity of any historic areas. A historic area can be easily affected by the uncontrolled development in surrounding undesignated areas. For instance, Tipple marks out the negative visual impact of the uncontrolled high-rise development surrounding the Chinese Town in Singapore which destroys the integrity of such a well preserved historic urbanism.<sup>2</sup> In addition shared infrastructure is another potential disaster. The problem of underground water in Historic Cairo became chronic and acute due to the deficiency in the sewerage system within the historic area itself, as well as the transmitted sewerage pressures caused in the surrounding popular quarters. Thus it is essential not only to safeguard the main zone but also its effective surroundings. As early as 1958, the Czech Republic issued a law on cultural heritage protection to declare a protective zone around a conservation site (Pickard, 2002, p.70). Thus, the protection or sensitive planning and urban management is not only limited to the more constrained zone where many listed buildings are clustered. Rather, it stretches to incorporate the surrounding areas which might affect the historical zone to be upgraded. Accordingly, there is a main designated area specified by a relative density of listed buildings or especial architectural and urban character. Normally the borders of the designation stretch around such an area, creating a buffer zone. We can see this in the case of New Lanark, where the industrial architectural buildings proposed as a World Heritage Zone, is surrounded by another zone which is preserved for especial planning control, (designated zone) (Historic Scotland, 2000b, p.3).

Generally, designated area boundaries can be defined by topographical features, for example, a sudden change in topography or any other distinctive natural boundaries, such as a river side or a forest (STHI, 1999b, p.21). Most important is the significant character that determines such boundaries. And since it is drawn based on a preliminary area/

---

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Graham Tipple revealed this information during an interview in March 2000 in the School of Architecture, Newcastle upon Tyne University.

character-based appraisal as pointed above, it is always recommended to have successive follow up and re-evaluation to re-assess the designation boundaries, depending on the further studies and elaboration of the actual essence of the studied zones as provided by the planning team responsible for area conservation in this zone.

On the other hand, Larkham (1994, p.10) proposes a more flexible mode of designation, suggesting using more general comments instead of the above 'typical' area designation approach. This is to give a more dynamic nature to the lines specified as boundaries and the whole area conservation planning process, depending on the values and significance of the studied area arising during the direct interaction with the area during the implementation phases. This creates always a loop that needed to reshape regularly the preliminary area/ character appraisal, as well as its sequenced area designation boundaries. In addition, the above typical approach to designation focuses on historical and architectural values, at least in the main designation zone where many monuments or buildings of high value are to be found. Yet, it is necessary to be more subjective, considering local communities' activities and actual links with their area that shape the boundaries of another environ that can be wider and marks the influence of certain activities that might be also regarded as an intangible value. For example in Cairo what needs to be protected is not only the physical historical environment, but also the traditional crafts that are still alive today.

In spite of this, it is still very important to define clearer boundaries for historic areas in a country like Egypt where urban planning regulations have been suffering slack attitudes, many violations and undisciplined management and control for many decades (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002).<sup>3</sup> Such boundaries can be subjected to any later modifications. However, to pave the ground for effective area conservation and actual control, it is necessary to specify clear boundaries to establish a physical medium where urban laws and regulations can be practiced and enforced to develop a strong basis of reliability and trust of the seriousness of the area conservation process taking place.

#### 4.2.1.c. Establishing Bureaucratic Basis:

This stage is concerned with the bureaucratic and legislative logistics needed to back up and legitimise any intervention in a historic area. It comes first in the form of a

---

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Six, section 6.4.1.a in below.

national tendency towards heritage protection and/or elevating environmental qualities of historic areas (Shoukry, 2000, p.124). This is to say that it is essential to have clear pro-area conservation support that is declared by the state and recognised by its organisations, which will be translated into mechanisms and schemes for development. This is to be announced and expressed in an organised manner through legislation and public planning policies; for example, in UK the PPG 15, NPPG18, and the Scottish Area Conservation Charter 1999 all represent a national concern expressed through a legal and national policy basis. Without these manifestations the case of conservation may face many obstacles and its qualities can be highly affected. For example, there is a strong paradox in Beirut. While there is much enthusiastic efforts to revitalise the Suq Barghut Area (conducted by the SOLIDERE, a private real-estate enterprise of which the Prime Minister, Mr. Rafiq al-Hariri, owns a big share), a few metres away Furn Hayyik and Jemaizah Areas suffer negligence despite also being in the heart of Beirut. This is due to the lack of a national drive or a clear mechanism of area conservation that calls for safeguarding the colonial heritage of central Beirut, as revealed by Dr. Jabour, see (ill.4.1) and compare with the well refurbished zone in Suq Barghut (ill.1.8a).<sup>4</sup>



Ill. 4.1: Furn Hayyik Area in Beirut, where area conservation is not more than painting work of facades.

Such a national concern is expressed through general planning laws. They were issued initially to protect ancient monuments then developed to become more comprehensive focusing also on their urban settings, as in the case of the conservation

<sup>4</sup> An interview with Dr. Abdel Halim Jabour, an activist and a co-author of a draft for heritage protection and listed building in the centre of Beirut developed in 1997, in August 2000, Beirut.

charters as elaborated in the previous chapter. For example in the UK in 1870s Sir John Lubbock made an early call for registering and listing monuments, which was followed with much legislation concerned with the preservation of historical buildings. Laws for listing were issued; the most important are the Acts of 1947 and 1979. These were followed with successive laws to issue other laws to protect areas of especial value as we can see in the 1967 Act which is still in force through the 1990 Act with some amendments introduced in 1971 (Larkham, 2001).

Much elaboration on legislation has been expressed in the Planning Policy Guidance 15 (PPG15) published in September 1994. It is also the result of a co-operation between the Department of the Environment (DoE) and the Department of the National Heritage (DNH) as both are involved in the case they had to participate in a legislative project thus issuing the PPG15. To Delafons (1997a, p.168) it is more planning guidance in the historic environment; it aims at establishing an interrelationship between planning and conservation. However, despite the practical aspects of the PPG15 being a law for planning and design guidelines in historic areas, it retains elements of conservation doctrine that can impede rather than promote effective planning and conservation practice, thus limiting creative interventions in historic areas (Delafons 1997a, p.171). This was reconsidered in the National Planning Policy Guidelines 18 (NPPG18) published in April 1999. The NPPG18 was designed to recognise that efficient management of heritage resources is dependent upon them being properly understood. This can be achieved through surveys and analysis that form the basis for any effective policy. It is also designed to allow creative interventions within the historic fabric, being more subjective when dealing with issues such as de-listing and demolition. It also gives a wider chance for development through reducing the number of development proposals requiring conservation area consent, which is known as the 'Shimizu Decision' as explained in paragraph 49. This policy enables development to breathe new life into declining historic areas (Leven 2000, p.22).

It is very important to learn, through this review of legislation making and revisions in UK, a country with long experience in lawmaking, the critical nature of national policies and wider guidelines (design regulations). As laws, in general, are not to be weak, so they can be respected and followed to achieve positive design control. However, we see the law amendments and revisions are always introduced in order to not to halt design creativity under the slogan 'national heritage protection'. Therefore, they are produced in a way that

is not too detailed or over-prescriptive. Nevertheless, there is a danger that overly general design regulations can increase the number of discretionary clauses and lead to the various interpretations by both architects and development controllers (Trache, 2001, p. 169). In additions, Larkham (1994) and Larkham and Lodge (1998) point out the ineffectiveness of the passive control by legislative acts which are not supported by frequent character appraisal and frequent reviews emerging from profound comprehension of the targeted historic areas. Therefore, Trache, 2001, p.169) points out the necessity for more informal design guides that are used during the procedural negotiations with applications for development permits, which echoes Larkham's (1994) call for the enhancement of the role of the Local Planning Authorities (LPA) and the development controllers in charge. They are always recommended to be given the upper hand in developing more contextual rules for more effective design control. It is the only body that is recommended to be more responsible for interpreting the wider guidelines in a way that protect the historic areas main values and environmental qualities but never halting design creativity, always giving room for change in the built form. Therefore, wider regulations are always recommended to be strict and respected but refined through the local authorities, and development controls.

This local body coordinates among different organisations and interest groups involved in area conservation process. However, it is essential that the role of each party involved and the boundaries of its responsibility be specified - this can be achieved through an administrative/ organisational framework that positions each party and specifies its role in a matrix known and accepted by each group and recognised officially by the state. Such a step is essential to generate real work and to create the official context for any project. Key actors should be specified, based on the derived information of the above preliminary area studies and through specifying the nation's main goals (the cause for area conservation/ why area conservation) and the capacity of each involved part in the process an organisational matrix can be developed.

To develop an efficient organisational matrix it is essential to specify the strength and weaknesses in the current planning paradigm which will affect the area conservation process. Further studies about the current threats and opportunities of the area to be developed are also needed, which can be achieved through SWOT analysis of the area and the influencing planning system. Key actors should be also specified. Through the Key

Actors analysis, the role of each actor is determined according to its technical and organisational nature, for example, determining whether it is an NGO that can only deal with the community or a Ministry of Culture that cannot deal with municipal problems. To assemble the matrix, it is essential to make the goals of area conservation clear through specifying and arranging them according to their priorities and their sequential orders. It is necessary that each actor involved in the process be associated with one of the goals listed above, which is known as Goal Achievement Matrix (GAM) technique.<sup>5</sup> This process would help planners and officials to formulate or to assemble a bureaucratic model of the organisational framework needed to establish the management structure that is to be recognised and agreed upon by the different parties/ actors who will participate in the planning and implementation or be affected by the discussed area conservation scheme.

#### 4.2.1.d. Area Conservation Management Unit:

The organisational framework is always centred around a co-ordinating body, (the development controller or the management unit of the area conservation project as can be seen in any area conservation scheme).<sup>6</sup> Such a unit is the steering group responsible for the different studies and conducting and monitoring the implementation of area conservation operations. The main tasks of such a technical unit in the case of Historic Cairo are suggested in the UNDP report (1997, p.159) as follows:

- (i) preparation of technical, economic and financial plans,
- (ii) identification of standards and codes, e.g., the criteria of the value system for the listing system of buildings with historical or architectural value as well as the value system of a more intangible local heritage, a certain craft or any distinctive social value,
- (iii) preparation and execution of local and international tenders needed in the implementation levels,

---

<sup>5</sup>These planning techniques (SWOT analysis, Key Actor analysis, and GAM technique) were introduced and practiced in the CBD of Amman revitalisation project as a case study to formulate the most effective organisational framework that illustrate the bureaucratic model needed for the studied revitalisation project. This research was conducted through a workshop as part of the IHS Refresher Course for the Middle East and Arab Region, a programme organised by the Institute for Housing and Development Studies (IHS, Rotterdam) held during the period from 22<sup>nd</sup> September to 3<sup>ed</sup> October 2002, Amman, Jordan.

<sup>6</sup>See for example the project management unit in the revitalisation of Old Aleppo (GTZ, 1998, p.14, fig.2.7) and the suggested organisational framework for the revitalisation of Old Cairo (UNDP, 1997, p.156, fig.20).



- (iv) monitoring and supervising the execution of construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of infrastructure and the different properties.
- (v) following up implementation of works in accordance with approved standards,
- (vi) evaluating progress of various projects plans and detailed programme,
- (vii) preparation of estimates of budgets for the unit's activities and arrangements for funds.
- (viii) initiation and maintenance of effective communication among the different actors, governmental and non-governmental organisations including the community representatives or even individuals.
- (ix) managing and investing in economic projects to be initiated within the overall plan of restoring historical areas.

This management unit can be a joint venture between a trust or NGO and a municipal organisation. The non governmental body would have long experience with various technical and more social based issues and can act in a more informal and more efficient way with the targeted area (it is the contemporary version of the *muhtasib*, in old Cairo, or *mukhtar*, in old Damascus, the institution responsible for urban management and environmental quality in the Arab-Islamic City as introduced in Chapter One), while the municipal organisation can secure the implementation and monitoring of the work needed. For example, Spain has established a central organisation/ an executive body to manage the World Heritage Site of Santiago in Madrid, composed of representatives of governmental organisations involved in area conservation and community elected/ representative members (Picard, 2002, p.82). A similar organisation is in charge of safeguarding the World Heritage Site in Edinburgh through the co-operation between the Edinburgh World Heritage Trust (a central main body coordinating between various involved organisations) which produced the different studies and developed a clear direction for area conservation expressed later in the Scottish Area Conservation Charter 1999, co-operating with the Edinburgh City Council through the planning committee and the conservation department. In addition a company specialised in fund raising and investment in the historic town was established (EDI) so the work can be more economically viable.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Mr. Jack Gillon, Deputy Director, Conservation Department, Edinburgh City Council, during an interview in October 2001.

In Tunisia the management unit is more compact. In the case of the Historic Town in Tunis (le Medina) area conservation planning, implementation and management are primarily the responsibility of the ASM (Association of Safeguarding le-Medina). Despite having the ASM initiated as an NGO in the 1967, it has developed and acquired a more official nature recognised by the state, thanks to the municipality architects who shared a strong concern for the future of the historic town in this early stage, so the ASM came about as a result of their efforts. At the beginning, ASM produced research reports and surveys then it grew to incorporate several departments to conduct all the missions required for effective area conservation work, as well as maintaining co-operation with the Municipality (the city council) and the National Institute of Patrimony (INP), which is equivalent to Historic Scotland in the case of Edinburgh and the SCA in Cairo.<sup>8</sup> Such a more compact organisational model is more effective in the Arab Region where inter-governmental organisations are effectively co-operating or communicating.

In Syria, where the political system is more a state-centred one, area conservation is the responsibility of the municipality. However the many aspects of a specific technical nature are conducted through a division of the municipality that reports to the supreme committee headed by the governor, for example, the Anbar Office located in Old Damascus and the office of the Revitalisation of Old Aleppo. The *Mukhtar's* post (local inspector of environmental quality and the link between the community and the municipal unit, Anbar Office in Damascus) is still alive and active. Both offices act as small size municipalities with a limited geographical zone of responsibility, the precincts of the designated historic areas defined as the effective zone subject to upgrading. They co-operate with the Ministry of Culture and other NGOs concerned with local communities or heritage safeguarding. They are also responsible for a loan system and social programmes and develop funding as well.<sup>9</sup>

The urban management units introduced above are municipalities or of a municipal nature and character so they can manage their areas effectively and have a functional and legitimate basis needed for any intervention. They certainly co-ordinate the work with different actors, mainly the governmental organisations with strong claims to

---

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Architect Fayqa al-Bijawi, Deputy Director, ASM, during an interview in March 2001.

<sup>9</sup> This information was revealed by Mr. Omar Abdel Aziz Hallaj, Project Consultant and GTZ Consultant and Mr. Khalid Fansah, responsible for the restoration fund department, Revitalisation of Old Aleppo Project in interviews in August 2000, Aleppo. Mrs. Lubna al-Jabi, responsible for documentation and urban studies, revealed information about the Revitalisation of Old Damascus Project, Anbar Office, in an interview held in August 2000, Damascus.

protecting physical heritage, (the Ministry of Culture and its representatives such as INP in Tunisia and SCA in Egypt or the Ministry of Culture in Syria or the Antiquities Department, Ministry of Tourism in Jordan). It is recommended that they practice planning and urban management independently, not always seeking the decisions and approvals from the central municipal organisation in charge. The local planning unit is recommended to be more decentralised involving more its local community and coming up with grass-roots decisions based on the actual needs and complete comprehension of the area's significance,<sup>10</sup> whether these are described in the national policies such as the national criteria for listed buildings or those that complement the main essence of the area dealt with like a building or a space with especial value for the local community. Hence, urban management can be deeply rooted and more effective with more association with its context and approaching from the perspective of the traditional informal and more decentralised urban management system of the Arab-Islamic City described above.

Mustafa (1990, pp.60, 61) specifies two types of decentralisation in urban management, the amenities decentralisation and the local decentralisation. The first is a local municipality that has many professionals hired by the government and some representatives elected by the community. It is more independent in its technical decisions regarding only the amenities, e.g., infrastructure problems. The second is the traditional model of the Arab-Islamic City elaborated above in Chapter One where the members of the community co-operate in a rather more informal way through the neighbourhood head or more recognised figure to monitor the environmental quality, given that this system is more efficient when dealing with inhabitants who still comprehend intuitively some latent traditional urban systems (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002). Despite of having the second model is more decentralised and grass-rooted yet it demands full understanding and practice of traditional urban systems that is not available now, except for some urban management traces as the *Mukhtar* institution in Old Damascus that is still in practice effectively in al-Qimariyyah District and support the work of Anbar Office in up keeping the old fabric. Therefore, complete application of the traditional decentralised urban management system is not possible. However, a form of co-operation between a

---

<sup>10</sup> According to Farvacque and McAuslan (1992, p.vi) the root of problems in urban management in developing countries, where the Arab-Islamic cities are located, can be interpreted due to governmental centralised power that weakens the power of the local governments leading to eliminating local management. This problem amplified with the lack of transparency in law formation and issuing process. Therefore, they make a call for a flexible citizen-oriented system of urban management and laws, in addition to establishing for commitment to transparency and equity in the urban management administrative process.

municipal/ governmental body and a more community oriented group, such as an NGO or a community based organisation, is essential for a more sustainable urban management system that can keep the area breathing even after the area conservation scheme is over. This is to be parallel to awareness programmes for the local community aiming at revitalising the values and conceptions of traditional urban/ auto management systems, which kept that urban fabric alive for long and play the same role again if the knows how is there. This can be achieved through mobilising the cultural resources of the local communities themselves in order to bring about desired changes probing (UNESCO, 2000, p.62), which necessitate complete indulgence of the community in all the different levels of area conservation especially in the action planning phase as elaborated below.

Paradoxically, in many Arab Countries the organisation in charge of physical heritage (Ministries of Culture, Tourism or Departments of Antiquities) intervene in area conservation planning and found management units as those described above. In Jordan, the Ministry of Tourism that is in charge of safeguarding heritage as well, establishes partnerships and conducts area conservation projects. Together with the World Bank, the Ministry of Tourism is conducting urban upgrading in many historic towns. However, the community role is not prioritised or regarded on an equal footing with the tourism investment in cultural tourism.<sup>11</sup> The project of Um Qais, an Ottoman Village established in the eighteenth century in northern Jordan is a strong example that illustrates massive gentrification, as elaborated in the previous chapter.

The same situation can also be seen in Tunisia, in Kairawan where the local NGO that co-operates with the municipality is not as strong as its counterpart (ASM) in Tunis. The *Wikala*, a joint venture founded as a co-operative research and project development agency in 1988 by the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture is taking the lead in revitalising many areas in the city of Kairawan.<sup>12</sup> The INP is also playing a more prominent role in the provinces, (for example in Sousa the historic town is managed mainly by the office headed by Mr. Aziz Antit, Director of the museum of Sousa and the representative of the INP in Sousa. Such organisations have established technical departments to conduct their work, however the result is a very unrealistic approach to

---

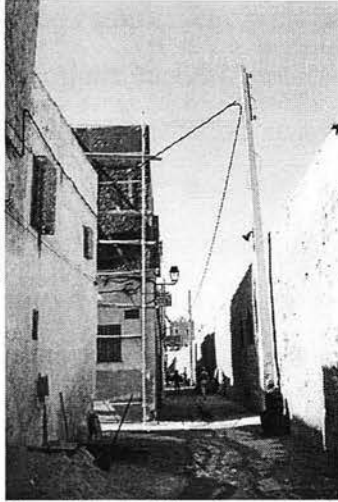
<sup>11</sup> That was implied by Mr. Ehab Abdo, head of the project management division, Ministry of Tourism, during an interview in August 2000, Amman.

<sup>12</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Habib b. al-Ahssan, the head of the Wikallah, and Mr. Lutfi bu Zouita the representative of the INP, Ministry of Culture, during an interview in March 2001, Tunis. And an interview with Mr. Aziz Antit, Director of the Museum of Susa in March 2001, Susa.

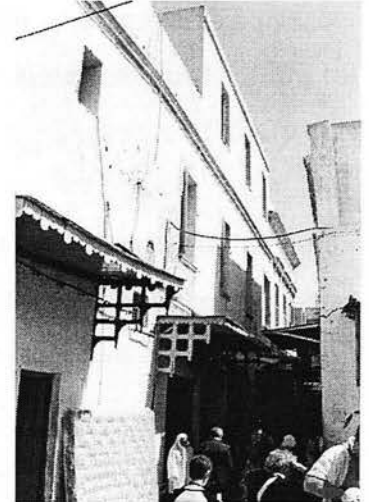
conservation seeking beautification of the urban fabric surrounding the major historic sites (ill.4.2a-c). Other community urban problems are not tackled for they are not among the priorities or the problems that concern the Ministry of Tourism or the Ministry of Culture, (they cannot deal with problems like decayed sewerage systems). Needless to say, their projects suffer ineffective management and control for they lack the legal basis to deal with urban problems, as this can be only secured only when the municipalities, or the localities, are in charge.



Ill. 4.2a: Traditional urbanism in Kairawan, few meters from the Kairwan Mosque (historical and central one). The area suffers negligence and effective urban management and development guidelines.



Ill. 4.2b: Within the walled town in Susa, Tunisia (Old Susa) the traditional urbanism was interrupted by the municipality to create a gap between the historical urbanism and the walls, a by-default beautification of the historical town as pursued by the INP.



Ill. 4.2c: Within the walls of the Old Susa, Tunisia, the area that is located away from the tourist routes and the historical mosques are relatively neglected for the INP and the municipality adopt an approach that is not comprehensive and balanced, focusing on the historical Mosques and famous structures and the tourist activities surrounding them.

This planning attitude of these governmental organisations in charge of physical heritage protection is due to valuing physical heritage protection over other environmental and urban management considerations, as well as lacking enough institutional awareness of the contribution of the intangible and social values to the general character of the historic areas as implied in many interviews in Jordan, Tunisia, and Egypt, as will be elaborated in the following chapters.

### 4.2.2. Action Phase:

This is the more pragmatic phase of area conservation, where real problems are encountered and possibilities for improvements are studied. This cannot be reached unless the approach to conservation has been already decided and the statutory phase is being conducted to formulate a strong base to the more practical planning process of action planning. Here the action plan deals with the actions that are taken to upgrade a certain site through different levels whether documentation, legislation reviews and issuing detailed guidelines such as studying the compliance with statutory requirements, or the implementation of physical interventions such as repairs and maintenance in addition to conducting the management plan and supervision system for the progress of the work (Historic Scotland, 2000a, p.7).

Generally, area conservation in this phase follows a more specific process: understanding the site (documenting it and studying its various aspects including people); assessing its significance; defining how to deal with this significance (how venerable it is); and developing the policies and detailed guidelines that can retain such significance, given that this process is subjected to frequent reviews and refinement as well as always involving other parties (Heritage Lottery Fund, 1998, p.4). Furthermore, Shoukry (2000, p.128, fig.5.1) elaborates a practical model for the studied process, based on intensive reviews of various case studies in developed countries with rich experience in area conservation. In her model, Shoukry emphasises, in addition to the process specified above, the importance of establishing partnerships in area conservation.

#### 4.2.2.a. Working in Partnership:

Partnership is the co-operative practice with settled rules and clarified objectives and expected gains among different partners involved in area conservation. It is important that the management unit responsible for area conservation be aware of that and to work giving equal footing to every partner in the process. The process, especially during implementation, is subjected to various arguments and loops in the planning and decisions taken. Working in partnership is always recommended in any context. For example, even in a country like the USA where urban development is undertaken privately, regeneration schemes cannot not be conducted through the private sector solely, to secure fair room for the local communities; therefore the partnership of the private and public sectors has been promoted in the USA since 1980s (Warner, 1987, p.202).

In the UK, partnership has contributed much to achieve conservation-led regeneration in historic areas. It has proven its economic viability through different schemes, for example, the Conservation Area Partnership Scheme (CAPS) introduced in 1994 has achieved a leverage of GBP 4.8 from individuals and investors for each GBP spent by the government. Therefore the government has developed other partnership schemes, for example the Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS) in 1998, achieving a leverage of GBP 2 from the private sector for each GBP spent by the government in Grainger, and the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) introduced in 1999, applied in Sterling (STHI, 1999a, pp.1, 2, table 1) and run by the Lottery Fund (Pickard, 2002, pp. 85, 86).

However, it is necessary that this encouragement of investors' money does not affect any of the main targeted objectives specified during the statutory phase or the benefits of the other groups as this is not economically viable in the long-run as can be learnt from the case of SOLIDERE in Suq Barghut in Beirut. In this case the dominant group, SOLIDERE almost entirely owned by Rafiq al-Hariri the Prime Minister, has turned the original owners into stockholders and the refugees or old tenants settled in the ruinous site after the civil war were compensated as revealed by Mr. Usama al-Qabani, of the project development division in the SOLIDERE.<sup>13</sup> This is not a real partnership as the owners became ex-owners and they had to give up their shares. The area has not regained its pre-war character and the project is suffering strong recession now.<sup>14</sup> Some national values have been compromised here, for this area was never the elitist area or the Beirut Wall Street which had already been established in al-Hamra Street since the 1960s.<sup>15</sup> It was the downtown area of Beirut, a regularly visited spot by middle class shoppers or regular government employees. So far, the project has transformed Suq Barghut, giving it a different, elite character.<sup>16</sup> This disregard of the area's meaning and the fabrication of character through a claimed partnership is conflicts with the main concept of partnership defined by the present research.

---

<sup>13</sup> This information was revealed during an interview with Mr. Qabani in August 2000, Beirut.

<sup>14</sup> That was revealed by Mr. Robert Saliba, a Lebanese architectural and urban development critic, during an interview in August 2000, Beirut.

<sup>15</sup> Information revealed by Dr. Abdel Halim Jabour, AUB, August 2000, Beirut.

<sup>16</sup> Hana Jabir, CERMOC, a Lebanese who used to live in Beirut before was then immigrated to France but when she recorded her first experience, visiting Suq Barghot Area she felt completely out of place for the place certainly has been dressed another character losing its original one, revealed in an interview in August 2000, Amman.

4.2.2.b. Establishing Effective Community Participation:

Another necessary prerequisite for effective area conservation scheme is establishing an active role for the local community. The long conflict between the professional groups (planners) and the local community is debated currently as not only the mistake of the locals. Planners can be vandals too (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002). Problems can also occur due to insensitive planning or applying inequitable policies, overlooking the local communities' cries (Pahl, 1982, p.47, 48). Such a paradigm is changing now.

For example, Delafons (1997a, p.86) confirms such a change in UK, maintaining that amenities and social services are given equal, and sometimes more importance than especial architectural or historic interest. This has developed even further due to the political impact of the European Union (EU) adopting its human rights laws derived from the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (ECHR). Consequently, the UK issued a 1998 Act that represents an unprecedented transfer of political power from executive and legislature to the judiciary, which has many implications on the way planning committees operate. Thus, the local community is granted more power and allowed to lobby to formulate an effective interest group (Fairclough, 2000, pp. 27, 28). This shift can be also traced in legislation, for example the 'Shimizu Decision' NPPG18, mentioned above, as well as the negotiation approach through recommended discussions and reviews of any proposal before implementation as illustrated in the conservation area consent process (Scottish Executive, 1999, p.15, fig. 3).

Therefore, conservation planning should no longer be reserved for expert professionals, as there is a strong call now to alter this situation in favour of more widespread participation (public/ community participation) (Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999, p.327). Such participation and wide community involvement is recommended to be applied to different levels of area conservation (Assi, 2002), including the survey and documentation, and the design and implementation phases. Even during the documentation level it is important to refer to the local community to help the surveyor define the criteria for different environmental values. This is to secure more subjective definitions of the environment (historic area) by its frequent users; those who comprehend the different cultural cues, whether physical or social, practiced in such an environment (Rapoport, 1989 and see Chapter Two in section 2.6).

Moreover, getting the community effectively involved, not only in the survey and documentation phases but also in the design and criteria planning decision-making phase is



essential. It is a revival of the more traditional negotiation planning approach practiced in the Arab-Islamic City, see Chapter One above, which supports the UNESCO's (2000) cultural approach to conservation and development in general. It is also essential to develop self-esteem and control-over-life in the communities that used to suffer alienation being classified as deprived, which is an important value for any regeneration-led area conservation scheme (Iacofano, 1985, p.261 and Feidi, 2000, pp.56-62). A community, reinforced by the sense of belonging, is the main construct needed for any development. This is achieved through a self-regarding status at any community - a psychological asset for any upgrading and a sustainable up-keep for any reformation. For instance, Istanbul and Tunisia are relatively better preserved and cleaner than Damascus and Cairo. During observations and interviews of the author (conducted in April and August 2000 and March 2001) with the inhabitants of the first two cities it was possible to notice how proud and aware they are with their history and how they are attached to their city; certainly that was a result of massive municipal work through area conservation schemes. While the latter two cities, despite being closer to the traditional culture which still persists in many activities, are plagued with deterioration because of a sense of carelessness and lack of awareness of, not only the historic area's history, but even with basic hygienic values. This is the result of being forgotten communities, suffering segregation.

In addition, according to Iacifano and Feidi, (1985 and 2000) effective participation helps the community develop an organisational resilience and survival ability by living with uncertainty, embracing error, setting goals and evaluating alternatives for the future which develop a sense of independence. Such values are developed during the indulgence in the different levels of planning and implementations. It also decrease the burden on public funds for services can be provided at lower cost, given that there will be training and do-it-yourself maintenance programmes supported by the area conservation team and co-ordinated with different technical agencies and the community representatives and organisations (another effective form of partnership) (ill.4.3).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, introducing the

---

<sup>17</sup> This is already the case in Old Aleppo where the residents in Bab Qansurin, the first action area, are trained by the team of the Office of the Revitalisation of Old Aleppo (technical office, the responsible area conservation unit) to restore their houses (acquiring loans through the housing restoration fund department in the technical office), support the manpower for the infrastructure improvements, and restore and rehabilitate some historic buildings as labours acquiring specialised training as job generating field, a programme that is financed by the GTZ and supervised and conducted by the technical office above. This information was acquired through reviewing the GTZ report (1998), visiting the site of the first action area and interviews with members of the technical office in August 2000 in Aleppo.

community to traditional know-how, (for example, former methods of construction restoration techniques) raises the locals' awareness of the aesthetic and authenticity values, which they have long compromised for more utilitarian demands, but in a more practical sense. The communities that go through such a complete participation/ indulgence in conservation planning and implementation would serve as a catalyst for further development, whether in the same area or in neighbouring ones.

Yet, what if the local in a certain targeted are not well lobbied or united in a group so they are able to negotiate with the planning authorities any proposed scheme? In this situation the community or the group of settlers becomes a venerable one and they will not be able to play any active role in any scheme.<sup>18</sup> It is necessary to confront this by working first with the community, trying to develop a community basis that can be an asset and an adding tool to any proposed development.<sup>19</sup>

The question now is how to incorporate the community on a practical basis in the area conservation process. Moughtin (1992) gives various levels of participation ranging from complete citizen control and to a non-participation level. Feidi (2000, pp.60,61) classifies this wide range of community participation into five levels. The information level is the simplest one in which the public is just informed about the conservation plan to be implemented in the future. The second is the consultation level, aiming at eliciting the opinions of the people as to what they think of a proposed plan. The third is a deciding-together level, in which the community share in identifying strengths and weaknesses in their environment and formulate the order of priorities that guide planning interventions. The forth is an acting-together one where people are involved in actions, not only decisions this time but offer labour working under guidance of the conservation technical team. The fifth is the independent initiatives, such as a development in private property.

---

<sup>18</sup> Hana Jabir, the Director of the CERMOC in Amman, could not pursue an urban upgrading scheme in the area of the Railway Station in Amman because the community was not grouped or well represented. Different efforts for upgrading counting on community participation confronted dead end and the scheme had to stop. This information was revealed by Dr. Hana Jabir in August 2000, Amman.

<sup>19</sup> This essential step in area conservation in the Arab-Islamic context is best illustrated in Al-Khirfan Street in Amman, Jordan. This street is close to the First Cycle Area that was subjected by the local government and the Municipality to develop thus a major gentrification scheme was targeting the area. They community in Khirfan Street is from lower middle-class and working class unaware of the colonial heritage and land value of their units thus they were an easy pray for the insensitive urban upgrading scheme. The community however, received massive awareness of the value of their area and their rights through series of workshops and public speeches by the Jordanian University of Science and Technology (JUST) school of Architecture staff. Thus they became more aware of their area and rights, however, no development at all took place in the area. This information was revealed through an interview with Dr. Rami Daher, Amman in August 2000 and was confirmed through site visits in August 2000 and January 2002.

However, deciding which level of community participation to follow is primarily a political issue that is determined according to the power of each party involved in area conservation. For example, in less democratic systems we find pseudo participation, which is a strategy that aims at involving people in decision making for the sole purpose of presenting an illusion of full or partial participation (Iacofano, 1985, p.262); such an approach does not serve the purpose of the conservation in the long run.<sup>20</sup> In less centralised systems, community consultation, through surveys and questionnaires are to be considered in decision making. However, where the community is granted more power, as the case in UK after the 1998 Act, it can be regarded more as an influencing party that can compete with other influencing groups in making the planning decision which is regarded as a real participation (Iacofano, 1985, p.263).

Nevertheless, based on previous research in Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria in 2000, and Tunisia in 2001, the most predominant level of community participation in area conservation projects in the above countries is the information level, Feidi's first level, because of the state-centred nature of the political system in the Middle East. However there is a shift now to Feidi's second level, consultation, thanks to the involvement of the foreign aid agencies that necessitate certain processes and approaches to development especially when they become involved as a technical body, such as the work of the GTZ in Mansheyet Nasser Area in Cairo. Nevertheless, it is commonly said that community participation has been exercised in a certain project but this would mean nothing but consultation through intensive surveys.

However, some exceptions were introduced in the Bab Qansorin Area, the first action area in Aleppo through the revitalisation project of the old town where an acting-together level of participation has been followed (ill.4.3). In al-Darb al-Ahmar Revitalisation Project the work incorporated more than a level of community participation:

---

<sup>20</sup> This is a very common approach to community participation in the Middle East in general. It is suggested that the involvement of international agencies and shedding media light on the targeted are could strength the local community of such a targeted are to get it to lobby to define its right in a more state-centred systems. That was revealed by Dr. Dina Shehayeb coating the experience of settlements in Meet Oqba Area in Cairo where residents were not compensated properly for their confiscated houses to lay the Sixth-of-October Highway. On the other hand, that was not the case with Darb Shughlan in al-Darb al-Ahmar, which was supposed to be removed because it is a neighbourhood that is adjacent to Salah al-Din Historic Walls according to the Monuments Protection 1983 Act. This never happen thanks to interference of the Aga Khan prestigious foundation which attracted media covering so the government could not practice any brutal decision. This information was revealed during an interview in June 2000, Cairo.

consultation, deciding together (through public hearing and role play sessions), and acting together levels were followed as will be elaborated in the following chapters (ill.4.4).



Ill. 4.3: Bab Qansurin Area, Action Area one, where the local community in Old Aleppo trained to restore the historical buildings in the vicinity, as well as their houses.



Ill. 4.4: A group of the community members in al-Batniyyah in al-Darb al-Ahmar in Historic Cairo, trained by the AKCS-E to restore historic stones, as well as their own houses and be an active manpower in the revitalisation of al-Darb al-Ahmar project.

In brief, designing the degree of community involvement in an area conservation project depends on the context we are dealing with and the different circumstances affecting the management of such a project. It requires critical and strategic thinking skills. There can be more than one approach for the level of community participation introduced in the same project or even the same neighbourhood, depending on what we are dealing with. For example a world heritage monument and the street paving around it might be very much decided not by the local community while they should be consulted at least when designing street furniture so it can be meaningful. On the other hand they can participate in deciding where to place the street furniture, in order not to interrupt their social or cultural systems, or affect their privacy or sense of territoriality. It is, thus, similar to the Framework Plan (FWP) concept introduced in Chapter Six below, a process that is designed in a way that responds to the givens and the potentials of a certain environment pursued to balance the conservation objectives of the different interested groups involved or have a claim to this environment.

The above considerations, establishing effective partnerships and activating the role of the local communities, are important prerequisites for a successful area conservation project. The contributions of those partners, different interest groups, enrich the area conservation process during the different levels of the area conservation project, whether through consultation or direct participation.

#### 4.2.2.c. Implementation levels of Area Conservation:

This is the phase where the work is more associated with its context. Thus surveys are developed in a more detailed format seeking to be reflected on a specified geographical zone. The boundaries of designation and concepts of values are to be added or modified in the more general appraisal conducted above based on a more detailed character appraisal that is formulated in this phase. It is also during this phase that the national and more general policies and regulations are reviewed and amendments proposed based on the more focused surveys and analysis. Consequently, more detailed and more responsive policies can be developed to meet the very requirements and problems of the upgraded area. Actual and effective experience is realised through a smaller control zone, the action area, where the physical implementation starts. Thus a certain order is to be followed to realise the development. There are three main levels: documentation, detailed area appraisal, and detailed guidelines.

##### (i) Documenting the Area:

In addition to the buildings already registered as monuments and that are officially recognised as national heritage, it is necessary to have an update and other structures to be compiled in a list to protect more buildings of especial architectural value. This is to say, add more listed buildings to the list, as in the case of UK. The problem is that the principle of listed buildings and becomes a threat to creativity and does not give much room to development and change within the historic area (Larkham, 2001).

However, this not be the case in the Middle East, where the listed building system is not yet introduced and the concept of designated area is in its infancy. In Egypt the only protected structures are historical monuments. There is no legislation to protect the buildings with especial architectural or cultural values. Thus there are many growing calls to list many buildings especially those agglomerated in many historical areas with a

grading classification as, for example, the classes A, B, and C in UK. This will certainly contribute much to safeguarding the physical character of any upgraded area.

Nevertheless, listing implies restrictions. It is interpreted in the form of a guide for owners and occupants (Pickard, 1996, p.23). This can be possible with the help of the city council or other organisations supporting cultural heritage in developed countries but it is a remote dream or an unaffordable luxury in the case of Historic Cairo, where residents of these areas cannot afford traditional materials or craftsmanship needed to restore their houses in an integrated and scientifically accepted manner. Without cooperation with specialised scientific boards and conducting partnership programmes that can revitalise traditional know-how and even create jobs as maintained above, the whole principle will be unrealistic and any compiled list of historic buildings will remain on the shelf.

Furthermore, it is necessary that the process of the survey and documentation not only be seeking to involve people to learn from them the value of the place, as community consultation to probe social and cultural values, but also to involve them more effectively in the process. That is getting them to know the consequences of the listing of their properties or where they live and the implications of designations through public hearings or any other venues where they can express their objections or willingness and get it activated. The Act 1990 was issued in UK, thus, to allow the public scrutiny to any planning scheme (Pickard, 1996, p.218), so the listing and designation can acquire an ethical and legitimate form. The possibility of achieving this transparency and equal opportunity in planning decisions is questionable in the case of Cairo as will be elaborated in the following chapters, which will certainly add much burden on the conservation management unit in charge and will demand more strategic unconventional means of management to take place in order to secure a safer environment for the weakest party in the area conservation process, the local community.

It is clear now that the whole process is very integrated. The area conservation unit should orchestrate this process adopting multi-disciplinary approach. This is essential while establishing for awareness and the system of listed buildings and designated areas on a wider scale. This is recommended to be pursued in a more scientifically recognised means, which can promote the change that complement the integrity, authenticity and that can contribute to create a more sustainable environment within the subjected historic area, as elaborated in the previous chapter.

This can be achieved through such a unit that is equivalent to the LPA in UK, which is to be in charge of defining the buildings that deserve to be granted protection and thus making the listing mechanism more flexible depending on the context and the shared vision of the community and the planning management in charge. The Danish experience is serving as a good model here through the Survey of the Architectural Values in the Environment system (SAVE). SAVE does not only identify which building or even environment that can be added to the list of the listed buildings or designated areas, but it also seeks to establish a platform for evaluating ways in which new buildings can be fitted into existing environments (Pickard, 2002, p.73). This means an effective definition of architectural and urban significance that can be specified based on wider comprehension of the studied area. Here the urban management unit/ the local planning authorities or municipalities play a more liberal role, allowing much decentralisation. Further co-operation among the localities is promoted to update their criteria for buildings and environment values to enhance their survey techniques and listing and designation criteria. This is essential to achieve the above aimed more effective, flexible approach for documentation.

This system of survey and documentation of the buildings and environments of value is far much too decentralised to be realised in the Middle East where the municipal organisations are still much bounded to their central governmental bodies, e.g., the governorates and the Ministry of localities. The problem of more narrow criteria for values to be protected that are prescribed in the national legislations will remain, unless much co-operation among the central governmental organisations (responsible for heritage protection and issuing their laws, e.g., Ministry of Culture, Housing and Cairo Governorate in the case of Cairo) and the local planning unit (area conservation unit in our argument) be established. A similar case can be seen in the French system, known as ZAPPAUPs (Pickard, 2002, p. 75). It is relatively more centralised if compared with the SAVE system, organised on a contractual basis between central government and local authorities. The government can secure the quality needed to be ensured and the local authority can enjoy more powerful and legitimate basis of its listed and designated entities, which can be achieved in a more state-centred paradigm as in Egypt.

In this phase the above preliminary specified boundaries of designations and criteria to judge value are amended and reviewed, based on the detailed and more contextually driven investigations. Action areas are also specified so the work can be more

precise and organised with more defined interested groups. It is also a perfect venue to attract and concentrate investments and political and institutional interest. This can help accomplishing conservation through a pilot project, which is meant to serve as a catalyst model for the rest of the subjected historic area as a whole. However, certain criteria for selecting action area are applied to guarantee effective catalyst impacts of the action projects. Reviewing literature focusing on the selection of action areas in the historic towns, focusing on Historic Cairo and Old Aleppo (UNDP, 1997; AKCS-E, 1999; Shikh Mohamed, 2001; and El-Bain, 2001) the following criteria are recommended to be considered:

- 1- The action area is recommended to have a strategic location, being highly integrated within the fabric it represents, e.g., being or containing a central alley or node,
- 2- has development potentials and can be linked with any on-going development schemes within its wider context, for example containing talented youth who can be trained and specialised workshops where they can be trained through the national scheme to revitalise traditional crafts, organised by the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Social Affairs in Egypt,
- 3- contains significant groups of buildings of value, whether registered monuments or those with listing potentials,
- 4- contains vacant lands and buildings which provide opportunities to practice and experience rehabilitation within the area,
- 5- has commercial and manufacturing base. However , it is also recommended to be residential so it can represent the continuing mixed-use traditional neighbourhood as the area should be expressive exhibiting most of the characteristics of its wider historic context,
- 6- have potential for effective community work, such as any form of community initiatives whether a working NGO or even an active informal community institution, such as strong kinship structure with influencing figure,
- 7- have common or interrelated problems, such as decaying sewage system, with its wider context so when it is improved it can have a positive impact on the surrounding neighbourhoods,



- 8- be free of impossible-to-solve problems otherwise the whole process will be crippled which will generate distrust and unreliable feelings among different interest groups regarding the viability of the whole area conservation scheme,
- 9- recommended to be of a limited number of houses thus work applied can be more efficient, which is designed not to exceed an area of 150 houses as in the case of Bab Qansourin in Old Aleppo and less than that in Darb Shughlan in Historic Cairo, and
- 10- be located close to a major access to the historic town, which does not have to be on the peripheries of the historic town as it can be at the core but close to a central major thoroughfare or a cut-through avenue as the case of Gamaliyya being close to al-Muiz historical thoroughfare or al-Ghuriyyah being close to al-Azhar Avenue.
- 11- In case of sever threat in a certain spot; it is essential to be given the priorities of intervention, thus, being selected as an action area. For example in Hebron where a sever political threat caused by the Israeli settlers, the Martyr Street in Old Hebron was considered as an action area to cut the way between the settlers and the Old City where they wanted to penetrate. This granted the street more protection and directed all the attention and activities to this spot as well as the Ibrahimi Mosque that has suffered many Israeli aggressions.<sup>21</sup>

(ii) Detailed Area Appraisal:

It is more specifically aiming at defining the character and what to protect through detailed assessment of a specific range of certain zones across the wider studied historic area. These identified zones, subjected to detailed assessment are chosen for their importance and relevant architectural and historic significance (STHI, 1999c, pp.1,8) as well as social, economic and cultural significance. These selected zones are the action areas to be specified based on intensive surveys, as elaborated above; this is essential in larger historic areas such as the case of al-Darb al-Ahmar with mixed physical character and packages of problems so the Aga Khan had to specify many action areas to respond to

<sup>21</sup> This information was revealed by Mr. Hilmi Maraqa, the Revitalisation of the Old City of Hebron Unit, in an interview in January 2002, Amman.

these diversity in character and types of problems to confront as will be elaborated in the following chapters.

Guided by the detailed surveys above and seeking more subjective character definition of the studied zone/ area, El-Hassan (2000) defines three major scales to analyse the built heritage: value scale, physical scale, and historic scale. The value scale contains two types of variables: cultural and contemporary socio-economic ones. The cultural values are those related to sense of identity, rarity of the architectural or urban fabric studied, and relative artistic or technical value. The socio-economic contains more community related values, such as use, economic, functional, educational, social, and political values.

On the Physical Scale, El-Hassan includes data related to environment, urban, architectural and construction, details conditions and forms to formulate a spatial dimensions of heritage recorded. While on the historical scale, she includes information and quality of event such as political, social, industrial, natural disasters or mutations or the introduction of new technologies etc. the variables introduced through the historical scale can also introduce the urban morphological analysis.

However for more effectiveness these scales and inventories are based on typological and network analysis. This is compiled on a computerised database to formulate a knowledge-based conservation information model. It is common also to use the Geographical Information System (GIS) technology to compile a more effective knowledge-based conservation model which has become essential for any effective urban management. The model however is recommended to allow various revisions to become change-tolerant so it can register and trace the alteration and monitor change. The Historic Landscape Assessment (HLA) approach (Bruce, 1998) aims at achieving this through mapping the impact of people and expresses it on 1:25,000 scale path finders maps through involving ground/ site visits to check the land use types, in order to give more validation to the more quantifiable GIS data compilation.

Nevertheless, the knowledge-based models serve more as the data base of information to be compiled through the detailed surveys. Much validations of the data supplied is still needed for the data base to develop valid analysis. Thus, more ground-based appraisals are needed. This can be through more indulgence with the context, people and actual site problems through a more pragmatic method. The Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) Method introduced by Ibrahim (1997) through an Aga Khan funded

project to produce an area appraisal for the District of al-Darb al-Ahmar.<sup>22</sup> The PRA aims at identifying the area's potentials and problems as perceived by members of the targeted community. The conservation team here is responsible for preparing volunteers with leadership potentials for maximum access to the community to gather accurate data for more valid findings. It is recommended that the selected candidates are of different ages, gender and levels of education so they can penetrate the different strata of the targeted community. Certainly, the conservation team prepares the needed training, a capacity centre has been established as a development limited for the community of al-Darb al-Ahmar where the conservation team is stationed and the tinning activities and the coordination with the prepared community leaders is exercised. More logistical issues are needed to be decided, e.g., dividing the targeted area into sub-zones and assigning each to a certain community candidate or group of candidates. Each member or group conducts their interviews to be compiled as a more valid source of data essential for an accurate more detailed area appraisal (Feidi, 2000, pp.113-7). Such an approach can be regarded as a more interactive community consultation model according to the community participation levels introduced above.

Larkham (1994, p.223) emphasises that area/ character appraisal is the responsibility of the LPA to guarantee that they will conduct it regularly. This is to secure much flexibility in monitoring change in the built form and to allow more effective follow up, consequently more responsive policies and regulations. For example, to Larkham, designating area boundaries is subjected to alteration, which is based on the outputs of the above recommended regular character check or appraisal. Norton and Ayers (1993, pp.212, 3) thus maintain that regular check and evaluation may raise some hidden potentials and qualities yet to be uncovered in the designated area. They indicate the dynamic nature of such a process that is to be envisaged as an open-ended one to tolerate possible future appropriation according to the updated data and revealed area's requirements and more characteristic features.

---

<sup>22</sup> Leitmann (1995) introduce a similar technique, Rapid Urban Environmental Assessment (RUEA), through a UNDP report prepared mainly for deteriorated environment in the Developing World. However the PRA is a pioneering experience in a deteriorated historic context and more precisely in Cairo.

## (iii) Detailed Guidelines:

Based on the above, it is necessary that area-specific guidelines are developed. It is recommended to be developed for a certain specified area (sub-area); i.e., it can be especially developed for an action area (Mageean, 1998, p.70). Furthermore, Mageean suggests three types of guidelines, with varying degrees of restrictions. The more restrictive guidelines are prescribed to conservation areas where the environment still preserves its traditional essence. Less restrictive ones for transitional areas where there are some traces of historical essence through disparate elements. The least firm guidelines are suggested for the more dilapidated areas where in fact development is encouraged for all past traces have been lost (ills.4.5a,b).



Ill. 4.5a: The historical core of Mainz, Germany, exhibiting lavishly decorated nineteenth and eighteenth century architecture.



Ill. 4.5b: Few meters from such a traditional nineteenth century ambiance in Mainz located some isolated, more segregated urban nodes, which allowed ultra modern development that have not challenged or interrupted the traditional part of the city.

In general, there are three main types of guidelines, technical, financial, and legal guidelines (Hassan, 2001, p.120). The technical can be expressed through design regulations and control, e.g., restrictions over demolitions and alterations or limitation of heights. It can also revise the designated zone of control or draw different zones of control, as that introduced in the FWP model that necessitate specifying the boundaries of each homogeneous zone its especial regulations or guidelines. The financial ones can be expressed through grants, loans for restoration private properties, cross subsidies and other

financial incentives, e.g., tax relief or taxing the beneficiaries, mainly from tourism industry. Compensation systems as well can be introduced here, e.g., transfer of development rights for the owners who will lose their chance to develop their properties, e.g., adding more floors because of the introduced technical restrictions so they can be granted other properties or equivalent areas to those they can develop in the other less restrictive zones (Cantacuzino, 1987, pp.64.5). The legal guidelines are those dealing with the updating of the laws and different acts that organise the relation between the developer and the planning authorities aiming at filling the gap of any ambiguous procedures in the development consent, allowing also public scrutiny and appeal to any of the above restrictions through different procedures and venue that can secure a more reliable process and transparency in action.

It is almost the responsibility of the local authority, the area conservation management team, to keep these guidelines for the maximum benefits of the targeted environment as in this phase this body is freer to identify their own priorities according to the actual demands and the local circumstances (Leven, 2000, p. 23). Given that these priorities are classified through an effective partnership and community participation in decision making, the guidelines expected or any intervention set as a priority are supposed to have apposite impact on their area.

#### (iv) Physical Interventions:

This is the final stage and the most pragmatic one that comes in a form of urban design introduced to the targeted area, e.g., streetscape design. The physical interventions introduced in this phase should be the result of a long debate and exhausted attempts of research and discussions with all the involved stakeholders. Yet, there is always a sceptical stance against urban design being regarded as a more superficial intervention.<sup>23</sup> Such a notion is supported by many insensitive urban interventions conducted by the planning authorities seeking mainly the beautification of the historical sites or their surroundings regardless how this might affect the general character and the meaning of the place recognised by its users. Nevertheless, Carmona (2002a, pp.64-7) argues that effective urban design adds value to the area, not only a physical or aesthetic one but also economically essential to add a more sustainable dimension recommended for successful

---

<sup>23</sup> This is argued by Dr. Ana Paolini, Davison of Cultural Heritage, the Middle Eastern and ex-Yougoslavian Countries, UNESCO, in an interview in March 2002, Cairo.

area conservation, as elaborated in the previous chapter. Yet, there is a social cost which is gentrification (Carmona, 2002a, 80) which has a notorious effect on area conservation. However it is argued above that it is recommended to have a degree of tolerance to gentrification, used in a more surgical mood, see section 3.3.3 in the previous chapter. Another obstacle is that any urban design would always benefit primarily the investors and the organisations in charge of heritage, while the local community only benefit on the long-run basis, having a better environmental quality but with a financial cost (Carmona, 2002b, p. 147). Thus, it is recommended to make any intervention that can also benefit the local community on the short-run bases as well. For example, one of the reasons that the local community accepted the interventions and tolerated the traffic problems in al-Darb al-Asfar Area in Historic Cairo is that the conservation team improved the sewage system to protect the restored monuments in the area from damp water which was also considered a benefit for the local community in the area. In general, it is essential that any introduced intervention does not affect the major distinguished environmental qualities of the historic areas defined in the previous chapter, i.e. its integrity, authenticity and sustainability.

It is necessary that the above mechanism of area conservation is contextualised, pursued through an understanding of the especial values of the historic area. Through such a perspective, area conservation can acquire more cultural sensitivity, which can achieve sustainable results. A cultural approach is thus recommended, through which the area conservation processes can be smoothly implemented and achieve their urban upgrading objectives.

### **4.3. Cultural Approach to Area Conservation in the Arab-Islamic Context:**

On a practical basis, deeply rooted cultural values are needed to secure the implementation of the above planning approaches in a more comprehensive and responsive manner. Implementing the above suggested framework planning is a responsibility shared by different stakeholders. Thus a common perspective, adopted by both official bodies and the local community, is needed to motivate and facilitate such a plan, acting as a high environmental meaning (a package of cultural values and qualities) that draws and guides the environmental behaviour and action of the people who live in historic areas, and those responsible for them. UNESCO (2000, p.152) makes a strong argument for such a culture-based approach because of the need for literal development that is linked to mentalities,

traditions and beliefs. These elements may not have a direct impact but it is necessary to be taken into account. They should be regarded as environmental inherited values, such as inherited customs and habits that are still in practice especially religious practices, being recognised as a living heritage through which any upgrading scheme is to be directed. Nasser (2003, p.74) also argues that adopting such an approach contributes to reviving the meaning of these places and ensure their continuity.

Furthermore, what really distinguishes the Arab-Islamic City from its medieval European counterpart is the cultural gap affecting its morphology processes. While a medieval town in Europe is aging and suffers degraded environmental services and qualities, the Arab Islamic City suffered the same attitude for primarily a cultural reason; it went out of fashion and acquired a negative image. This is due to adopting European/ colonial models introduced to the region in the nineteenth century at the expense of the traditional urban planning systems and institutions managing the Arab-Islamic City, such as the *urf* and the *muhtasib* systems, as elaborated in the first part of the present research. That was due to adopting more secular systems, developed for a European context.

It is, thus, more convenient to recall the original urban systems and the conceptions that led to the continuity of the Arab-Islamic urban phenomena for more than a millennium. It is thus a call for cultural revitalisation that can serve as an ideological base that can motivate and enhance urban management, control and upgrading in this very context.

The concept of cultural revitalisation, however, should not be mistaken for that introduced by Wansborough and Mageean (2000) for they call for area revitalisation through cultural activities, i.e., exhibitions, retailing activities and pedestrianisation, a very common planning approach in UK. This is because Wansborough and Mageean concentrate on the more limited definition of culture that deals only with plastic arts, artistic performances and urban design aspects. However, this might be successful in a more deteriorated area close to the downtown with economic potentials, such as the King Walk in Newcastle upon Tyne or Piera in Istanbul, originally a retail centre in the heart of the city, but this is not always the case (ill.4.6), see also the case of Pierra in Istanbul (ill.1.16b). Pedestrianisation of historic streets that are flanked by coffee shops and boutiques does not always help the area (Sedky, 2001c). This is regarded as a very limited perspective/ definition of culture.



Ill. 4.6: Kings Walk, commercial centre, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK.

Rather, Bianca (2000, p.334) defines cultural revitalisation as a revived conception to be tackled from within, i.e., by reverting to the inner forces that are able to nurture a living culture and re-establish a sense of presence, integrity and continuity. This can be achieved through revitalising the latent but persisting cultural values, which are introduced as the Continuing Cultural Values in the upgraded environment as discussed in Chapter Two. Such a call for ideological revitalisation may echo Gharai's (1998) and Banai's (1996) neo-traditionalism perspective. They emphasise the qualities of the traditional neighbourhood lacking in the modern environment. Thus they make a call for revitalising the main values and concepts that are responsible for the evolution and continuity of such traditional, or at least a traditional-like neighbourhood with more contemporary relevance.

Nevertheless, this does not mean complete replication of or recall for the ideological ambiance of the past. A more critical approach to understanding and examining the traditional concepts is needed. For example, Zancheti and Jokilehto (1997) recommend revitalising the relics of the past (architectural or urban forms and institutions) only whenever they can match contemporary needs. Asfour (2000) recommends always debating the past ideas and conceptions before applying them. By all means reviving such concepts or ideologies or urban management institutions should not be considered as a rhetorical process. It is, rather, recommended to be regarded and implemented as a more creative response to some current demands of a very especial environment: the historic area. By learning the original concepts responsible for the foundation and the continuity of the fabric we have in hand we can understand its strength. Thus we can also define how it matches the area's current demands.

Abu-Lughod (1992, p.12) argues that some features of the traditional environment in the Arab-Islamic city are directly recommended in case of their contemporary relevance.



For example, the form of the traditional *Suq*, shopping area, remains in use today and has been reintroduced, even in the modern parts of the city as can be seen in shopping malls. This has much resemblance with the traditional *wekala* (lit. agency, normally a shopping mall surmounted by a hotel or collective housing units) that housed almost the same activities.<sup>24</sup> Amin, Norhan (2001) supports this argument. She even compared the physical aspects of the traditional and modern neighbourhoods in Damascus, which emphasises the more ecological merits of the former.

In addition, Nasser (2002 and 2003) tackles a more conceptual aspect of the same arguments. She studies the traditional urban management institutions and conceptions, taking the *Awqaf* system (Islamic charitable endowment institution) as a case study. She emphasises the effectiveness of the system and its religious reference that is still strong and motivating enough, making a call to revive such a system as potential urban management tool especially in the historic fabric; in Historic Cairo almost 80% of the major properties are owned by the *Awqaf*. In addition to up-keeping the endowed assets, shops, residential properties and the religious structures attached, community involvement was secured through jobs and direct charitable activities such as provision of food, shelter or money for socially-disadvantaged (Nasser, 2003, p.81).

This argument can be supported on more pragmatic basis in the case of Sudan. Dr. Said Abdel-Rahman, head of the Sudan *Awqaf* Organisation<sup>25</sup> maintains that such a traditional institution is still active in Sudan not only as a system that manages old endowed properties but as an active endowment concept which contributes to the welfare and social and economic development in Sudan, offering many job opportunities.

It is especially in the Arab-Islamic City, and more precisely in Historic Cairo, that Islamic cultural revitalisation is very much needed. Such traditional cultural values are still imbedded in the local communities and most of the conflicts between the officials and professional planners and the local community are due to a lack of awareness of such values, being ignored by the officials and planners in favour of adopting more modern planning methods and also not being clarified to the local community in the traditional quarters, which suffer cultural conflicts (Shehaeb and Sedky, 2002) and even social and

---

<sup>24</sup> In general in Cairo, as in many Arab-Islamic Cities, specialised markets are always preferred by the popular classes, those who live in traditional quarters. The form of the traditional covered market selling especial type of goods has been re-introduced in Ghaza Market for economical clothing founded by the Cairo Governorate in 2002 to meet people demands in a fashion they can understand.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by Al-Wali, Mamdouh and Aref, Abdel Nasir (2002) "The Monies of the Awqaf..How it can contribute to the economic and social development?" *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 18 December, p.17.

cultural segregation, as maintained in Chapter Two. It is however important to recall such values when upgrading any traditional environment for the community still preserves and communicates through such traditions at least as latent values. Based on practical experience in Yemen, Steege maintains that the Arab communities are still associated with their urban traditional culture (concept and urban institutions), derived mainly from Islamic teachings as elaborated above.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the current regeneration/ conservation consensus promotes community-based planning and integrates the community in the urban upgrading process, a quality that is essentially imbedded in the traditional Islamic settlement. The notion of 'community' in Islam was all-encompassing concepts in which ruler and the ruled were part of the *Ummah* or the community of faithful (Nasser, 2003, p. 82), which secure much integration and certainly would promise more effective development given that such development would be tolerant to change and environment appropriation. Therefore, it is inevitable to recall such principles when dealing with such communities in the very context where such principles were in practice and control, i.e., historic Arab-Islamic areas.

Yet, since the main inspiring source of such traditional principles is Islamic dogma, as elaborated in Chapter One, making a call for its revitalisation may witness some political opposition. Most of the governments in the region suspect any social or intellectual move with a religious character, especially Islamic. This is to avoid unwanted extremist influence especially in historic quarters that are more deprived and are relatively poor, thus serving as a perfect medium for potential terrorism. Therefore, a call for such revitalisation is not recommended to be Islamic for Islam sake but more as a kind of re-anchoring the main philosophies and attitude and actions that meet the above described latent values originally inspired by the main philosophy of such communities: Islamic teachings. This can be achieved through empowering local communities to establish cultural revitalisation awareness on a grass-roots level (Bianca, 2000, p.336).<sup>27</sup> Such awareness also needs to be promoted among the professionals and decision makers involved in the area conservation process. Therefore, Bianca recommended achieving it

---

<sup>26</sup> As revealed by Mr. Dick ter Steege, Institute of Housing Development Studies (IHS), Rotterdam, the coordinator of the HIS unit involved in the urban revitalisation of the City of Sanaa, in an interview in September 2002, Amman.

<sup>27</sup> The importance of this notion is based on the case experience of the author, Stefano Bianca, conducting various studies and area conservation projects not only in the Middle East but in the Islamic World, including ex-Yugoslavian countries and ex-Soviet States. He developed this conception after long work and urban management, administrative and political problems he faced in his career in UNESCO and the Aga Khan.

through enlightened leadership as the significant individuals (community leaders) on an official basis. This can be effectively achieved through revival of the local leadership model, as introduced in Chapter One and has different forms one of which was the *muhtasib* in Cairo or the *mukhtar* in Damascus, which is still in practice. Such a traditional role has been recalled in Manshiyyat Nasir, an unplanned Area in Cairo where an urban regeneration scheme has been initiated by the GTZ, which has proven high efficiency in urban upgrading mechanism. It has been also used in the revitalisation of the historic town in Essaouira in Morocco. The concept of the community leader as an enlightened head of a self-governed neighbourhood revived to confront the severe environmental deterioration in some of the historic neighbourhood and has proven very efficient.<sup>28</sup>

In general, having an effective and deeply rooted ideology parallel to any urban revitalisation scheme is an essential prerequisite for a more sustainable and efficient outcome for it gives reason and meaning to the long, sophisticated, and from a community's perspective, ambiguous process of area conservation.

#### **4.4. Approaches to Area Conservation in Historic Cairo:**

Approaches to area conservation depend on the priorities given in every context. Such priorities can be determined according to urgent environmental demands, the economy, and the political system where an area conservation scheme is implemented. Two main approaches to area conservation can be recorded: firstly a community-based approach and secondly an investment-and tourism-based rehabilitation (UNDP, 1997, pp.42, 3).

The first views area conservation as a rehabilitation process primarily benefiting poor communities. It aims at empowering the community and improving their quality of life, and limits and minimises resettlement and relocation of the community. Buildings, in general, are restored to house long-time residents in the area. Vacant land is developed to lodge the homeless and squatters. New investment projects focus on communities. This is mainly to secure job opportunities for the community's poor to increase their incomes and improve their skills and living environment.

---

<sup>28</sup> An interview Dr. John Shoup, involved in research project regarding the urban and social upgrading of Essaouira Historic Town, School of Humanities, Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane, through an interview in January 2002, Amman.

However, cost recovery is not ensured; subsidies and loans for social services and infrastructure are usually involved. The main beneficiary is the community and not the government or investors, who focus on the potential revenues of cultural tourism. Such an approach has been adopted in some of the unplanned quarters (spontaneous) in Cairo, where there is severe environmental deterioration and very few historic buildings (mostly religious buildings that are still in use). There, community is the base for any intervention and planning and revitalisation in such areas are regarded as for the local community members and by them, as if they are appropriating their living environment for themselves.<sup>29</sup> Ezbit al-Nakhl and Manshiyyat Nasir are two spontaneous quarters lie at the fringes of Historic Cairo. Generally, not involving the local community in any proposed or implemented development will produce unsustainable environment where the imposed interventions will witness inevitable alterations by the local community who will regard it as appropriations, while this will be regarded as vandalism from the planning authorities' point of view (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002) which will never be able to police their interventions all the time.

The second concept emphasises urban heritage and the conservation of the physical environment to benefit investments, mainly in tourism. It aims at encouraging investments in Historic Cairo and improving its environmental standards to accommodate an affluent community and investors, which often implies gentrification.

This is the approach viewed favourably by most of the institutions involved in area conservation in Cairo. However, this approach is likely to put an end to the vibrant community atmosphere currently visible in Historic Cairo. Nevertheless, it is not possible to abandon such an approach in a country where tourism is the main source of hard currency, which explains the current enthusiastic deeds of the government to conserve the historic city. In addition, the 1992 earthquake and the problem of chronic underground water have affected seriously many valuable monuments.

The above two approaches represent two sides of the same coin. They are both needed, depending on the neighbourhood to which each is applied. It might be also essential to apply them both in the same neighbourhood, depending on environmental

---

<sup>29</sup> An interview, Monica El-Shorbaji, GTZ Consultant in Ezbit al-Nakhl, Cairo in an interview in April, 2001.

conditions and the land use and the degree of deterioration. Therefore, a synthesised approach sensitive to the rehabilitation demands of its context is needed.

#### **4.4.1. A Synthesised Approach to Area Conservation:**

The UNDP Report (1997) presents a broader based rehabilitation approach to reconcile the two approaches.<sup>30</sup> This is thought to be achieved through combining areas with investment and tourism potentials for maximum cultural heritage preservation and areas with empowerment capacity. The economic reasoning of this approach is based on the mechanism of cross-subsidies, i.e., encouraging investment in one area while offering subsidies for social services and housing restoration in another.

This can be achieved through more comprehensive conservation planning that is more flexible, fluid and responsive to its context, complementing the area conservation concept introduced in the previous chapter. However, this is not an easy task as the various stakeholders involved in the urban upgrading and heritage preservation process have contradicting priorities. The UNDP report (1997) recommends to decide a planning framework that serves as a planning and legislative base to organise, control, and motivate the area conservation process.

#### **4.4.2. Frame Work Planning (FWP):**

The Framework Planning or Plan (FWP)<sup>31</sup> is a concept that was discussed in the UNESCO Report (1980) and the World Bank and the Arab Bureau Final Report (1985). However it was reintroduced/ elaborated in the UNDP Report (1997, pp.37-44) as a planning package attempting to draw attention to a number of local planning issues through a package of policies and proposals. It seeks the formulation of realistic and replicable policies using the available resources, capacities and capabilities to help propose legitimate and constituency-building mechanisms for implementation and urban management.

Historic Cairo can be divided into tentative zones, each represent a certain culture. For example the Azhar avenue cut into the traditional fabric in the nineteenth century is

---

<sup>30</sup> This report addresses conservation problems and different approaches to area conservation designed to meet the requirements and the especial nature of Historic Cairo, following a comprehensive approach. It was produced and edited by the UNDP through international and local experts, funded by The Italian Fund, an interview with Mr. Fabrizio Ago, Cultural Heritage Department, Italian Fund in Cairo, July 2001.

<sup>31</sup> To the author, it is the first time to encounter such a composite approach to area conservation as far as the author knows.

more colonial and thus has not much to share with the infillings parts of the fabric and the more sporadic urban nature of the fringes; certainly this necessitate a mosaic of policies, (see fig. 4.1). Therefore, FWP is not designed as a static blueprint or conventional master plan. It is rather a dynamic plan of action: adaptive, open-ended and flexible in order to accommodate a variety of circumstances, seeking the promotion of cultural diversity existing within Historic Cairo. FWP does not include phased actions for every planning issue, because some decisions cannot be made in advance due to the long-term nature of any proposed intervention.

Based on extensive studies that seek full understanding of Historic Cairo's potentials and limitations, FWP has divided Historic Cairo into clusters/ zones, where each exhibits a more homogenous nature of urban fabric, historic quality or activities. Consequently, through such a geographic designation and through studying the current activities, on both a local scale and a city-wide scale, FWP has formulated urban multi-sector policies that help formulating rehabilitation guidelines. It is thus an attempt to group all areas similar in character to formulate more homogenous sectors. This is more efficient as it is easier to deal with specified more homogenous sectors applying coherent policies to develop them than dealing with a wider zone of divisive characters (Larkham and Lodge, 1998, p.121).

The suggested rehabilitation approach package suggested is composed of five main types, responding to the especial nature and demands of each cluster defined, (see fig.4.1). The first is the Heritage Corridor that lies along the main traditional medieval thoroughfare, al-Muiz Street, along which many valuable listed buildings (equivalent to Grade I in the UK) are to be found; thus the approach recommended in this zone prioritising heritage preservation. The second cluster defined is the nineteenth century corridor, Mohamed Ali Street, which is a deteriorated colonial thoroughfare cut into the traditional fabric, a street along which the music industries were once located. The revitalisation of such industries as well as other crafts and non-hazardous activities associated with community development, which can be regarded as a juxtaposition of the two approaches to area conservation, are suggested as a more relevant approach to rehabilitation of this very zone. For example, The same lane in historic Cairo might need the two approaches as the case of Al-Darb al-Asfar Lane. It has historical registered buildings concentrated in its western side, while its eastern side had deteriorated buildings and vacant lands. This would make a community-oriented approach more appropriate for the eastern side while a pro-conservation one

adapted in the western side. The central part of the lane contains some buildings built in early twentieth century are in the middle and close to the historic buildings but need maintenance, which might necessitate a mixed approach more targeting the benefits of the residents of these buildings but in a way that respect the integrity of the historical buildings near by. This more composite approach to policies and regulation design is almost the case needed in most of the lanes in historic Cairo, where a lane may contains on one side a historical structure and on the other side it is crammed with occupants living in deteriorated structures while an active commercial or cultural activities take place at the middle.

The third is the institutional corridor, which lies along the Azhar Avenue where many governmental and other official buildings, such as banks and retail buildings are located. This necessitates, thus, a pro-urban design (beautification and streetscape) approach where conventional upgrading will be conducted from the governmental and potential investors' perspective. On the other hand, the approach followed in the fourth zone is a pro-community one where the environment in that zone suffers much deterioration. The fifth zone, however, is regarded as a transformation zone for it contains a lot of vacant land which introduces the potential for private investment, yet it is essential that such proposed change is controlled so as not to affect the neighbouring pro-community zone, both are located in the infill areas between the three zones/ corridors as indicated in fig.4.1.

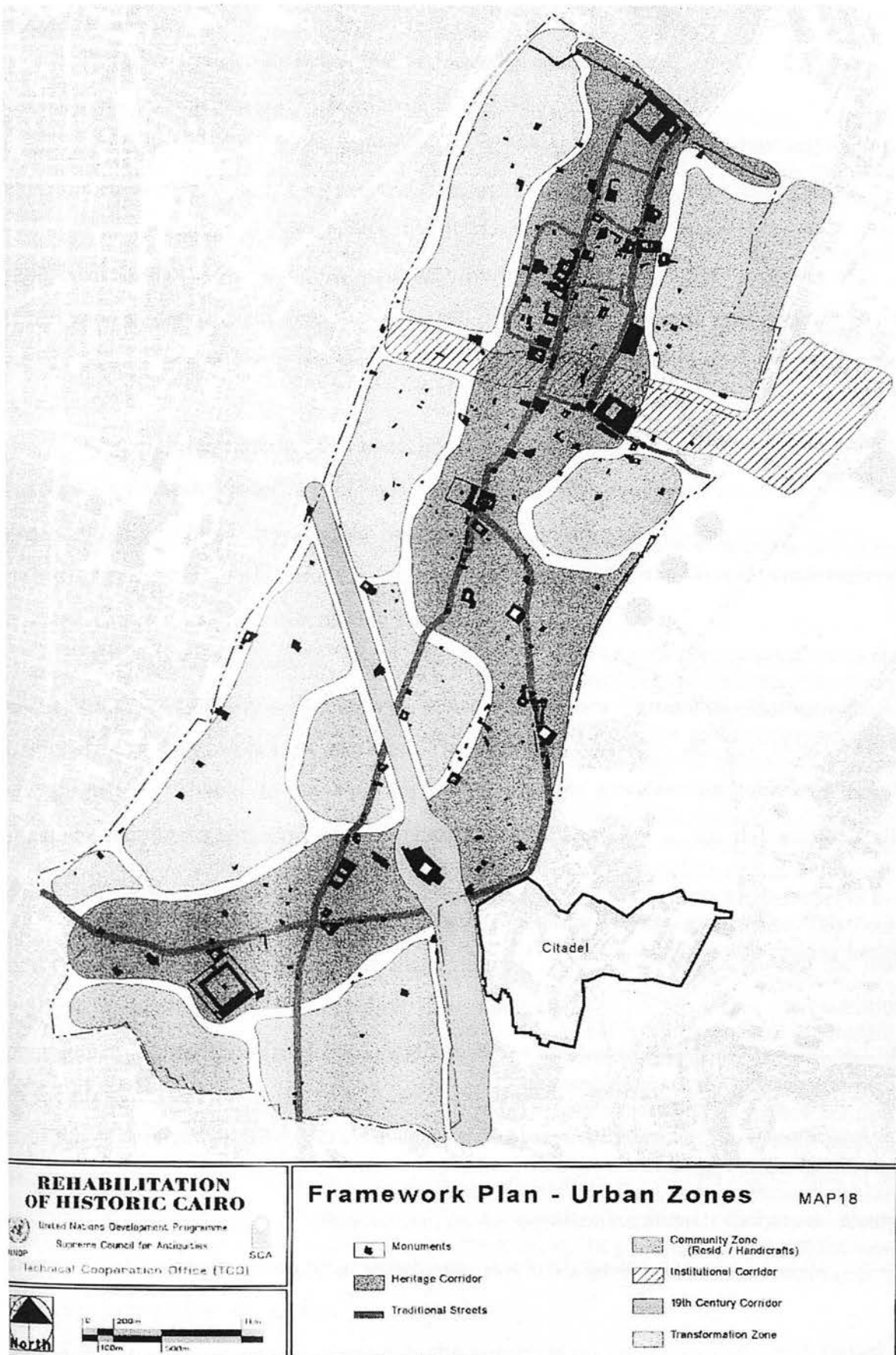


Fig. 4.1 Source: UNDP, 1997, p.47, map 18.



#### **4.5. Conclusion:**

The previous chapter has defined major environmental qualities of historic areas. In addition environmental and development considerations have been defined to be complemented at any area conservation scheme. Any intervention affects the environmental equilibrium at any urban fabric undergoing any sort of urban upgrading.

This is studied in this chapter that aims at pursuing area conservation in a mood that complements the environmental equilibrium of the historic area undergoing conservation scheme. This can be achieved if the above qualities and considerations, addressed in Chapter Three are complemented through the planning and implementation levels.

Therefore, considering the speciality of historic areas in the Arab-Islamic context, statutory and action phases are defined. The first is envisaged as general scanning and character definition of the targeted historic area. It also provides the analysis tools of different aspects in the historic environment. In addition, legislative and administrative/bureaucratic framework is specified in this phase.

Action phase focuses on the implementation level of area conservation. In such a phase local community's rights and roles, as well as grounded partnership and administrative frameworks are clarified. This is resolute through detailed area appraisal and guidelines. That is to say that the action phase is a phase that contextualises, to facilitate the implementation of, the studies and general guidelines developed in the statutory phase.

This is pursued through a cultural perspective to guarantee sustainable interventions that complemented the local values and that does not jeopardise the main essence (meaning) of the historic area undergoing conservation. In addition, complementing the fluid (responsive and contextual) nature of area conservation, defined in the previous chapter, a responsive approach to area conservation is synthesised. It is a package of approaches (FWP). It is sensitive to the varying nature of each historic area and even each spot or lane within the same area, which guarantees no blind implication of any area conservation scheme. It rather recognises the significance of each spot at any historic area and deals with it accordingly, depending on a well studied value and priority system that vary from an area to another.

The above mechanism represents the conservation processes that are designed to achieve and/ or secure environmental qualities and consideration when pursuing an area

conservation scheme in an historic area in general. Thus, it is possible now to understand how to conserve an historic area in an Arab-Islamic context, which answers the how-to-conserve inquiry in this research.

## **PART III**

### **ASSESSMENT OF AREA CONSERVATION IN CAIRO**

**Part Three. Forward:**

This part contextualises the previous principles, to be measured and assessed in Historic Cairo. The previous inquiries, What-to-Conserve and How-to-Conserve addressed in the previous two parts, are accumulated to compose the assessment criteria applied to evaluate the quality of area conservation in Historic Cairo, as pursued in Chapter Five. These criteria are used in Chapter Six to define the role and assess the quality of the work of each agent/ actor, involved in area conservation schemes in Historic Cairo. In addition, Chapter Six addresses the governmental priority system that probes the actual agenda inspiring the current area conservation schemes. Consequently, a comprehensive review of the area conservation mood in Historic Cairo can be reached.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE APPROACH TO THE ASSESSMENT OF AREA CONSERVATION IN CAIRO

### **5.1. Objective:**

This chapter focuses on synthesising the assessment method to be applied in the case of area conservation in Historic Cairo, which is elaborated in the following chapter. To pursue such an assessment, it is essential to address both environmental quality and upgrading policies as factors interrelated and influencing each other (Innes, 2002), see (fig. 5.1), to compose the sought assessment model (criteria).

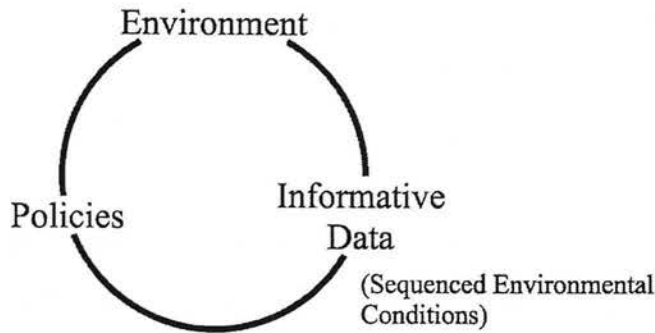


Fig. 5. 1

### **5.2. Synthesis of the Criteria of Area Conservation Conception:**

To measure the quality of an area conservation scheme and its impact on an historic area, i.e. measuring the 'commission' level of area conservation as defined in introduction chapter above, it is essential to examine different considerations, most importantly what it has targeted to conserve and how it has achieved that, which is the main methodology followed in this research. Guided by the previous parts, this research has addressed the current meaning of the historic area, tracing its original urban principles and the different forces contributing to its current status in the Arab-Islamic context, as elaborated in Chapter One and focusing more on Cairo in Chapter Two. However, emphasis is given to the current meaning as the significance creating a distinctive character due to the values of states and processes that are responsible for the physical significance and the liveability and the continuity of the cultural values and social habits, referred to as CCVs, of the historic areas in the Arab-Islamic context in general as discussed in Chapter Two.

Being aware of these aspects of the targeted historic areas and being capable to define such characteristic values and consider them a priority to preserve is certainly one important aspect needed to ensure a higher quality for any area conservation scheme. It is thus essential to consider the meaning of a historic area and its values of states and processes from different perspectives to define a subjective meaning, see section 2.6 in

Chapter Two, which is an important criterion to be considered when examining an area conservation scheme. (Criterion 'I')

Furthermore, to examine the environmental quality of a historic area it is essential to define its qualities of integrity, authenticity and sustainability, the environmental units of analysis in historic areas introduced in Chapter Three. Investigations of these environmental qualities of a historic area that has been under conservation illustrate its impact on the environmental quality. Studying such an impact illustrates the environmental quality of the targeted historic area, which is to be integrated with examining the policies of area conservation adopted in such an historic area for a comprehensive assessment as elaborated below. (Criterion 'II')

However, it is important to investigate the processes and mechanisms of any applied area conservation scheme in addition to examining the above environmental qualities and considerations. This is to interpret the deficiencies of conservation or any inferior area conservation quality of those introduced in criteria 'I' or 'II' as well as shedding light on the existing area conservation policies and their efficacy while studying the area conservation scheme as a process. This is possible through a wider review of the area conservation processes, whether during the statutory (designatory) stage as in sub-criterion 'III.1' or in an action stage as in sub-criterion 'III.2', as introduced in Chapter Four. (Criterion 'III')

Moreover, for further investigations that add to the value of the interpretations of the research findings, regarding the reasons for the deficiency of any assessed area conservation scheme, it is important to examine the approach adopted in area conservation. Reviewing the financial mechanisms of area conservation in Chapter Three, a critical approach that is change-tolerant is emphasised. This was discussed further in promoting a cultural approach to area conservation that seeks to complement the local values and qualities of the targeted area, employing whenever possible its latent and previous urban management systems that have proven their efficiency in the past, as long as they can function today (sub-criterion 'IV.1'), as has been discussed in Chapter Four, given that this can be achieved only if the professionals in charge are aware of the original and current meaning of the targeted historic area and its latent and continuing values (CCVs) as pointed out above in criterion 'I'.

However, a more responsive flexible approach, depending on the type of problems and the qualities and values and the degree of claims the N, W and U to the examined

historic area is recommended. It is suggested that this is to be achieved through a synthesised approach that is woven according to the type of problems and group of priorities to be considered when an area conservation scheme is applied (sub-criterion 'IV.2'); this is illustrated in through the FWP model in Chapter Four. (Criterion 'IV')

To sum up, the accumulated criteria of area conservation in the Arab-Islamic context are defined as follows:

- I. The meaning of area conservation: values to protect.
- II. Area conservation environmental quality:
  1. Integrity: structural, functional and visual.
  2. Authenticity.
  3. Sustainability: social (cultural /administrative), economic and environmental.
- III. Area Conservation Process:
  1. Statutory Process:
    - (i) area character, types of general appraisal needed.
    - (ii) area designation as a concept.
    - (iii) legislations and general guidelines and references.
    - (iv) the management structure seeded (central urban management unit).
  2. Action Process:
    - (i) working in partnership.
    - (ii) involving local community.
    - (iii) type of documentation, including listing mechanism and refined designation boundaries.
    - (iv) detailed area appraisal needed.
    - (v) detailed guidelines produced.
    - (vi) physical implementation.<sup>1</sup>
- IV. Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:
  1. Cultural Approach: adapted approach sensitive to the local culture.

---

<sup>1</sup> Here the interventions introduced are recommended to be measured according to their impacts on the social/ cultural, economic and environmental aspects which serve as the sustainable quality, together with the qualities of integrity and authenticity. This is to test their actual impact on the fabric and the people and the livability in general of the subjected area. The area conservation qualities introduced above can be addressed through these parameters that can illustrate the actual tendencies and impact of each actor, thus, its influence on area conservation in Cairo in general.



2. Approach Design: adapted approach responsiveness to the context and situation of the targeted area.

### **5.3. The Approach to Assessment:**

According to Khattab (1993) and Rapoport (1990), environmental quality should not be only decided according to the quality and condition of its physical entities. Khattab (1993, p.42), argues that the concept of environmental quality has two meanings: the first deals with the physical environment and the second deals with the perceived one, which are the qualities and values that influence the way the users of a certain environment construe it. Therefore, it is more subjective to depend on integrated perspectives of the different participants (stakeholders: occupants, officials and planners/ previously introduced as U, N, and W groups in Chapter Two). Each group has its own criteria for 'quality' as an environmental concept, depending on the preferences, values and interests of such a group. Any area acquires its meaning from an amalgamation of the different perspectives/ perceptions of those who have strong claims to such an area as discussed in Chapter Two in section 2.4; so does the environmental quality.

However, it is essential to define the preference system or the filters, against which we evaluate any urban design or intervention, to assess the quality of the environment after its implementation. This has been already decided above; based on the conservation charter review and different consulted cases of area conservation in the Arab-Islamic context.<sup>2</sup> Such filters can be limited to three major units of analysis: integrity, authenticity, and sustainability, as introduced in Chapter Three (fig. 5.2).

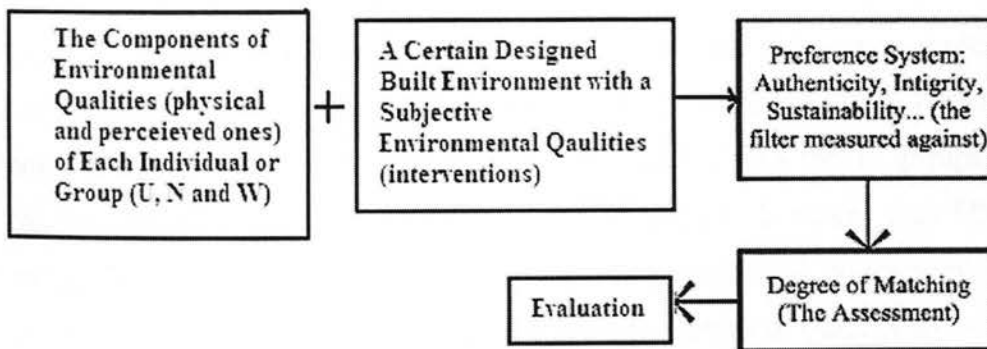


Fig. 5. 2

<sup>2</sup> This is defined in section introduction.5 in the introduction above as the commotion level, seeking what and how to conserve inquiries.

In planning, the policy-making process is a dynamic/ circular one; once it starts it proceeds. It is a sequential process that contains: problem identification, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation that may necessitate policy adjustment that may take us back to problem identification once again; in such a case the problem could be the result of a previous wrong policy (fig.5.3).<sup>3</sup> This process is defined by Hall (1994) and illustrated by Attia (1999, p.44, fig.2.1).

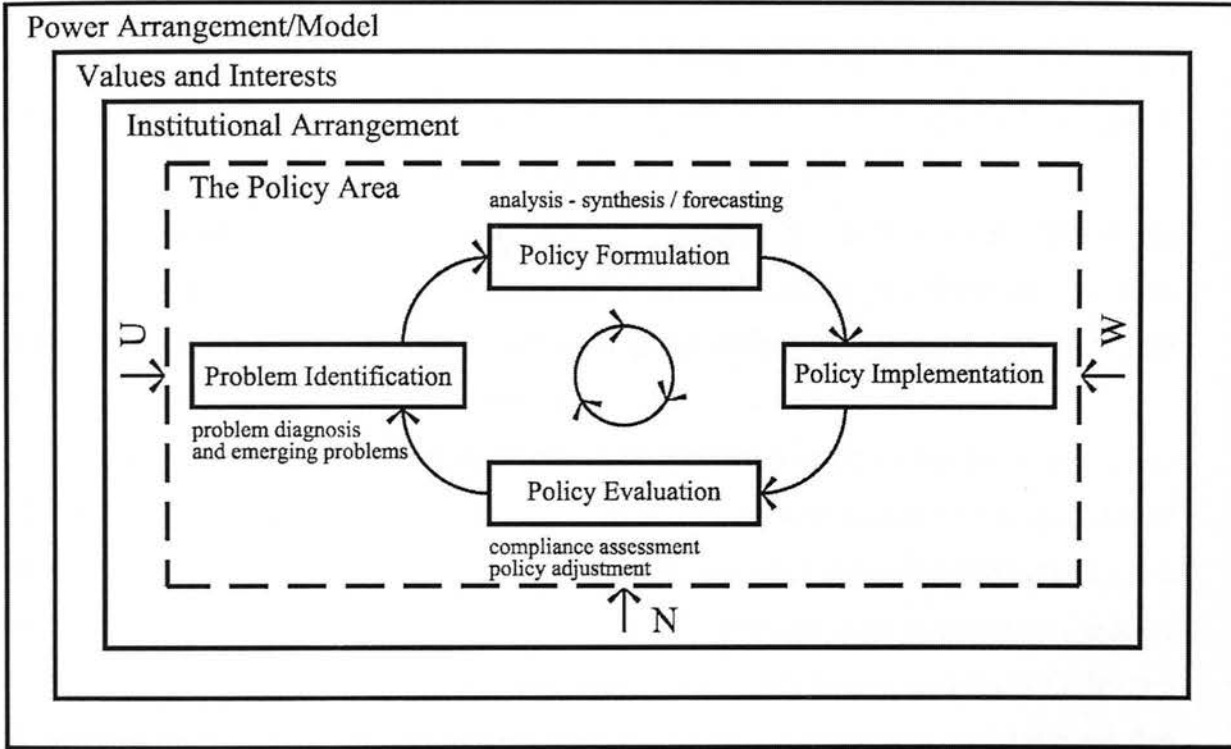


Fig. 5.3 Source: Attia, 1999, p. 44, fig. 2.1.

Each policy develops in a policy arena. In such an arena many participants, (those identified in the present research as U, N, and W groups), intervene in policy making. Each group has its degree of influence, depending on the political system and the context and the case concerned. For example, we find that the W groups, represented by the international organisations concerned with cultural heritage, e.g., UNESCO, have a strong influence when discussing and deciding upgrading policies of an international World Heritage Site, such as the Great Pyramids Plateau in Giza. Also, we find that the N group has the upper hand in policy-making in a deteriorated vacant plot of historic

<sup>3</sup> This is defined in section introduction.5 in the introduction above as the mission level, investigating the motivation and agenda initiating and making the call for conservation.

Chapter 5 The Approach to the Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo buildings.<sup>4</sup> However, such cases are exceptional, for most plots in Historic Cairo are distinguished by their liveability because of the persisting influential role of the U group, which makes it a more sophisticated process influenced by U, N, and W groups.<sup>5</sup>

Such an interaction, responsible for policy making, recognised as policy environment (Hall, 1994 and Attia, 1999) occurs on three levels: power arrangement/ model, values and interests, and institutional arrangement, see (fig. 5.3). Salheen (2001, p.48) interprets the power arrangement/ model as the ideology of the political system, i.e., capitalism, communism, democracy, which organises and defines the extent of the interaction and power practiced by individuals, organisations and agencies (U, N, and W groups) influencing the formulation of area conservation policies.

The values and interests level of policy making is where we can discuss the interrelation or conflict of different interest groups' values involved in the area conservation policy-making process - how each group defines the meaning of historic area and consequently how they can be conserved.

Finally, the institutional arrangement level deals with institutional framework (who is doing what). It is where we can trace the flow of and the administrative obstacles in the area conservation policy-making process. This can be explored through examining the area conservation process in Historic Cairo guided by the specified area conservation process and phases introduced in Chapter Four. Moreover, to evaluate policy making is to deal on the 'mission' level (the actual motivation and the political generator of development that direct development and influence policy making, as introduced in section introduction.5 in the introduction chapter above).

To sum up, the accumulated criteria of area conservation policies are defined as follows:

---

<sup>4</sup> This is discussed in Chapter Two in section 2.5 and the responsive guidelines and approach to policies design is discussed in section 4.4.1 in chapter four.

<sup>5</sup> Attia (1999, pp. 64, 65, fig. 2.6) recognises and classifies the U, N, and W groups as: interest groups (small businesses and industry associations, conservation groups and community groups) which complies with the U group at the present research; institutions (governmental departments and agencies responsible for area conservation, e.g., SCA) which complies with the N group—this class might also include the international institutions such as UNESCO representative office in Cairo that complies with W group or the UNESCO office in Egypt that complies with N and W groups; institutional leadership (Ministries and Cairo Governorate responsible for area conservation portfolio in Cairo) complies also with N group; and significant individuals (such as the First Lady in Egypt or some intellectual activists). It is, however, very rare when we have an active influential role of those activists in policy making in the case of Historic Cairo. However, their role will be cited wherever appropriate, where they play a significant role in area conservation, as elaborated in Chapter Six below.

#### I. Power Arrangement:

deduced through investigating the N's, U's and W's influence in the power arrangement influencing area conservation planning in Cairo.

#### II. Values and Interests:

deduced through investigating the N's, U's and W's values and interests influencing area conservation planning in Cairo.

#### III. Institutional Arrangement:

deduced through investigating the N's, U's and W's actual roles and responsibilities influencing area conservation planning in Cairo.

### **5.4. Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo:**

According to the above, it is essential that the assessment of area conservation in Cairo branches to cover environmental quality and policies of area conservation, being measured against the above-defined filters (figs. 5.2, 5.3). The question now is how to apply this assessment. Nabih, W. (1999, p.62) suggests 'Environmental Assessment' as a method to assess the environmental situation and perhaps the potential impacts of development. Doig (1999, pp.6, 13) uses also environmental assessment-- however it is limited to policy assessment-- entitled Process of Formative Evaluation.

Environmental Assessment here, thus, is an approach to explore the environmental quality and the policy making and implementation processes and the impact of development on a certain environment. It is, however, conducted in an exploratory mode. Therefore, Doig (1992, p.13) describes it as more "suitable where policy goals are uncertain and require to be studied in their own rights." This is the case in this research where the current situation of area conservation in Cairo, area conservation environmental qualities, the implementation processes and policies, is needed to be defined to be assessed against the above specified filters.<sup>6</sup> It is thus more appropriate to explore the case of Historic Cairo, a huge urban phenomenon, adopting such a mode of assessment as conducted in Chapter Six, (fig. 5.4), since what is attempted here is to define the actual status on firm grounded bases to compare it to what might be regard as more contextual

---

<sup>6</sup> That is to say it is a combination of assessments of the mission and commission levels of area conservation followed in the case of Historic Cairo.

area conservation (the conservation conceptions and processes discussed and developed in the previous parts, in Chapters Two, Three and Four).

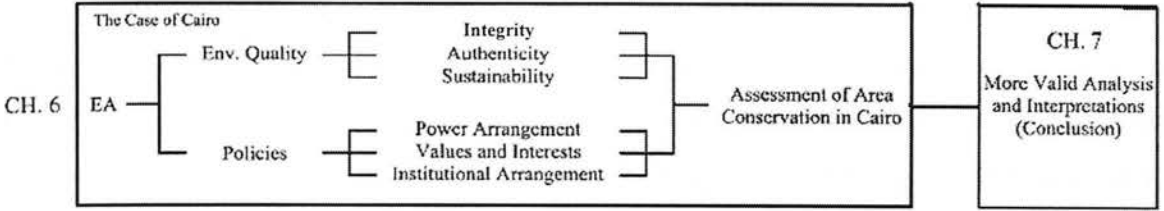


Fig. 5. 4

**5.5. Research Design:**

The main objective of this investigation, conducted in the following chapter, is to explore and identify the above-introduced filters of assessment in Cairo as in (fig. 5.4). This is to define the current status of area conservation and the actual planning system controlling urban upgrading in Historic Cairo, to be able to conduct an assessment to measure the current status with the above exhibited area conservation qualities and policies, as introduced in the previous parts.

An exploratory and descriptive investigation, cross-sectional in its time-span, is conducted to explore the current predominant planning paradigm and area conservation qualities and values, which is to be assessed against the above specified filters (through the assessment criteria compiled through the previous parts). The main subjects of such an investigation are institutions and official planners who are the main responsible and authorised parties in Egypt, a more state-centred system of planning (Attia, 1999, p.73) where the state and its agenda control guide and lead even the directions of the professional planners and consultants as pointed out in the Introduction Chapter in section introduction. 5. However, some community representatives or occupants of commercial, industrial or residential units in some upgraded areas are also involved.

Certainly this would necessitate using more than one method of investigation, thus, adopting a multi-method approach, also know as triangulation (Fielding, 1985), see Appendix one for more details about the used research methods in this research. This strategy is not only important to diversify the sources of data but also to overcome each

The Approach to the Assessment of Area Conservation in Cairo research method's weaknesses (Brewer and Hunter, 1989). It also increases the inner validity of the gained and analysed data (Daher, 1996).

The above multi-method approach together with the accumulated criteria of area conservation planning in the Arab-Islamic context, elaborated above in section 5.2, are employed to measure the quality of area conservation as well as to explore the actual process/ mechanism and approach to area conservation followed in different area conservation schemes in Historic Cairo. This is to help interpret the identified deficiency in the environmental qualities in some areas in Historic Cairo that have been under conservation, and is achieved through examining the organisations and institutions, represented through an interviewed subject or participant in the workshop (see the sampling section below), involved in area conservation in Cairo. The degree of awareness, skills, competence and interests of each of these organisations and institutions are measured against each criterion of the above criteria, as elaborated in section 6.3 in the following chapter. This deals with policy analysis possible through exploring the power arrangement, interests of each organisations as elicited in this investigation and their projects, and the actual institutional arrangement together with the above comparison of criteria, making it possible to understand the status of area conservation in Historic Cairo, as well as the actual mechanisms and processes that might have contributed to such a status. The final assessment is an evaluation of this explored status of area conservation in Cairo. The evaluation is conducted, guided by the criteria/ conceptual framework developed through the previous parts of the present research.

### **5.6. Sampling:**

Following the classification of the main actors with claims to area conservation and who are involved in urban upgrading process, there are three main groups to investigate, N, W and U. In Egypt the N group plays the most important role in area conservation, as specified above. Thus, the main sample is that composed of representatives of the different governmental organisations, agencies and consultancies involved in area conservation in Egypt.

Each organisation is represented in the research through a selected sample, a subject that is a key person in this organisation (being responsible for decision making, design or implementation, depending upon the actual role of the examined organisation).

This key person is identified after field visits to area conservation projects in Cairo and discussion with the occupants in such areas to learn the organisations involved in such a project. Through frequent visits to such organisations it was possible to specify the department in charge of this project; the selected sample is thus the head of this department. He/ she represents the middle managerial level and technically those who are producing or dealing with different aspects of area conservation in such an organisation. Through various interviews some subjects recommend other organisations involved in the process as well as specific names of persons in charge (other key persons in other organisations). Those were also interviewed. After some investigation, mainly through document analysis and interviews as elaborated in sections A1.1 and A1.2 in appendix one, the author was able to formulate a general organisational framework that specifies the most influential organisations. Therefore a workshop was held, as elaborated in section A1.3 in appendix one, with the key persons that were previously interviewed, who represent these influential organisations, to increase the validity of the revealed information.

Members of the top managerial level (Ministers or Governors) were difficult to be interviewed in most cases. Therefore, where possible their interests and values are represented through their comments in the press or in the official reports of their organisations as investigated in the document analysis below. However, some high administrative level officials, such as the Deputy Governor of the West Cairo Region or the Head of the Greater Cairo Division in the Ministry of Housing were either interviewed, as in the former case, or invited as keynote speakers in a symposium (open meeting, see section 5.4.5) in the latter. Yet they only expressed information about the main policies in their organisations, which is to be integrated with the information revealed by the above specified key persons in the interviews or the workshop for more accurate results.

The W group, represented through some international organisations involved in conservation and heritage management in general in Egypt, has a relatively modest role in decision making and area conservation planning. However, based on field visits and investigations focused on the actors involved in area conservation in Cairo in general, some key persons were interviewed, e.g. the head of the Cultural Division at the UNESCO office in Cairo and the head of the ARCE. As they do not contribute to the area conservation design phase or the policy making, they were asked about their actual role and their comments on the area conservation approaches and processes in Cairo in general.

The information revealed here is important for the analysis and interpretation sections in the following chapter.

The U group is represented through the occupants residing or owning or working in shops or workshops in the area conservation areas. Although the research focuses mainly on the N group and the impacts of their approaches and policies of area conservation, the local communities can reveal information necessary to examine the impact of any intervention introduced in a certain historic area. Their revealed information can help examine the sustainable quality of any area conservation scheme, as introduced section 3.2.4.c in Chapter Three, and the quality of the area conservation planning followed through testing the community involvement, as recommended in section 3.2.2.b in Chapter Three and elaborated in section 4.4.2.b in Chapter Four.

However, selecting samples for interview was limited to two areas, al-Darb al-Asfar in Gamaliyya and Qasr al-Sham in Misr al-Qadima, since the area conservation schemes there had already been completed. Therefore, these two areas serve as an optimum venue to measure the local communities' satisfaction and disappointments. Selecting samples in these two areas came through meeting people who live and work there, pursued through frequent visits to these areas. This gave the author the chance to define the more affected members in the community and define those who take initiative and are willing to be more interactive from Qasr al-Sham area, as the community of the first area (al-Darb al-Asfar) were too disappointed to participate in any experiment. Those subjects were invited to participate in role play sessions as elaborated in section A1.6 in appendix one.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, other representatives of NGOs and community based organisations, such as the Development of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area Limited were also interviewed. However, only the active and more involved NGOs were selected. Since their role is still debated by the government, their actual role in area conservation process is not effective enough. Nevertheless, the interviewed subjects revealed information about the actual problems and deficiencies in their areas and the deficiencies of the local communities themselves which can help interpret the actual organisational framework and the power distribution between

---

<sup>7</sup> The information revealed and the area conservation scheme in Qasr al-Sham Area served as the materials of the first case study introduced in the workshop organised for the key persons representing the most influential governmental organisations responsible for area conservation in Cairo, see section A1.3 in appendix one below.



the governmental organisations and local governments and the community, or the relation between N and U groups in general, as elaborated in the following chapter in section 6.4.

The information revealed by the W and U groups is employed to produce more accurate analysis and interpretations of the N group's approaches and policies of area conservation, which is the main concern of this research.

### **5.7. Conclusion:**

Based on the previous inquiries, conducted in Parts One and Two, an assessment model, to assess area conservation schemes pursued generally in an Arab-Islamic context and more precisely in Historic Cairo, is constructed. This is achieved through integrating the assessment of the 'commission' level (the quality of area conservation) and the 'mission' level (the main goals and motivations behind area conservation and its policy making process) to synthesis a comprehensive model of assessment of area conservation.

This is achieved through: first investigating the environmental quality of any historic area that has undergone an area conservation scheme; and second: investigating the motivations and goals (policy-making motives) inspiring any intervention in historic areas that have undergone a conservation scheme. The first is achieved through employing four major criteria: The Meaning of Area Conservation (values to protect), Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability), Area Conservation Process (Statutory Process and Action Process) and Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation. The second is achieved through investigating the: Power Arrangement (the political model that draws the state-community relationship), Values and Interests (of each agent/ actor involved in area conservation) and Institutional Arrangement (organisational framework that define who, any involved agent, is superior on whom).

Synthesised mainly to pursue an assessment of area conservation in Historic Cairo, multiple research methods are defined to be pursued together, which is defined above as a triangulation technique, to increase the inner validity of the emerged data. This is achieved through applying the above comprehensive assessment model to each agent/ actor involved in area conservation schemes in Historic Cairo. Those actors (institutions, communities or any entity that possess any right to claim for at any historic area that has undergone conservation) are grouped into three main groups, i.e. N, U and W. This sampling model is defined in this research in the introduction chapter and elaborated on in Chapter Two in section 2.6.

## CHAPTER SIX

### AREA CONSERVATION IN CAIRO

### **6.1. Objective:**

Aiming at applying the assessment model constructed in the previous chapter, this chapter investigates area conservation plateau in Cairo. This is to define the main actors involved in area conservation schemes, as well as those that synthesise the conservation and urban planning policies in Historic Cairo. The role and work of each of those influencing actors/ agents are assessed, applying the above constructed criteria to judge the quality of area conservation, as well as revealing the actual directions controlling the different interventions in Historic Cairo.

### **6.2. Overview of Area Conservation in Cairo:**<sup>1</sup>

Different efforts have been made to develop and upgrade Historic Cairo. One of the earliest attempts is recorded by Shoukry (2000, p.155), which is Mohamed Mikawi's study that dates back to 1938. In his work, Mikawi incorporated the historic quarters in Cairo as part of his study of the expected future expansions of the City of Cairo, covering the duration from 1928-1978. This was followed by many other studies most of which, such as Mohamed Subh Abdel Hakim's demographic studies of the immigration to Cairo dated to 1974, called for decreasing the population of the different historic quarters in Cairo, regarded as an urgent need to protect such a venerable urban fabric. None of these studies, however, were taken into consideration or implemented by the concerned institutions and municipal organisations (Shoukry, 2000). This has maintained urban pressures, resulting in the accumulation of many urban problems in historic areas in Cairo. Therefore, the common rhetoric, targeting the upgrading of historic areas, remained limited to one main call: decreasing the population in Historic Cairo as the way to confront the deterioration of its environment, as proclaimed by Hassan Kafafi as late as 1990 (Kafafi, 1990).

Therefore, unlike Europe where different techniques and concepts of urban heritage management were developed, implemented, and tested as shown in Chapter Three above, official municipal institutions and organisations in Egypt did not pursue a comprehensive approach to urban upgrading in historic areas. They looked down upon the traditional urban fabric, calling for its transformation into a more 'civilised'<sup>2</sup> one. This was pursued

---

<sup>1</sup> All the names mentioned in this chapter contributing information about area conservation planning and projects in Cairo are interviewed in Cairo; the venues where they revealed their information, and their affiliations are listed in details in appendix two below.

<sup>2</sup> This term 'civilised' is deceptively anodyne when used by official organisations in Egypt. While it is used to refer to any settlement that is clean, well served and equipped with sufficient amenities on one hand, it is

during the 1950s and 1960s adopting a slum clearance approach, removing traditional neighbourhoods and complete blocks to be replaced by social housing schemes, see (ill. 2.3) in Chapter Two above.<sup>3</sup>

However, there were no specific legislation or national planning guidelines that could guide development in historic quarters, instead the same urban planning laws were applied in all districts whether modern, colonial or traditional. For example, the new alignment of streets imposed widening the traditional routes in historic Cairo or even new streets and voids cut through regardless the urban spatial structure of the historic area, see section 1.3.1 in Chapter One above. This approach continued until 1976 through Act 106 which was integrated later with Act 3 issued in 1982. All was general legislations and not produced to complement the especial urban nature of historic areas in Cairo.

Nevertheless, in 1973 a planning scheme for Historic Cairo was produced by the Ministry of Housing and was submitted to the Governorate for implementation.<sup>4</sup> Despite being an attempt to give a 'civilised' (with all the negative impacts of the term as elaborated above, i.e. imparting an inauthentic quality on the traditional urbanism by creating voids with green areas and creating new roads alien to the original fabric)<sup>5</sup> look to this traditional urban fabric, it was the first upgrading scheme that was produced to confront the accumulative urban deterioration in Historic Cairo. Yet, this scheme remained inactive until 1980, when a growing sense for safeguarding historical areas in Cairo was

---

debatable from such official organisations' perspective to describe any traditional settlement as a civilised one. Well-paved streets decorated with ornamented street furnishing and greenery wherever possible are becoming a stereotype of the civilised area for the governmental municipal bodies. This debate would take the reader back to a similar discussion made in Chapter One above, in section 1.2.1 about the concept of the Islamic City and its informal municipal systems elaborated in section 1.2.2. In these two sections an epistemological problem in interpreting the especial nature of the traditional urban phenomena in the Arab-Islamic context is explained, which is attributed to the orientalist approach presented by the western urbanists who studied such an urban phenomena in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, whose work is regarded as the classics of urban studies written about the discussed phenomena. Moreover since the Egyptian official municipal institutions and organisations have adopted a Europeanised model of urban management since as early as mid-nineteenth century they started to grow a degraded perspective onto whatever 'traditional' developing what might be described as an 'inner orientalism' perspective, as elaborated in section 2.3 in Chapter Two above. Therefore, most of the interventions pursued by such official organisations compromised the authentic quality and character of the traditional settlements, historic quarters, being subjected to insensitive redevelopment or sanitising the traditional while altering drastically its authentic image and meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Maintained by Dr. Galal Abada, open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> It targeted traffic easing across the city introducing the idea of the flyover in al-Azhar Street to link Salah Salim Highway with the downtown. The flyover, however was never executed before the 1980s.

<sup>5</sup> That is illustrated in a map hanged on the walls of the office of Mrs. Hayam Aref, Plannig and Housing Department, Cairo Governorate. The research had a chance to study which in 2001 but it was not possible to photocopy it.

launched with a strong political support by the then first lady of Egypt Mrs. Gehan al-Sadat.<sup>6</sup> These efforts were translated into an organised event, a UNESCO conference in Cairo in the same year that came up with specific recommendations to safeguard Fatimid Cairo as it is the most important area within the city walls that still exhibits the traditional features of Arab-Islamic cities as a living traditional urbanism. It was recommended that this was to be achieved through a central urban management which was never established.

Also during the same year the Arab Bureau, the planning consultancy organisation of the Ministry of Housing, introduced its rehabilitation scheme/ strategy for Medieval Cairo, covering a zone wider than Fatimid Cairo.<sup>7</sup> Three years later, in 1983, the Arab Bureau introduced a more detailed plan for the rehabilitation and upgrading of al-Gamaliyya District, part of Fatimid Cairo that is a part of Medieval or Historic Cairo, as a pilot project and example for an upgrading scheme (Shoukry, 2000).

Meanwhile, the General Organisation of Physical Planning (GOPP), another consultancy in the Ministry of Housing concerned with regional and strategic planning, produced its Homogenous Zones studies in 1988 (GOPP, 1988a-d). According to these studies, Historic Cairo was envisaged from a wider perspective as part of the regional study of Greater Cairo, thus complementing a contemporary trend to strategic regional planning in which Historic Cairo was a part of 'Homogenous Sector One'.<sup>8</sup> This was followed by other detailed studies to upgrade specific zones in Historic Cairo, e.g., Northern Gamaliyya (GOPP, 1990b), al-Darb al-Asfar in Gamaliyya District and its surrounding neighbourhoods (located between al-Dababiyya Street to the north and al-Tumbakshiyya to the south and al-Muiz Street to the west and al-Gamaliyya Street to the east) (GOPP, 1991a). In addition, a general study that investigated and diagnosed the deteriorated condition of the public spaces in Historic Cairo was also produced by the GOPP in 1990 (GOPP, 1990a).

Nevertheless, practically speaking none of these studies was translated into an implementation programme, leaving the Governorate and the local municipalities

---

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, June, 2001.

<sup>7</sup> See section 2.2 in Chapter Two which describes the different parts of Historic Cairo and their locations.

<sup>8</sup> Homogenous Sector One includes downtown/ colonial Cairo and Historic Cairo as well as most of the near districts that exhibits architectural and urban value. The main objective was to establish a more decentralised administration and amenities and services for each homogeneous zone to minimise the burden on the central part, the core of the City of Cairo, i.e. Historic and Colonial Cairo. This study was mainly concerned with introducing the decentralisation concept to be adopted in urban management through localities and to shape appropriate guidelines for each localities and section, but it did not introduce detailed studies or guidelines (GOPP, 1988a).

responsible for the different historic districts in charge of different day-to-day urban problems and issuing development consensus to take full responsibility of Historic Cairo. Thus, the 1973 scheme has been the main reference for the Governorate, the central municipal power, and this, although updated in 1989 and reviewed, has preserved its main features of the decided traffic accesses cutting and surrounding the traditional fabric, through meetings with the GOPP.<sup>9</sup>

Nonetheless, the 1992 earthquake has awakened national awareness and collaborations mainly among governmental bodies to revitalise Historic Cairo. Paradoxically, thanks to the growing threat to lose substantial architectural and urban value after this natural disaster causing great dilapidation in different areas of Historic Cairo, great national concerns and efforts were succumbed to safeguard Historic Cairo. Mr. Ayman Abdel Moniem, the Consultant of the Minister of Culture for Heritage Management and the Co-ordinator of Historic Cairo Organisation, maintained that the Ministry of Culture desperately confronted this situation, trying to save as much as possible; as a result the wheel of restoration has been run in high-speed mode.<sup>10</sup> That is, however, through dispersed efforts focusing on restoration and not area conservation, for the priority is given to restore as many dilapidated historic monuments as possible. There is no emergency system for restoration or any list of priorities.<sup>11</sup>

Studies of urban scales came into focus as an attempt to save al-Azhar Mosque (a noble place with especial religious and intellectual value for the Sunni Muslims) and its surroundings. The Arab Bureau produced some other detailed studies and planning, such as al-Azhar Square study produced in 1994, a very significant one as it introduced the idea of a tunnel to replace the flyover in al-Azhar Street cutting the centre of Fatimid Cairo (Shoukry, 2000, p.179). Another detailed study for the upgrading of Magra al-Euon Neighbourhood (the aqueduct area) was produced (GOPP, 1993). Furthermore, a detailed study was produced by the Restoration Office in the Arab Contractors, Ministry of Housing for the area of the Northern Gates at the northern part of Historic Cairo and

---

<sup>9</sup> Mrs Hayam Aref, interview, August, 2001 and Mrs Huda Edward, open meeting, September, 2001. The main outlines of the scheme can be summarised as follow: safeguarding the traditional street network, pedestrianising the historic areas, upgrading the historical buildings and the areas around them and upgrading the amenities and sanitary service (GOPP, 1991a, section 2, p. 3).

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Ayman Abdel-Moniem, interview, March, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, June, 2001.

located at the southern side of the northern walls between Bab al-Nasr and Bab al-Futuh in 1994.<sup>12</sup>

These studies focused on specific areas but not the whole region of Historic Cairo. This is because such spots contained some of the most threatened and valuable monuments (of high architectural and historical value). This means that under this great technical threat of the earthquake a fever of restoration erupted that was not paralleled with wider and more comprehensive strategic planning to revitalise Historic Cairo, for the strategies/planning schemes introduced above had already been outdated.

On the other hand, there was a strong demand to give an administrative and political backup to such studies. Consequently, revitalising Historic Cairo acquired a 'national project' status; therefore, the involved ministries and organisations competed to establish specialised departments and technical committees to pursue and monitor the work, whether urban upgrading or restoration in different parts in Historic Cairo, starting with al-Azhar Mosque and its surrounding public spaces as well as the Northern Walls and the area around them.

The Ministry of Housing activated its Fatimid Cairo Committee to produce strategies and studies needed for revitalising Fatimid Cairo, (the area within the walls). The GOPP also continued to cooperate with the Cairo Governorate to update the 1973 scheme and the Arab Bureau and the Arab Contractors participated enthusiastically, representing the Ministry of Housing, producing urban studies as pinpointed above as well as having a technical office, the Arab Contractors, restoring some valuable Islamic monuments such as al-Azhar Mosque, al-Ghouri Complex and the Northern Walls. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Culture established a more effective restoration committee targeting the restoration of 195 monuments in eight years, i.e. restoring an average of 24 edifices a year (Williams, 2002, pp. 465, 6). In addition, the Ministry of Culture founded the Urban Development Studies Division in 2000 to produce the necessary urban and municipal strategies for revitalising Historic Cairo to secure better presentation of the traditional urban fabric.<sup>13</sup> The restoration committee and the Urban Development Unit as well as an information centre responsible for the documentation of historical buildings in Historic Cairo formulate Historic Cairo Organisation. Even the Cairo Governorate established the Department of Fatimid Cairo.

---

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Ahmed Shawqi, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Galal Abada, interview, July, and open meeting, September, 2001.

In addition to the above, many other departments and organisations from different ministries and institutions started to claim an official role in the call for revitalisation process of Historic Cairo after being it was announced as a national project under the auspices of the President, Mohamed Husni Mubarak. This necessitated the establishment of a co-ordinating body, given the absence of the urban heritage management unit recommended by the UNESCO during the 1980 conference mentioned above. Therefore, a ministerial committee reporting to the Prime Minister and co-ordinated by the Minister of Culture with a technical co-ordinator, Prof. Yahya al-Zini was established in 1997. Furthermore, an Executive Committee, established to ensure the implementation of the strategies and to enforce the legislations and the guidelines produced by the Ministerial Committee, was established to be headed by the Governor of Cairo with delegates of representatives from all the ministries involved in revitalising Historic Cairo.

The Ministerial Committee was supposed to be the venue where the upgrading strategies and the bureaucratic basis, legislations and national guidelines, were to be produced. Yet, this committee gathered once and it never regrouped again.<sup>14</sup> Nominally this committee still exists. However, only the executive committee is still active and acts as an executive body without an effective strategic planning body because of the absence of the Ministerial Committee.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, on a conceptual level, the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project lacked strategic national planning and guidelines that adopt a comprehensive approach to urban upgrading until the UNDP and Cultnat studies were produced in 1997 and 2001 respectively (UNDP, 1997 and Hassan, 2001). The first addressed comprehensive planning and the second focused on the mechanism of documentation and defining the concept of value and designation of areas with cultural value. If the two studies are integrated they can give an effective strategic planning and comprehensive guidelines and urban management for Historic Cairo, according to the deduced environmental qualities of historic areas defined in the previous chapters. The question now is whether these studies, as well as the already identified environmental qualities necessary for the well-being of any historic areas, have been adopted in the Revitalisation

---

<sup>14</sup> In this meeting an antagonistic spirit revealed among the different Ministries. There was no common goal and it seemed like as a competition to win the biggest role in the project, Revitalising Historic Cairo. Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, June, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> There is only the 1973 scheme and its update in 1989 that act as the planning and guidelines reference for the executive municipal bodies and the Governorate. They are the only legal guidelines consulted when implementing any project or dealing with any day-to-day municipal matter.



of Historic Cairo Project, and who is adopting or ignoring which and what is the degree of their influence and impact on the current revitalisation process?

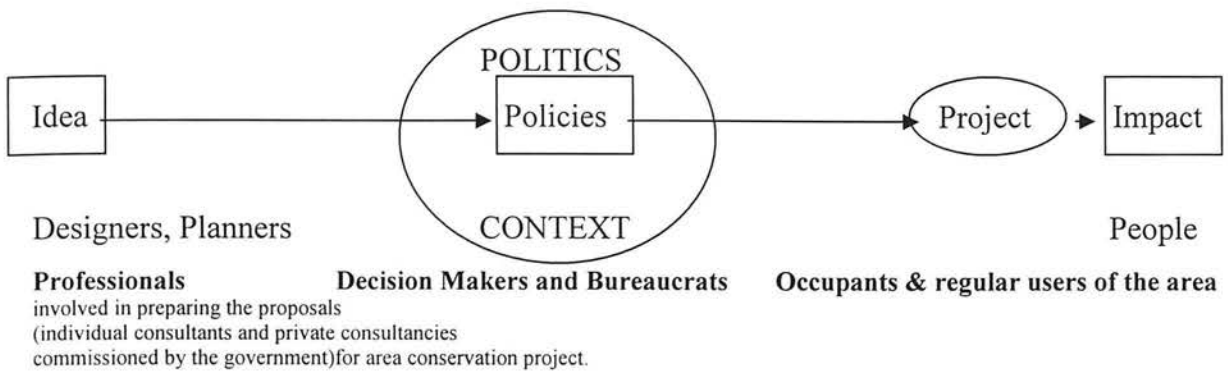
### **6.3. Main Actors Involved in Area Conservation in Cairo:**

The answers of the questions addressed above are necessary to draw a clear idea of the current paradigm of area conservation in Cairo. It is only possible through defining all the agents/ actors involved in the area conservation process in Cairo, studying their actual role and impact. Therefore, this section is concerned with defining the main actors, classified into three main groups N, W and U, according to the sampling framework introduced in the previous chapter. Each group contains some influential actors.

The most important and influential group who were subjected to much concentration in the present investigation is the N group. Even the professional planners and consultancies (symbolised as 'C' and 'Nc' in the actors list elaborated in appendix two below) in the case of Historic Cairo are not a third group as introduced in Leitmann's model (1995), with an equal force and influence in the decision making that shape and decide the interventions in historic areas, but an appendix of the involved governmental institutions (introduced in this research as N group). This is because planners' ideas and proposed schemes are filtered/ censored through the dominant planning policies, see (fig. 6.1), especially in Egypt that is adopting a state-centred paradigm of policy-making and administrative system as elaborated below. Therefore, it is essential to explore area conservation quality and implementation problems in this zone, i.e., current predominant planning and political paradigm, having the involved professionals and officials (decision makers) as the research main subjects.<sup>16</sup> This is in addition to some other actors with varying degree of influence being classified as W and U groups as elaborated below.

---

<sup>16</sup> Therefore the assessment pursued in this research address mainly environmental qualities and the policies for area conservation in Cairo as a result of the impact of the N group, which also the predominant and that control the individual consultancies commissioned by the governmental institutions or the governmental institutions conducting research and acting also as planning consultants for area conservation projects (symbolised in this research as C and Nc respectively, appendix two).



(Fig. 6.1) Planning and Project Implementation Process in General, restructured and modified from text of Ward (1994).

Defining the effective actors is not an easy task especially while the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo is now a national project with presidential concern, which has encouraged many organisations and institutions to search for a role in this project even if they do not have enough competence. Therefore, to select the most influential actors, a list is assembled from the different organisations, institutions and individuals with effective roles in the revitalisation (urban upgrading) projects in the areas introduced in Chapter Two in section 2.1, also listed in appendix two. In addition, based on a rolling-snowball technique,<sup>17</sup> the targeted list was expanded during the fieldwork investigation conducted in Cairo in 2001 and 2002. Moreover, comparing the accumulated list of the main actors involved in area conservation in Cairo with the area conservation mechanism exhibited in the previous chapters, some counterpart organisations and institutions that played effective roles in various case studies, whether in an Arab-Islamic context or an international one have been added to the targeted list. The accumulated list,<sup>18</sup> subjected to further investigation to define the paradigm of area conservation in Cairo, is:

### 6.3.1. N Group:

- a. Localities (co-ordinated by the Ministry of Localities).
- b. Cairo Governorate with its different departments.
- c. Ministry of Housing: GOPP, Fatimid Cairo Organisation, Arab Contractor, Arab Bureau, and Institute of Housing.

<sup>17</sup> The rolling-snowball technique is a method to expand the investigation through the different survey methods to learn different subjects to be investigated which broaden the base of investigation (Babbie, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Most of the institutions, organisations and individuals in this list are listed in appendix two that contains all the subjects being interviewed or involved in different research methods conducted by the researcher in 2001 and 2002. Those who are not mentioned in appendix two are investigated through document analysis and the already investigated subjects.

- d. Ministry of Culture: Historic Cairo Organisation, Project Department, SCA.
- e. Ministry of Awqaf (religious endowments).
- f. Ministry of Tourism.
- g. Ministry of IT and Communication/ Bibliotica Alexandrina: Cultnat.
- h. Cairo University: ECAE, the Architectural Design Support Centre (ADSC) and individual university staff as consultants drawing the detailed planning for GOPP and Cairo Governorate.
- i. Commissioned consultancies for area conservation projects: Mashrabiyya, FEDA (associated with some research centres in Ain Shams University), AKCS-E, ARCE, and the American University in Cairo (AUC).
- j. Ministry of Social Affairs.
- k. Ministry of Environment.
- l. Legislations.

### **6.3.2. U Group:**

- a. Community Members and Representatives.
- b. Community Based Organisations and NGOs: al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited, Near East Foundation (NEF), FCDA and ACA.

### **6.3.3. W Group:**

- a. UNESCO.
- b. ICOMOS.
- c. Forgin Aid Agencies: JICA, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and GTZ.

## **6.4. An Overview of Area Conservation Quality in Cairo:**

The statutory nature and the actual role of each of the listed actors are described in this section to comprehend the current mechanism of area conservation in Cairo and its different influential forces. Also in this section the data gathered using the different research methods as elaborated in the previous chapter in section 5.4 and in appendix one are correlated. The information (knowledge and degree of awareness), competence and skills needed for area conservation and values and interests of each actor will be investigated and defined. This will be measured against specified criteria that are presented in Chapter Five, accumulated through the theoretical inquiries introduced in Chapters Two, Three and Four to illustrate the current paradigm of area conservation in Historic Cairo.

### 6.4.1. N Group:

#### 6.4.1. a. Localities:

Local authorities, are the most important mediators of any effective urban management. They are normally composed of technical municipal bodies that are managed and monitored by elected committees or boards and headed by a mayor. In heritage management and for sustainable and effective heritage management, localities are playing the most important role and participate in the different levels of area conservation, e.g. the LPA in UK participating in defining the zones and structures of value that deserve safeguarding, as well as introducing the most effective safeguarding strategies and implement them as elaborated above in Chapter Four.

This is conducted effectively through community involvement whether directly through negotiation planning in area conservation different processes or through the city council elected members, representing the historic area's different users. In Egypt the situation is different. The main municipal body is the Governorate and it is headed by the Governor, a government-appointed employee. Thus, the public base that secures a down-up planning approach does not exist as that known in Europe.<sup>19</sup> However, in 1960 there was a tendency towards broadening community participation in local governance through introducing the Public Municipal Councils, which are composed of elected members to represent their local communities. This was achieved through Act 124 issued in the same year. The act was meant to create public participation through committees that monitor and scrutinise any decision introduced by the central governmental municipal body, the Governorate and its different departments (Qabil, 2000).<sup>20</sup> This experience was also meant to pave the way for a decentralised municipal administrative system, in which the governor would act as a president while the public municipal councils would act as small local parliaments which had the right to scrutinise the governor's decisions. Such a system was

<sup>19</sup> Egypt knew the European municipal system and established a sort of a city council for the first time in Alexandria in the harbour area (Mina al-Basal) in 1859. That was a new experience introduced to Egypt in a more Europeanised context for the City of Alexandria was rather more European than traditional as early as 1835, see also section 1.3.1 and footnote 14 in Chapter One. It was a council responsible for up-keeping and monitored the quality of the built environment and the paving etc. in the harbour area. It developed later to incorporate the whole city of Alexandria in 1890. It was a mixed city council with representatives of the different ethnicities living in the city, Europeans, Egyptians and members of different trades, and it was headed by the governor as the supreme head of the city. This remained the working municipal system in Egypt until the Revolution in 1952. The system was altered by the localities 1960 laws. Information revealed in an interview with the head of the public municipal committee in Alexandria in 'Alexandria Encyclopaedia' TV Programme broadcasted in channel five, Egyptian TV, at eight pm on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.

<sup>20</sup> The information revealed in this section is given through an interview with Mr. Mustafa Abdel Qadir, Minister of Localities in a press report (Qabil, 2000).

seeking a democratic model of municipal administration aiming at achieving a general council controlled by 100% elected members in ten years.

Yet, this aim could not be achieved due to Act 57 issued in 1971, which created a kind of administrative duality between the public municipal councils and the then introduced 'executive municipal councils' to co-ordinate with the governor deputy known as the head of *al-Hai* (lit. the district) which is a small administrative branch of the governorate located in the district, thus creating ambiguity expressed through duality in responsibilities and the decision-making mechanism.

The problem was confronted in 1975, by the issuing of Act 52 to draw some clear boundaries between the role of the public municipal committees, representing the public, and the executive municipal committee, representing the governorate on a small or local scale, e.g. a county, district or even a neighbourhood. This trend was confirmed through Act 43 issued in 1979, which was amended in 1981 and 1984, officially delegating the governor the authorities of the president in his governorate. It also involved the local communities, being better represented in the public municipal councils, as well as involving the beneficiaries in any localities as elected representatives according to Article 41L, Act 50, 1981. Consequently, it became clear that the public municipal councils were granted the right to monitor the municipal management and development performance of the executive bodies, i.e., the governorate and its executive councils as well as the right to question the governor himself and decide the municipal taxes, as was meant originally as introduced in 1960 above.

Yet, on a more realistic basis, this trend aiming at securing decentralisation in municipal administration has been never realised. On a governmental institutional level, even the governor has been never granted an upper hand in controlling his governorate, because of the growing authority and influence of the Ministries' representatives in each governorate known as *wekala al-wizara* (lit. deputies of different ministers who are located in each governorate). That is to say that each ministry fails to delegate authority to the governor on a contextual level, to focus on issuing and monitoring the implementation of the national and general legislations and guidelines. Instead, the ministries interfere substantially in different administrative and municipal matters especially in the Cairo Governorate, creating much inter-governmental-institutional conflict.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Hayam Aref, interview, questionnaire (workshop), workshop and open meeting, September, 2001.

On a local level, the public municipal councils could not effectively play their monitoring role, thus they fail in enforcing their decisions, which is diagnosed by al-Basil (2002) as due to the helpless status of such councils because their members do not have any power to question the governor or his executive bodies. This can be confirmed when studying carefully the articles of Act 50, 1981 mentioned above. Despite Article 19 of this law giving the right to the public municipal councils to question the governor, Article 20 gives the right to the Prime Minister to dissolve this council as a result of any conflict with the governor, despite its being composed of elected public representatives. Moreover, other acts were issued which failed to give any support to the public municipal council. For example, Act 145 issued in 1988 discussed regional development among governorates creating wider zones, managed and discussed on a high official level of ministers and governors. In addition, Act 84 issued in 1996 to revitalise Act 43 issued in 1979 as pointed above was not enough to create an effective role and to support any public municipal involvement, as it came to decide the number of the members of such committees without granting them any immunity or support for their role or responsibilities. Therefore, practically speaking, al-Basil (2002) finds that for 42 years the municipal administration has been run by a non-elected official, the governor, with no public monitoring. This situation is interpreted by the Egyptian experts of municipal administration and management as, predominantly, political. They reveal that despite the governmental calls for decentralisation, the government does not encourage a strong role for any elected municipal councils in order to avoid penetration of any major opponent groups or parties. Therefore in 1997 elections, 90% of the members of the public municipal councils were from the Democratic Part (the government's party), 0.4% of the opponent parties and 1.1% from the independents.<sup>22</sup> This can be also compared with the Egyptian governmental concern and prioritising of the national security to adopt a sustainable or more community/culturally based revitalisation approach as discussed in section 4.3 in Chapter Four above.

It is thus possible to claim the deficiency of the localities as an officially recognised public municipal representational system in Cairo. That was confirmed in the case of Historic Cairo through interviewing some community members from al-Darb al-Asfar and Qasr al-Sham Areas. They had reservations and complaints against the area conservation interventions introduced to their areas and they never apply to the public municipal

---

<sup>22</sup> This was revealed in a report by Said Ali, published in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 6<sup>th</sup> December 2000, p.3.

councils in their districts as they know that they are helpless. Instead, they sued the SCA, as the case of Mr. Samir Sharawi from al-Darb al-Asfar or filed a complaint to the senate, representing their area in the Parliament, like the case of Mr Medhat Sabri representing the people of Qasr al-Sham.<sup>23</sup>

Aiming at confronting such an administrative conflict and the deficiency of the public locality system, the Ministry of Localities was restructured in 1997 to become 'Ministry of Localities Development', which was supported by Presidential Act 38 in 1999.<sup>24</sup> The Ministry is now concerned with coordinating among different local communities, localities and executive and governmental municipal bodies in collaboration with different Ministries to produce strategic development plans, in different fields: social, economic, enhancing environmental qualities of drinking water, public health and the like, and facilitate their implementation. Nevertheless, that is more tangible in the spontaneous quarters, where the government, represented through the Ministry of Housing and Cairo Governorate as will be elaborated below, has adopted pro-community development strategies, and effective regeneration programmes.<sup>25</sup> Yet, in the case of Historic Cairo and its different districts and neighbourhoods, where area conservation or urban upgrading projects are implemented, the Ministry has not played any role, and consequently the municipal management ground were only controlled by Cairo Governorate through its different departments and especially the governor deputy for the western Cairo zone, the head of Historic Cairo Executive Committee.

#### 6.4.1. b. Cairo Governorate:

Cairo Governorate controls a wide geographical zone and, as implied above, it is almost the only official body responsible for urban management and monitoring of the implementation and the quality of any upgrading scheme. It is still part of a wider region,

<sup>23</sup> Mr. Samir Sharawi and Mr. Medhat Sabri, interviews, August, 2001. In addition, local communities and individual members with municipal complaints tend rather to express them not through the public municipal councils. They almost ignore them raising their complaints to their representative senates in the Parliament as can be noticed through the Egyptian Parliament discussions tackling municipal problems that are the localities' responsibilities (al-Basil, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> The presidential Acts are the orders issued by the State President and they have the power of regular laws, but they are not presented in the Parliament for public scrutiny as regular laws.

<sup>25</sup> Egypt has already acquired a certificate that acknowledge its efforts in confronting poverty and deteriorated environmental conditions in spontaneous quarters from the head of the United Nations committee of economic human rights for its regeneration projects in al-Duwiqa and Manshiyat Nasir and Zinham Areas (all are close to Historic Cairo bordering its eastern side as the first two or located at the southern part of Historic Cairo as the last one), *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 3ed February, 2000, p.13 and *Al-Akhhbar Daily Newspaper*, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 2000, p.3.

Greater Cairo, that incorporates the Governorates of Cairo, Giza and Daqahliya; a zone that is expected to accommodate over twenty million people by 2017.<sup>26</sup> However, focusing on the case of Historic Cairo, Cairo Governorate is the main actor of the current national project for the revitalisation of Historic Cairo.

The Governorate is a governmental municipal body headed by the governor, appointed by the State President. He controls the different technical and administrative departments in the Governorate, where the administrative strategies and municipal guidelines and development plans are approved and delegated to the localities for implementation. As identified above, the localities are composed of executive councils, controlled through the *Hai* which applies directly to the Governorate, and it is appointed by the Prime-Minister (Attia, 1999, p.116). The popular group is a public municipal committee that is supposed to share also in the municipal management. It is the only elected part, which is elaborated in the previous section.

On a more practical basis and in the case of Historic Cairo, all localities are linked to the governorate and its central department, especially regarding technical problems. Therefore, most of the problems and decision making is made in the governorate and not in the local municipal body, the *Hai*. Therefore, the head of the *Hai*, as well as the executive councils in the district are actually responsible for executing the decisions and strategies of the governor.<sup>27</sup>

The governorate is composed of two major departments, i.e. *Diwan Am al-Muhafaza* (lit. General Bureau of the Governorate, concerned with administrative legal and social issues) and *Modoriyyat al-Eskan* (lit. Housing Department, concerned with planning and technical issues). The last contains a sub-department, Planning Department, which is headed by Mrs. Hayam Arif. It also contains another department that is concerned with the documentation of the Fatimid and colonial Cairo. However, the Planning Department headed by Mrs. Hayam Arif and the Executive Committee (also known as the Technical Committee that is the executive body which is established to monitor the implementation of the strategies and national guidelines produced by the ministerial committee mentioned above) co-ordinated by Mr Mahmoud Yassin, the Deputy Governor of Western Cairo, who

---

<sup>26</sup> Mrs. Huda Edward, open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>27</sup> The responsibilities and role framework of the Governorate and its local committees are investigated by Hanan al-Masri and reported in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2002, p. 20.



also represents the executive authorities of the governorate, have the actual authority and direct involvement in the Revitalisation Scheme of Historic Cairo.

The planning department is responsible for reviewing the planning strategies to be applied in the historic areas as co-ordinated with the GOPP.<sup>28</sup> The Executive Committee, also known as the Technical Committee, with its co-ordinator Mr. Mahmoud Yassin who represents the governor, is concerned with solving any technical problems or any problems that might emerge in any on-going project in Historic Cairo. This committee includes delegates representing the different ministries and official bodies and even community representatives and representatives of international organisation. Mr. Yassin, the co-ordinator, is also responsible for monitoring the work performance through his deputies the heads of *Hai*, different deputies located in Historic Cairo who act on a district scale, such as the heads of Gamaliyya and Khalifa Districts, who monitors and deal with local problems such as evacuation or demolition of some properties and the like.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the actual role of the Cairo Governorate can be defined as a facilitator, monitoring and supervising the implementation of the already confirmed and accepted strategies and schemes produced in the Ministry of Housing and its other planning consultancies, mainly the GOPP in general, or some other consultancies and area conservation units in different parts in Historic Cairo as elaborated below.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> This is confirmed in Act 3 of the urban design laws issued in 1982 in article 1. The co-operation is concrete and the Governorate is adopting the planning guidelines introduced in 1973 scheme and its implementations introduced in 1989 as elaborated above as the main reference for the current urban upgrading projects in Historic Cairo.

<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Hayam Aref, interview, August, 2001 and Mr. Mahmoud Yassin, interview, April, 2002.

<sup>30</sup> The Governorate plays this role effectively as pinpointed by Prof. Taha Abdullah through his experience while pursuing area conservation in Magra al-Euon (the Aqueduct Area) removing all the spontaneous structures built on the arcades of the aqueduct and creating six meters of voids around the aqueduct as specified by the consultancy of this project leaving the second phase for the demolition and the compulsory purchasing of the units after this area to the executive councils representing the Governorate in this area, interview, July, 2001. This can be also confirmed through Galal Street, a major traffic accesses (the Soutehrn Access) where much removal of spontaneous units and cemeteries (ills.6.1a,b), which could not be removed for socio-cultural obstacles since 1930s, was accomplished by the Governorate in a remarkable period as observed by the researcher and as revealed by Mr. Mahmoud Yassin, interview, 2002.



III. 6.1a: The Southern Traffic Access, Northern Gamaliyya District, located to the north of Historic Cairo, The Bab al-Nasr Cemetery to the left and the restoration work of the northern walls of Fatimid Cairo to the right.



III. 6.1b: The Northern Traffic Access linking al-Mansouriya Street to al-Gaish Street parallel to the northern walls with the historical gates (Bab al-Futuh and Bab al-Nasr).

Nevertheless, with the ineffectiveness of the involvement of the local communities and the absence of the Ministerial Committee, which is supposed to produce general legislations and strategies for development, only the Executive Committee and its associates, the planning department and the executive local bodies in the Governorate, are confronting different types of day-to-day problems, technical, social, etc. The question now is how far they are pursuing such efforts to achieve balanced area conservation according to the criteria introduced in the previous chapter.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

To the Governor, Historic Cairo is predominantly a site of investment potential in the tourism industry, which can also offer jobs in that field.<sup>31</sup> This is because it contains valuable architectural styles and traditional physical environment that should be safeguarded as a national resource.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the Governorate planning staff do not

<sup>31</sup> Abdel Hadi Tamam reporting, quoting the Governor of Cairo in an interview, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2001, p.15.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs Hayam Aref, questionnaire (workshop), September, 2001.

have real awareness of the significance of the mediaeval architectural and urban vocabulary of Historic Cairo.<sup>33</sup> It is also regarded as an area that needs to be 'civilised',<sup>34</sup> through introducing a better look so it can be best exploited for economic development for tourism.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, emphasis is given to the values of states while the values of processes are not considered.

-Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

The quality of visual integrity of the historic area is well recognised and safeguarded by the Governorate, as can be illustrated by the efforts of the Governorate to remove all the violations against the arcades of the aqueduct for six metres width away from the aqueduct as part of the urban upgrading project in Magra al-Euon Area (ill.6.2).<sup>36</sup> This can be also demonstrated through Articles 2 and 3 of the Governor's Decree 457, issued in 1999. These articles necessitate the use of appropriate finishing materials for new structures, as well as respecting the heights of the historical monuments and never exceeding their heights. Moreover the Governor is aware of the concept of the visual corridor which can be understood through his recommendations for the fire station design in the Religions Complex Area, southern Historic Cairo, to maintain a visual link between the historical churches and the Mosque of Amr ibn al-As (ills. 6.3a,b).<sup>37</sup>

---

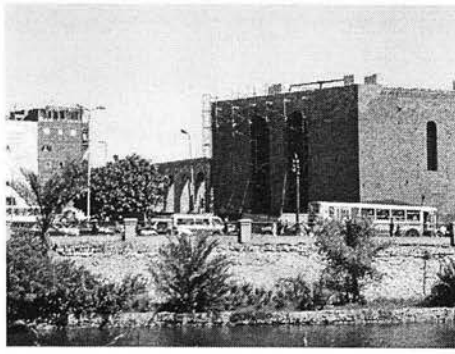
<sup>33</sup> That was apparent when Mrs. Hayam Aref reflected her unawareness of the *Rab* building in Bab al-Wazir (a mediaeval type of collective housing with some very few examples still exist in Cairo) during the workshop activities in 2001.

<sup>34</sup> The traditional environmental physical configurations are regarded negatively by the Governorate. It is even envisaged as a drawback against modernity in Egypt, as pinpointed above. This can be illustrated through the approach for upgrading of Maspiro Area that is a traditional area, outside the boundaries of Historic Cairo, where a major project is conducted by the Governorate to give a 'civilised' look to the area. The area was redeveloped and the winding streets were altered by more regular and this is the only partnership established with businessmen in any urban upgrading in Cairo which demanded great compulsory purchasing aiming at a 'civilised' look of this spot in Cairo as revealed by Mrs. Hayam Aref, open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Maintained by the Governor in an interview about the efforts of the Governorate in Historic Cairo in The Seminar of Islamic Thinking Programmes, broadcasted at nine pm, Channel one Egyptian TV, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 2001.

<sup>36</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, July, 2001.

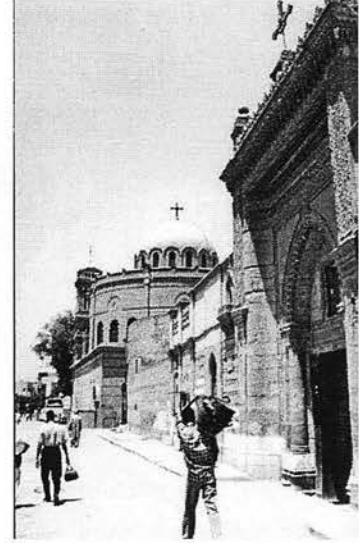
<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Hayam Aref, interview, August, 2001.



Ill. 6.2: Magra al-Euon Project, the Aqueduct Area.



Ill. 6.3a: The Mosque of Amr ibn al-As, adjacent to the Coptic Quarter, the Religion Complex Area, southern part of Historic Cairo.



Ill. 6.3b: The main street linking the Mosque of Amr with the Coptic Quarter.

Functional integrity is recognised by the planning department in the Governorate, as emphasised by Mrs Arif regarding the specialised markets (traditional *Suqs*).<sup>38</sup> However, that was never supported by the Governor who has the ultimate power in the Governorate. The Governor ordered removing the textile mercantile shops in al-Ghoriyyah Area, see (ill. 3.1), close to the Mosque of al-Azhar to give a ‘civilised’ look to the area while pedestrianising which, see subsection three in ‘Professionals as Vandals’ Section in appendix three and illustrations A3.5. Another example is the pressure made by the Governorate to remove the traditional pottery industry and their historical kilns from Batn al-Baqara Area in the very southern part of Historic Cairo without any consideration to the fact that their location has been the earliest of its kind to serve such an industry at the

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

fringes of the first Islamic settlement in Egypt, al-Fustat, founded in the seventh century AD.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, structural integrity has not been recognised. The Governorate does not recognise the guild distribution along al-Muiz Street, which complements the guild division concept distinguishing the Arab-Islamic city structure in the medieval urbanism as elaborated in Chapter One. For example the location of the metal industry and trade in al-Muiz Street, which is sub-branched to al-Darb al-Asfar Area and al-Tumbakshiyya Street, today has been the same for centuries (ills.6.4a-c). Yet, the Governorate considers their existence as hazardous and inappropriate, which is emphasised in 1973 scheme and its update in 1989.



Ill. 6.4a: Metal industry and aluminium workshops in al-Darb al-Asfar, al-Gamaliyya.



Ill. 6.4b: Metal industry al-Tumbakshiyya, al-Gamaliyya.

<sup>39</sup> Mr. Gamal Amir, who is involved in architectural designs to exhibit the traditional pottery industry in the different zones in southern Historic Cairo, interview, August, 2002.



III. 6.4c: Metal trade and the metal vessel section in al-Muiz Street (close to al-Darb al-Asfar and al-Tumbakshiyya), the main thoroughfare in Historic Cairo.

Furthermore, the urban spatial structure, despite being emphasised in the Governor's Order 457, Point 1, Article 6 and in the 1973 scheme, is compromised by traffic management. For example, the urban tissue of Darb Shughlan, the action area of the AKCS-E (the Revitalisation of al-Darb al-Ahmar Project), was endangered by the Southern Traffic Accesses Project promoted strongly by the Governor to absorb the traffic pressure from al-Azhar tunnel, to help with the Northern Traffic Access (also known as Galal Street). However the project of the Southern Access was meant to cut through residential areas and a dense organic urban fabric which also includes a lot of historical monuments, creating a highway that would change the character of the whole area.<sup>40</sup>

Nor does the Governorate recognise the quality of authenticity as the responsiveness quality of historic areas is affected by the introduced interventions and the strong efforts of the Governorate to give a 'civilised' look to historic areas, which altered the original character of historic areas, sanitising them. In addition, the lack of actual involvement of the local communities causes some insensitive decisions and interventions. Even on a physical level, the Governorate is supporting the production of pastiches the historical architectural features as emphasised in Article 3 in Decree 457 avoiding the use of any modern materials.

The quality of sustainability of area conservation work pursued by the Governorate can be envisaged from social (cultural /administrative), economic and environmental

<sup>40</sup> That was practised in a very stubborn attitude, disregarding the revitalisation project in al-Darb al-Ahmar despite of being pursued by the Aga Khan technical office in Egypt which is communicating and coordinating its activities with the Governorate. Therefore, many organisations protested against the Southern Access, Dr. Mizuko Ugo, Mr. Mohamed Abdel Hafiz and Ms. Nada al-Hagrasi, interviews, March, 2002.

perspectives. The first perspective is the social one and it can be also traced from a cultural one and it cannot be emphasised in this case for the interventions mentioned above and the diminished mechanism of community involvement in decision making as elaborated in the previous section reflect how the Governorate does not pursue socially accepted policies that consider the local communities' benefits. Moreover, from an administrative/ political point of view, the Governorate does not maintain an effective administrative co-ordination with its governmental partners, especially the Ministry of Culture as elaborated below.

The economic perspective is no better than the social. The 'civilised' look prioritised by the Governorate and the insensitive eagerness to pedestrianise al-Azhar Street cripple the textile trade centred in that street and in Port Said Street which is a strong economic quarter in Cairo. The traffic management of that street has brought about many transportation problems; consequently the Governorate introduced electric cars (ill.6.5) to transfer the regular visitors of Fatimid Cairo and its inhabitants rather than introducing more sustainable means, such as the tram used in Peirra in Istanbul that has a nostalgic image and meets the actual demands of the regular visitor and the inhabitant of Taksim Area in Istanbul, see (ill.1.16b). Rather, the Governor was after a more touristic means of transportation, introducing the electric cars like those used in Golf course. This means of transportation has proven to be very expensive compared to the limited income of the residents of al-Azhar and Fatimid Cairo areas. In general, al-Azhar Street was never pedestrianised because the economic hazards that will be generated.<sup>41</sup>



Ill. 6.5: The electric cars, as a public transportation introduced by the Governorate after pedestrianising al-Azhar Street. The cars are broken and left in their parking lot after few months of work.

From the environmental level, the Governor pushes strongly the project of pedestrianising al-Azhar Street, see (ills.6.15a,b) below, so he can legitimise the viability

<sup>41</sup> This information was discussed in the UNESCO conference in February 2002.

of the tunnel that he, together with the Minister of Housing, insisted on introducing it to be dug underneath Historic Cairo which cost EP 890 million (more than US\$ 200 million)<sup>42</sup> (Williams, 2002). In addition, shifting the vehicular traffic to Bab al-Wazir street (ill.6.6)<sup>43</sup> where 23 valuable historical monuments are located--according to the Southern Access Project also supported by the Governor to pave the way for pedestrianising al-Azhar Street means that the Governor has jeopardised 23 monuments because of the proposal of that traffic project.<sup>44</sup>



Ill.6.6: Bab al-Wazir Street, al-Darb al-Ahmar.

#### -Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

The Governorate has not produced a general area appraisal for Historic Cairo, as it only counts on the GOPP reports (counting mainly on the 1973 scheme and its updates) and consultations and the decisions taken and discussions made in the Executive Committee. It acts more as a facilitator for the main consultancies and conservation teams pursuing urban upgrading in Historic Cairo. Even when the Governorate is involved directly in urban upgrading it mainly deals with traffic management, constructing roads and highways and the like, e.g. the Northern Access Project (known also as Galal Street).

Consequently, the Governorate does not define the boundaries of zones of heritage, designated areas, as it never studies its character or defines its zones of homogeneity. Furthermore, the designated area as defined in Chapter Four is problematic for it is not

<sup>42</sup> The tentative estimations of the Egyptian Pounds (EP) before the US \$ are estimated in this chapter by the researcher according to a rate of EP 3.4 equal US \$ 1, which is the rate that during the period 1996- 2000 when most of the discussed projects were implemented.

<sup>43</sup> The map that illustrate the route proposed to shift the vehicular traffic to Bab al-Wazir is produced by the GOPP (GOPP, 1988d, p.44, fig.18) which was added to the 1973 scheme, the main strategic planning reference of the Governorate updated in 1989. This was never updated and the Southern Access was updated and put to implementation as reported by Abdel-Hadi Tamam, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2002, p.14.

<sup>44</sup> This unsustainable proposal pushed by the Governor was investigated and reported in details by Nada al-Hagrasi in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 19<sup>th</sup> July, 2002, p.32.



clarified in the case of Cairo. It started with Fatimid Cairo, together with other areas and now the term Historic Cairo is used, see section 2.1 in Chapter Two. Yet no clear designation (zones and boundaries) is given.<sup>45</sup>

For the legislations and guidelines, the Governorate is only an executive body that monitors the execution and the implementation of urban laws and issue development consensus. However, there is a lack of specialised legislation for heritage management in Historic Cairo as elaborated below. However some general guidelines are issued by the Governor as the Decree 457. Yet the issue of enforcing such guidelines (ensuring putting them in practice) is sometimes doubtful. This is because of the over-centralisation of the Governorate and the role of its localities, the *Hais*, which might create conflict between the Governorate and those municipal administrative branches.<sup>46</sup> This is because there is no integrated managing unit that supervises and produces and updates the upgrading plans while co-ordinating with the different involved actors sharing the Governorate in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project.

To envisage the action processes, as part of the criteria specified in the previous chapter, establishing partnerships as a mean for an effective heritage management is explored. At present, the Governorate does not conduct area conservation project but rather facilitates or issues licenses and development consensus.<sup>47</sup> However, the Executive Committee headed by the Governor and co-ordinated by his deputy for the western Cairo zone creates a forum that can deal with all those pursuing area conservation projects in different parts in Historic Cairo. For example the Governorate did not get involved in the conservation planning conducted by the Mashrabiyya or FEDA conservation teams. It only reviewed the work and facilitated their work through the Governorate different

---

<sup>45</sup> Dr. Mizuko revealed this problem. She also maintained that there is no clear definition of any designated area's boundaries to be safeguarded, interview, March, 2002.

<sup>46</sup> This was interpreted by Cook and El-Missiri (1995) who infer that decision making in the Governorate can take diverse routes, especially when there is a decision that is decided in the Governorate and being processed to the branches (local districts), depending upon personal relationships and cultural forces and sometimes even bypasses the normal Governorate channels and jumps to the central Ministry level to gain resolution. This is referred to below in Appendix three as slack regulations due to the corruption in the public sector, which has been authenticated in the Egyptian administration system since 1970s (Attia, 1999, p.119).

<sup>47</sup> There is no heritage management unit such as that in Old Damascus, called Anbar Office which is located in the Municipality of Old Damascus that is a locality office (LPA) within the Governorate of Damascus or as the Conservation Department in Edinburgh City Council that works in collaboration with Edinburgh World Heritage Trust.

departments.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the partnership in its advanced economic sense as that introduced in Chapter Four that involves businessmen and other partners from the public and private sectors seeking investment in heritage management and development is absent in Historic Cairo. Needless to say, involving local communities is not promoted by the Governorate as elaborated in the previous section.

Documentation, including the listing mechanism and refined designation boundaries is not the responsibility of the Governorate. Therefore, the Governorate only considers the registered monuments (those on the list of the historical monuments of the SCA) as buildings that deserve protection, while neglecting the buildings with especial value as the listed buildings elaborated in Chapter Four, even demolishing some of them.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, detailed area appraisal is not also produced by the Governorate.

The Governorate is responsible for the enforcement of guidelines, as well as producing them whenever needed to control different development in Historic Cairo. However the guidelines produced, Decree 457, are general ones and not detailed. Yet, the enforcement of laws and the removal of any violation is not practiced effectively which causes violations to accumulate until they become too difficult to be handled.<sup>50</sup> Thus the decree only covers technical aspects regarding urban and architectural development. Financial guidelines, incentives for the community members and developers to comply with the technical guidelines stressed by the Governorate and the different area conservation schemes in Historic Cairo are absent. This can be illustrated through some interviews with some community members from al-Darb al-Asfar Area and al-Tumbakshiyya Street, where the Governorate and the area conservation teams who called for changing the industrial activities in the workshops in these areas did not provide any financial incentives to compensate the workshop owners and workmen. The Governorate offered very expensive workshops in new settlements on the outskirts, thus affecting thus the whole labour force and the economic status of the long established industry in these areas.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, the physical implementation of the area conservation activities

---

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Asad Nadim, Mr. Ahmed Yassir and Mrs. Hayam Aref, interviews and open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Nawal Hassan, interview, as well as emphasised in the UNESCO conference in February 2002.

<sup>50</sup> That was illustrated by Mrs. Hayam Aref maintaining that "the consensus to remove any violation against any historical building is not normally issued instantly. We [The Governorate] normally wait until the violation [any illegal development or buildings] collapse then the historical building can be considered while licensing for any new development", workshop, September, 2001.

<sup>51</sup> Mr. Samir Sharawi owner of an aluminium workshop in al-Darb al-Asfar, interview, August, 2001 and Mr. Darwish owner of metal sheets shop on al-Tumbakshiyya Street, interview, December, 2002.

conducted by the Governorate can be assessed when considering their sustainability as elaborated above.<sup>52</sup>

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

The Governorate does not apply a culturally-sensitive approach. Moreover, it does not also revitalise traditional urban management systems as those elaborated in Chapter One which would safeguard the CCVs as recommended in Chapter Four. This is due to ignoring community participation as elaborated above. In addition, having no specified designated boundaries or zones of priorities that necessitate different types of urban management restrictions in guidelines as that introduced in the FWP model, also introduced in Chapter Four, the Governorate does not apply a responsive approach to the context and situation of the targeted area.<sup>53</sup>

6.4.1. c. Ministry of Housing:

The Ministry of Housing is a very influential actor in area conservation in Cairo. Through its different departments and organisations, the Ministry of Housing participates in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project in its different phases, strategic planning and implementations. These specialised departments, involved in such a national project are the Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo, the Arab Bureau, GOPP and the Arab Contractors, as well as other departments that produce technical studies in different issues (geo-technique, construction materials, social studies in deteriorated urban environment, etc.), i.e. research and urban studies department and the Housing Institute.<sup>54</sup>

The last two are involved in research and produce technical reports to guide the decision-making and strategic planning for urban upgrading and development in general by the different departments and organisations in the Ministry of Housing. Nevertheless, in the case of Historic Cairo, especially the strategic planning, the Organisation for the

---

<sup>52</sup> Here the interventions introduced are to be measured according to their impacts on the social/ cultural, economic and environmental aspects which serve as the sustainable quality, together with the qualities of integrity and authenticity. This is to test their actual impact on the fabric and the people and the livability in general of the subjected area. The area conservation qualities introduced above can be addressed through these parameters that can illustrate the actual tendencies and impact of each actor, thus, its influence on area conservation in Cairo in general.

<sup>53</sup> This is due to considering only the 1973 scheme, while ignoring the UNDP 1997 study which was never mentioned or considered by Mrs. Hayam Aref and Mr. Mahmoud Yassin as an officially adopted strategy for area conservation and urban upgrading in Historic Cairo in general.

<sup>54</sup> Mr. Said Mustafa Abu al-Ela, interview, August, 2001.

Development of Fatimid Cairo has played a very important role. It was founded in 1980s to accumulate expertise and conduct urban upgrading in the historic areas in al-Quds (Jerusalem) as part of a national scheme in Egypt to support the Palestinian occupied lands, being known as the Committee of the Revitalisation of al-Quds.<sup>55</sup> Later, in 1990 it developed to acquire its current name, focusing on the deterioration of Historic Cairo.<sup>56</sup> It became prominent after the 1992 earthquake. This organisation was established to study the development of Fatimid Cairo to make it possible for the construction projects and urban upgrading in this area, for which the Ministry of Housing were commissioned. In addition, other projects on the Cairo Governorate level that are concerned with traffic management, i.e. multi-storey garage and the management and development of al-Azhar Street, which developed later to introduce the Tunnel of al-Azhar Project.<sup>57</sup>

While studying these projects it became apparent to the management of the organisation that there was a severe need for a comprehensive development plan that encompassed the whole region of Historic Cairo, which was complemented later through establishing the Ministerial Committee as maintained above to produce strategic planning and guidelines on a global scale, pinpointing the need for a bureaucratic base which was achieved through establishing the Executive Committee. On a more practical basis, this organisation can be regarded as the first governmental initiative to investigate Historic Cairo's urban status and threats after the 1992 earthquake and the beginning of active steps to revitalise Historic Cairo. Consequently, the organisation selected five modules of work, most of which were already recommended in the GOPP reports (GOPP, 1990a). The first deals with the architectural documentation of the already registered monuments, for which the Engineering Centre for Archaeology & Environment, Cairo University (ECAE) was commissioned.<sup>58</sup>

The second module is concerned with conducting competitions and preparing the necessary schemes to upgrade the Gamaliyya District, the most important district in Fatimid Cairo, focusing on the areas around al-Hussain Mosque and the space that is

---

<sup>55</sup> Mr. Tarik al-Muri, interview, 2002.

<sup>56</sup> Commissioned by the prim minister and conducting some meetings with representatives from the Ministries of Culture and Awqaf and the representative of the SCA with the Arab Bureau, Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, July, 2001 and Mr. Tarek al-Murri, interview, 2002.

<sup>57</sup> Mr. Abdel Hamid Mohamed el-Toudi, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>58</sup> However that was pursued without any risk map or priority orders. The selection of the monuments to be registered was chosen according to different considerations such as the availability of funds, normally forgin and they came also and directed to restoration not according to a national system that decide the priority of the restoration of whatever selected monument, Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, 2001.

between al-Hussain and al-Azhar Mosque (ill.6.7), as well as the Northern Walls Area (ill.6.8). These areas were studied thoroughly through the accepted proposals and studies produced by CDC office (a private consultancy of Prof. Abdul Halim Ibrahim) producing a development scheme for al-Hussain Mosque Area, introducing the idea of the Azhar Piazza. In addition, the Study of the Arab Bureau (an architectural and urban design consultancy, also a part of the Ministry of Housing) accumulated further studies for the development of al-Azhar Street, intersecting with the above mentioned piazza. The Arab Bureau, as well as the Conservation Department in the Arab Contractors, also produced a study for al-Hakim Mosque Area adjacent to the Northern Walls within the walls.



Ill.6.7: The Area between al-Hussain and al-Azhar Mosque, the Mashhiyyakha Building is at the middle and al-Azhar Street cuts the piazza.



Ill. 6.8: The Development of Northern Gamaliyya Project, restoring the historical walls and gates, Bab al-Nasr and al-Futuh.

Parallel to the previously mentioned efforts, the GOPP<sup>59</sup> produced a study for the Northern Gamaliyya Area, introducing the redevelopment scheme for the Bab al-Nasr

<sup>59</sup> The GOPP is an organisation also belongs to the Ministry of Housing. It concerns with conceptual and planning studies of different level, macro and micro scales and co-ordinate with the Ministry of Planning and has different departments that deal with different regions to produce master and detailed plans for different regions and governorates. Each co-ordinates with its counterpart department in each government, e.g. the Greater Cairo Department in the GOPP co-ordinates with the planning department in Cairo Governorate, to produce and review the guidelines in different context. This has been pursued since 1997 to produce memorandums of a general scale of 1:50,000 and detailed ones of 1:1000 scale for action areas. This is pursued through commissioning or working in collaboration with different specialists, including international institutes such as the Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF), as well

Cemetery, outside the Northern Walls (GOPP, 1990b). In addition the GOPP also introduced a pilot study for the rehabilitation of Historic Cairo, giving an exemplary study of the regeneration of an urban deteriorated environment in a selected action area through a detailed study of al-Darb al-Asfar Area (GOPP, 1991a). Moreover, further studies are given to handle environmental deterioration in Magra al-Euon Area (GOPP, 1993), which was defined as an area in need for upgrading by the Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo in collaboration with different committees in the Ministry of Housing. Furthermore, general studies are also produced by the GOPP to give guidelines for upgrading public spaces in Historic Cairo (GOPP, 1990a).

The third module was to design and construct integrated and modern administrative buildings, i.e. the new Religious Legislative House (known as Mashiyakhit al-Azhar, located at the middle of the space between al-Hussain and al-Azhar Mosques see ill.6.7), Library and the Administrative Headquarter of al-Azhar (Religious Body for the Sunni Muslims that is equivalent to the Vatican for the Catholics) and its university. For these projects, the Arab Bureau was commissioned to produce and to be the consultant for the contractors, the Arab Contractors.

The fourth module is concerned with the infrastructure and the water table problem, which is a chronic obstacle to any sustainable restoration of any historical monument in Historic Cairo in general (Williams, 2002). This was investigated and the planning for its implementation was pursued in co-ordination with Cairo Governorate. The problem was in the funding needed, e.g. to solve the water table and the sewage water in Historic Cairo there is a need for at least EP 300 million (about US \$ 80, 000,000 by the time the article was published) (Williams, 2002). However, some other problems were dealt with, such as the partial removal of Bab al-Nasr Cemetery executed by the Governorate as planned and guided by the Ministry of Housing.

The fifth module is a major restoration project of al-Azhar Mosque for its great historical and religious importance. For this objective the Arab Contractors<sup>60</sup> were

---

as individual consultancies (academic staff from different engineering faculties in Egypt, mainly Architectural Department, and the Faculty of Urban Planning Cairo University) as revealed by Mrs. Huda Edward, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>60</sup> The Arab Contractors is a construction company that belong to the Ministry of Housing. It has extensive experience in different construction fields but never restoration or conservation. However, the high management in the Arab Contractors interpret this growing concern with restoration project in such a company that did not have any history in that field due to the lucrative profits of such projects; however, the Arab Contractors are not directly involved or responsible for any area conservation project. The conservation department, Engineering Consultancy Division at the Arab Contractors, is responsible for preparing BOQ

commissioned by the Ministry of Housing to pursue this highly technical and politically sensitive job (because it was among the first interventions introduced to Historic Cairo after the presidential decree of the national character of the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project. The Arab Contractors, consequently, established a specialised department for conservation as it did not have the previous pre-qualifications needed for such a project or any other restoration or area conservation project (Williams, 2002).

Nevertheless, the quality of the restoration work conducted in al-Azhar Mosque by the Arab Contractors under the direct supervision of the Minister of Housing himself was questioned, e.g. the Arab Contractor and the Ministry of Housing introduced new marble panels to beautify the ancient entrance of al-Azhar Mosque and they also sandblasted the ancient stones to give it a new look, Mr. Tarek al-Muri, interviews, 2001 and 2002. An international independent group of archaeologist and conservation specialist filed a complaint about the accuracy of the restoration work in al-Azhar and sends it to Mrs Suzan Mubarak, the First Lady. Moreover, some internal reports were circulated in the UNESCO that threatened to remove al-Azhar Mosque from the World Heritage List as a result of this inaccurate work (Williams, 2002), also revealed by Prof. Gunter Mayer, interview, February, 2002. Consequently, the Ministry of Housing has lost its image as a capable actor that can produce accurate restoration and introduce effective interventions to Historic Cairo. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Culture and the SCA organised the UNESCO conference held in February 2002 to evaluate their work of restoration in Islamic Cairo and its accuracy to acquire an international, thus national and political, recognition of its competence in heritage management.<sup>61</sup> This has weakened the role of the Ministry of

---

(book of quantities) and tender documents for restoration streetscape contractors and sub-contractors In addition, such restoration and conservation projects are considered by the Arab Contractors as for investment and they currently represent about 50% of the projects of the Engineering Consultancy Division in the Arab Contractors, as revealed by Mr. Ahmed Shawqi and Mr. Nasr al-Din Mahmoud Hassaballah, interviews, August, 2001. Thus the Arab Contractors cannot be considered as an area conservation consultancy but commissioned contractor for major conservation projects, as well as the main contractor of some area conservation projects as that in southern Historic Cairo in the Religious Complex Area. Nevertheless in a neighbouring neighbourhood, Qasr al-Sham, the Arab Contractors were the main contractor and the Ministry of Culture played the role of the architectural and urban design consultant. Practically speaking, the Ministry of Culture did not play its role and conduct sufficient supervision leaving the whole project for the Arab Contractors to act unofficially and without any co-ordination with the Ministry of Culture, locality or Cairo Governorate as the responsible area conservation unit. This has resulted serious urban and technical problems which was reflected on the environmental quality of this neighbourhood as been checked during fieldwork observations by the researcher and interviews with Mr. Medhat Sabri, Mr. Mohamed Taha, Mr. Abu Khalid and Mr Ibrahim Abdel Aziz Ibrahim, members from Qasr al-Sham community (ills.6.9a,b).

<sup>61</sup> Mr. Ayman Abdul -Moneim, interview, March 2002 and Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, interview, October 2001.

Housing as compared to that of the Ministry of Culture in heritage management in Historic Cairo in general.



Ill. 6.9a: Superficial urban beautification plastering and painting only the elevation overlooking the main routes in Qasr al-Sham.



Ill. 6.9b: Lethal cracks left on the wall-baring houses in Qasr al-Sham Area as a result of insensitive construction work.

In general, the different departments in the Ministry of Housing are co-ordinated through the Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo and the GOPP. They are both co-ordinated through higher committees in the Ministry of Housing to be able to weave a macro study to deal comprehensively with Historic Cairo. This can be illustrated through community-oriented urban regeneration projects in the spontaneous quarters at the boundaries (Manshiyyat Nasir and al-Duwiqa Areas) and within Historic Cairo (Zinhum Area). These projects were promoted by the Ministry of Housing in co-ordination with the Governorate to upgrade the environmental qualities of these areas to attract inhabitants from Historic Cairo to immigrate to them. Thus the main objective was to decrease the population density and to accommodate some of those who might suffer evacuation and compulsory purchasing in these regenerated areas.<sup>62</sup>

Both organisations are no longer involved in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project. The Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo decreased its involvement in Historic Cairo, focusing its activities on other religiously related projects (Muslim saints' sanctuaries and mosques located mainly in Sayida Zainab District. They are all religiously important mosques, therefore, important for religious tourism, but they are not registered monuments as they were only built less than 100 years ago, which means that any work in

<sup>62</sup> Mr. Abdel Hamid Mohamed al-Toudi, interview, August, 2001.



them will have no direct involvement with the SCA, or the Ministry of Housing.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the GOPP is currently more involved with Colonial Cairo and has no direct involvement in Historic Cairo.<sup>64</sup> The strategies produced by the different departments and organisations have become tangible through different interventions that are implemented by the Governorate, e.g., the Northern Traffic Access, al-Azhar Tunnel, the Azhar Square Piazza and many other interventions. In addition the Ministry of Housing and its different organisations and departments are the official and specialised body capable for producing legislative drafts that deal with urban management in general. This makes it important to study their effective roles and impact according to the specified criteria.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

Historic areas are defined in a relatively more comprehensive way as compared to the Governorate staff above. The Ministry of Housing's planners do consider the social and cultural aspects that characterise historic areas, as well as their physically significant aspects. Such physical values are expressed through the planners' concern with the architectural and urban features and characteristics. Yet there is little awareness of historical value. This is best illustrated in the reports produced in the Ministry related to the Northern Walls and the Northern Gamaliyya Areas. There was recommendation to remove Bab al-Nasr Cemetery to construct the Northern Access, known as Galal Street, while disregarding the mausoleums of al-Maqrizi (the famous Cairo City biographer) and Ibn Khaldoun (the famous Andalusian Philosopher) both lived and buried in Cairo in the fourteenth century. Consequently, the Governorate when implementing the Northern Access (Galal Street) they removed the funeral court where the mausoleums are located because they were not registered by the SCA. That was also implemented regardless a strong press campaign in 2001.<sup>65</sup> Another example is the development guidelines in (GOPP, 1988d) where a very rare archaeological site from the Fatimid Dynasty and the early Islamic settlements in Egypt in the seventh century is considered a potential site for redevelopment where housing schemes can be introduced as illustrated in (GOPP, 1988d, al-Fustat Section, p.3 illustrated in figs. 5, 6).

---

<sup>63</sup> Prof. Yahya al-Zini who is nominally the technical co-ordinator and advisor for the Ministerial Committee maintains that he has not received any communications from the Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo since 1998, interview, July, 2001.

<sup>64</sup> Mrs. Huda Edward, Open Meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>65</sup> Nada al-Hagrasi and Doa Elhami, interviews, September and October 2001 and March 2002.

However, on more practical basis, there is much concentration on the values of states as compared to those of processes. For example, while the interviewed planners of the Ministry of Housing mentioned the social values that characterise historic areas they stress on the necessity to safeguard the physical configuration of such an environment. They did not mention the safeguarding of the social systems and the traditional economic patterns distinguishing such areas. This is the situation when the Ministry of Housing deals with Historic Cairo, while it is different when it deals with the spontaneous areas neighbouring Historic Cairo, where it conducts pro-community regeneration projects.<sup>66</sup>

-Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

The Ministry of Housing is highly aware of the quality of integrity, mainly visual integrity. This is expressed through the concern with the safeguarding of the architectural and urban fabric and characteristics of Historic Cairo as stressed in GOPP reports and 1973 and 1989 schemes. On a functional level the Ministry of Housing did not consider the guild division or the specialised markets distinguishing the traditional economic character of Historic Cairo in its different area. It called for clearing Historic Cairo from hazardous activities, most of which are integrated and inherited in their areas since long ago as identified above. Furthermore, on a structural level of integrity, the Ministry of Housing has produced the Piazza of al-Azhar, introducing thus an unprecedented huge spatial intervention to the mediaeval fabric. In addition, despite the stress on safeguarding the traditional urban fabric, the Ministry of Housing has introduced the idea of the Southern Traffic Access to Historic Cairo, which meant a huge threat to the homogeneity and urban character of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area as elaborated above.

The authentic quality of the area is highly jeopardised by the concepts of the Ministry of Housing, laying stress safeguarding the physical values, the architectural and

---

<sup>66</sup> Stated by Mr. Abdel Rahman al-Adawi, Mr. Said Abdel-Moniem Ramadan, Mr. Ahmed Shawqi, Mrs. Mona Mustafa and Ms. Amani El-Dawakhli, questionnaires-workshop, 2001 and Mrs. Huda Edward, Open Meeting, September, 2001. In addition, while some of the workshop participants stress the social aspects of the historic areas and the importance of the community in characterising the meaning of their area, they focus mainly on the physical values of the historic areas even on dispense of their social and cultural values. For example, Mr. Ahmed Shawqi revealed the importance of the role of the community in area conservation, interview, August, 2001. However, based on field observation in Qasr al-Sham Area where Mr Ahmed Shawqi was responsible for the implementation be of the urban upgrading work in this area, the area was only beautified and the community received no social schemes or even loan programmes to restore their housing stock ending up with beautified elevations with inner walls full of critical cracks.

urban characteristics without similar concentration on the social and imbedded cultural values strips Historic Cairo from its meaning as a living medieval organism. The notion that Historic Cairo should only accommodate traditional craft industries and be regarded as a tourist area will create a kitschy atmosphere. Focusing on defining Historic Cairo as a vessel that contains valuable monuments<sup>67</sup> encourages the over emphasis of monuments imposing unneeded spaces around them to create urban deserts, as well as altering the distinguished character for the sake of superficial beautification.<sup>68</sup>

Regarding the sustainability quality and social point of view, the Ministry of Housing has not recognised the especial cultural nature of Historic Cairo. This was pursued through co-ordination with the Governorate which secured effective implementation of the different introduced schemes and plans; however, that was not the case with the Ministry of Culture and the SCA which has caused some deficiencies in the accuracy of conservation work in Gamaliyya and al-Azhar. Yet when that was not the case, in the Magra al-Euon Area where a kind of effective co-ordination was pursued in the project among the Ministry of Housing and Cairo Governorate through the localities under direct supervision of the Executive Committee, Ministry of Culture through the SCA; however that was almost a unique case.<sup>69</sup>

The economic base of many areas, especially those in Gamaliyya and al-Azhar Street is endangered because of the traffic interventions targeting the pedestrianisation and removing any trade that does not reflect a historical or artistic nature of Historic Cairo, which might affect their liveability. Furthermore, the financial feasibility of the planning decisions made by the Ministry of Housing is questionable. For example, Williams (2002) maintains that essential that the main priority is given to the water that is threatening most of the historical monuments in Historic Cairo which would cost about EP 300 millions (about US \$ 80 millions) while the Ministry of Housing has decided to give the priority to the Azhar Tunnel. The tunnel project had two proposals. The first one is a short one that

---

<sup>67</sup> Stated by Mr. Abdel Rahman al-Adawi, Mr. Said Abdel-Moniem Ramadan, Mr. Ahmed Shawqi, Mrs. Mona Mustafa and Ms. Amani El-Dawakhli, questionnaires-workshop, September, 2001.

<sup>68</sup> This was illustrated in the 1973 and 1989 schemes through imposing green areas replacing some part of the organise dense urban fabric, as well as revealed by Mr. Said Abdel-Moniem Ramadan who represents the Arab Bureau, an office that is responsible for producing detailed studies and urban design for many areas in Historic Cairo that are currently under conservation, questionnaire-Workshop, September, 2001.

<sup>69</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, July, 2001.

did not need an air-conditioning unit<sup>70</sup> and that moved just underneath the proposed Azhar Piazza and was expected to cost EP 200 millions (about US \$ 53 millions), and the second, (which has already been implemented) long tunnel of more than 2.5 Kilometres which cost about EP 890 million (about US \$ 230 million). This huge project used up a lot of the available funding for the upgrading of Historic Cairo and was meant to create traffic fluidity in al-Azhar Street to remove the flyover (ill.6.10). Unfortunately, the tunnel takes only 40% of the regular traffic crossing the street, as well as causing a lot of car accidents which block traffic because of a design problem.<sup>71</sup> It has also linked Salah Salim Highway with the downtown thus separating Port Said Street (a very important commercial street that has strong economical bonds with the textile and wood trade in al-Azhar Area) from the traffic movement for the tunnel path underneath it.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile the water problem was not handled on a global scale to lower the water table level -- a severe problem. It was handled through scattered projects in different parts in Historic Cairo where some monuments are under conservation.<sup>73</sup>



Ill. 6.10: Port Said Street, intersecting with al-Azhar Street and the flyover on it acting as traffic link between al-Azhar Square and the downtown.

<sup>70</sup> The already implemented tunnel is a long one that necessitated introducing two air-conditioning factories in the heart of the traditional mediaeval urban fabric which caused visual problem in the area for their towers.

<sup>71</sup> The tunnel is not very suitable for this dense area and it is not sufficient. It was easily blocked after an accident when eleven were injured and a traffic jam occurred that lasted for about 90 minutes, reported in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2002. The tunnel was originally meant to replace the flyover that causes visual problems in this area and because of the long tunnel proposal was selected various obstacles have been brought to this critical area. Therefore, currently the official authorities responsible for traffic in Greater Cairo do not recognise this tunnel as an effective intervention. Consequently, the flyover was not dismantled and remains carrying the traffic until today as reported in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 3rd September 2002. The tunnel, on the other hand, is closed after midnight to avoid car accidents.

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Tarek al-Muri, interview, September, 2001.

<sup>73</sup> There are some projects to deal with dumb water in Bab Zuwila Area where the ARCE is restoring group of monuments as well as another project in front of Qalawun Mosque where the Arab Contractors are restoring the Mosque, based on the researcher's field observations in 2001-3. Yet there is no comprehensive scheme to lower the water table level in Historic Cairo and the current efforts are not sufficient. For example an important fourteenth-century's mansion, the Palace of Amir Taz, collapsed in March 2002 because it was floating on water tearing dawn adjacent residential buildings in Sayida Zainab District.

In addition, the lack of the necessary pre-qualification and experience needed for accurate conservation has a negative environmental impact, such as the low quality restoration of al-Azhar Mosque and the loss of the important mausoleums of al-Maqrizi and Ibn Khaldoun which was part of the Northern Traffic Access as well as jeopardising al-Fustat archaeological site that was introduced as a potential area for residential redevelopment<sup>74</sup> (GOPP, 1988d) introduced through the Ministry of Housing studies and implemented by the Governorate as stated above.

#### -Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

In general, the Ministry of Housing through its different organisations and departments has the competence and is aware of the different planning phases and details. For example on the statutory level, the Ministry of Housing has produced several area character/ general appraisals for different zones in Historic Cairo as elaborated above. There are also backed up with different national guidelines to deal with deteriorated environments and public spaces especially in historic areas (GOPP, 1988a and GOPP 1989). However, the concept of a designated area with statutory boundaries that define an application zone of certain urban concepts and approaches to upgrading is not defined. However, according to GOPP reports (GOPP, 1991a,b) much concentration is given to the Islamic Cairo (Fatimid Cairo, al-Darb al-Ahmar, Sayida Zainab, Madbah and Magra al-Euon) as a strategic area that is also considered a priority zone. Yet these vaguely defined boundaries neglected the southern part of Historic Cairo, known as the Religion Complex, as well as lacking legislative power that can enforce the designation of the above defined area.

The Ministry of Housing dealt with Historic Cairo on more general terms that were supported through different detailed area studies, acting as the consultant of the Governorate. Thus it has no managing unit based on site especially after the diminishing of its influence in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project, as well as the growing role of the Ministry of Culture and the Executive Committee and the different area conservation teams with foreign funds such as the Mashrabiyya working in Al-Darb al-Asfar, FEDA working in Tumbakshiyya Street and Aga Khan working in al-Darb al-Ahmar. In addition, no legislation or drafts for urban management laws that are written especially for historic

---

<sup>74</sup> That has not been updated and currently some fringes of this site are occupied by some constructions of the Arab Contractors Company as confirmed through field observations by the researcher in 2001 and 2002.

Cairo have been produced. The only available law for the urban design is Act three issued in 1982 and it is too general.<sup>75</sup>

On an action/ implementation level, the Ministry of Housing has been successful in establishing partnerships with international granting sources (GTZ) and the local community, while implementing the regeneration work through effective co-operation with the localities and the Governorate. Nevertheless, this has been in the case of spontaneous quarters maintained above in which the Ministry of Housing has proven strong awareness of the concept of partnership and active community involvement through community consultation and deciding and acting together types of community participation.<sup>76</sup> This is not the case when the Ministry of Housing is involved in Historic Cairo as elaborated above.

The Ministry of Housing conducts documentation and listing mechanism through its different specialised conservation committees and departments. However, there is no clear reference of value, as what are only documented in general are the historical monuments registered by the SCA. General documentation of areas and buildings with especial architectural value are conducted in a detailed study and are produced by the office staff involved in that project but not according to a clear criteria and normally this is produced to focus on historical buildings that are 100 years old or more. Buildings of especial urban value for their context or unique architectural features associated with historical events are normally not considered, i.e. there is no classification or effective listing mechanism parallel to the listing classification and mechanism introduced in Chapter Four above. This is the reason why the Ministry of Housing has neglected the architectural value of Mashiyakhit al-Azhar Building (the Old Administrative Building of al-Azhar) built in 1936, proposing in its Azhar Street Project pinpointed above to remove it to create a vast piazza between al-Azhar and al-Hussain Mosques as introduced above,

---

<sup>75</sup> See section 6.4.1.1 below for more details about the legislation mechanism and impact on area conservation in Cairo.

<sup>76</sup> This has been confirmed by Mr. Ahmed Yassir, Workshop, September, 2001, as well as Aisha Abdel-Ghafar in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 3ed February, 2001, p.13 and Mervat Shuib, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 2000, p.3

neglecting the architectural value of that building because it is not regarded as a monument as it is less than a 100 years old.<sup>77</sup>

Moreover, having no definite boundaries of designated areas for effective and enforced guidelines and regulations needed for effective urban management and controlled development there is no refined designation boundaries. However, there are many detailed studies for with detailed guidelines produced for specified neighbourhoods that are regarded as pilot projects/ action areas for wider zone (al-Gamaliyya) that is also studied, such as the GOPP study (1991a) that envisaged Historic Cairo on a more global scale, introducing various potential action areas while choosing al-Darb al-Asfar as a catalyst area. Al-Darb al-Asfar was also chosen for it contains valuable Islamic mansions from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries as well as being under a current threat exposed to different urban pressures.

However such guidelines are technical and are concerned with safeguarding architectural and urban characteristics. Yet there are no guidelines that are concerned with the financial mechanism such as the loans programmes for the community members to restore their houses as the case in Old Aleppo and even in spontaneous quarters in Cairo where regeneration schemes have been conducted and organised with the GOPP. Furthermore, there is no updating of any legislation that might enforce the above guidelines due to a delay from the Ministry of Housing to produce a draft for a specialised law for urban management and development in Historic Cairo as elaborated below.

In general it is necessary that the sustainability of any proposed intervention is examined to test its effectiveness, which has been already tackled above. Here the interventions introduced are recommended to be measured according to their impacts on the social/ cultural, economic and environmental aspects which serve as the sustainable quality, together with the qualities of integrity and authenticity. This is to test their actual impact on the fabric and the people and the livability in general of the subjected area. The area conservation qualities introduced above can be addressed through these parameters that can illustrate the actual tendencies and impact of each actor, thus, its influence on area conservation in Cairo in general.

---

<sup>77</sup> This is in addition to neglecting the archaeological value of al-Fustat site considering it as a potential for urban redevelopment, as well as losing the mausoleums of al-Maqrizi and Ibn-Khaldun through the Northern Traffic Access (Galal Street) as has been proposed in the GOPP reports, pinpointed above.

However, as stated in Chapter Four above, it is recommended for any intervention to enhance any environment to carry some short-run gains especially for the local communities so it can be community friendly and secure a sustainable ground for its different phases. The community was complemented in the GOPP different proposals through suggested green areas introduced whenever possible within the intrinsic of the urban fabric replacing dilapidated buildings to secure missing amenities and services such as youth centres and public spaces (GOPP, 1991a, section three, p.20). In addition, other environmental upgrading schemes such as enhancing the sewage system and street paving were also suggested and are currently realised through some scattered projects in Qalawun Mosque Neighbourhood in Gamaliyya and in Bab al-Metwali Area. However these projects are developed without effective community consultation, using PRA technique for example, as their reports has not maintained how these planning decisions to introduce green areas were made.

#### -Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

The Ministry of Housing started to adopt a cultural approach that complements the lifestyle and social values of the community under development in the spontaneous quarters neighbouring Historic Cairo. However, this is not the situation when dealing with Historic Cairo. For example, no revitalisation of any traditional urban institution in urban management as the *Mukhtar* in Old Damascus or even the community leadership role used in the regeneration project in Manshiyat Nasir.<sup>78</sup> Rather, the local community is regarded as a community unaware of the heritage values (these values are values of states as revealed above).

The Ministry of Housing has not developed a responsive approach to area conservation that is tailored to complement the diversity of conditions and status of the different areas in Historic Cairo. In general there are some standards that are applied to deteriorated areas according to the upgrading guidelines produced in 1988 (GOPP 1988a-d) as well as the 1973 and 1989 scheme. This is applied regardless the especial status of the context dealt with.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Mr. Ahmed Yassir, Workshop, September, 2001 and Mrs. Monika el-Shourbagi, interview, April, 2001.

<sup>79</sup> For example the urban settlements located in the Delta Region are surrounded with fertile agricultural land that are dramatically threatened, the GOPP has not produce responsive environmental standards and guidelines to guide urban development that are necessary to be vertically oriented not to erode the already



#### 6.4.1.d. Ministry of Culture:

There was no Ministry of Culture before the 1952 Revolution. There was only the Ministry of Education and Culture, which also supervised the pre-Islamic monuments. The Islamic monuments, on the other hand were under the responsibility of the Ministry of Awqaf (religious endowments). According to the urban management system in the Arab-Islamic city as elaborated in Chapter One above, the Awqaf is a traditional system/institution that owns and manages different charity and individual endowments and uses the revenues for their up-keeping. That was run effectively because the Awqaf was the main guardian of these monuments, while the Islamic monuments were historical entities but in-use and not merely archaeological sites as those of the Pharaohs or Romans under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Awqaf supervised and maintained Islamic monuments through an independent organisation, the Committee for the Conservation of the Islamic Monuments, established in the late nineteenth century. It was run by Europeans. However after the revolutions and the 1956 war, European consultants were not welcome. Meanwhile, the Revolutionary leadership established the Ministry of Culture to promote for the Revolution's ideologies and it became also responsible for the pre-Islamic monuments through the SCA until 1960 when the Islamic monuments came under the responsibility of SCA, i.e. the Ministry of Culture, in 1960. This has caused to separate the Islamic monuments from their endowment systems, agricultural land and their renting mechanism, managed through the Ministry of Awqaf, which is predominantly a religious system. Meanwhile, The Ministry of Culture had a very humble budget to maintain the Islamic monuments. This problem of budget has continued until today, as for example despite of the government announcement to secure EP 850 millions (about US \$ 320 millions) none of these money were passed to the Ministry of Culture to finance its project in Historic Cairo. It, rather, has to count on its limited resources and current funds.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, with the growing national concern with Historic Cairo and the severe impact of 1992 earthquake, the Ministry of Culture has acquired a growing role and responsibility not only of the huge number of monuments that need restoration but also for the whole phenomena, Historic Cairo as an urban organism.

---

jeopardised agricultural lands. However, that is not the case and the Delta agricultural lands currently decrease swiftly, as maintained by Mr. Amr Mansour, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>80</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, July, 2001 and Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, interview, October, 2001.

To understand the influence of the Ministry of Culture on Historic Cairo, it is necessary to comprehend the role of its different divisions involved in conservation projects in explain, i.e. SCA, Project Department, Historic Cairo Organisation and the Office of the Minister of Culture (the Minister of Culture himself as a consultant and a co-ordinator). The first is the national, officially responsible, organisation for archaeological excavation and restoration of monuments in Historic Cairo. It also co-ordinates between the different organisations (governmental or non-governmental) involved in conservation projects and the municipal bodies, *Hais* and localities, where a monument or the historical site under conservation lies within their zone of authority. For example, the SCA co-ordinated between the Governorate and the conservation team responsible for the restoration of the historical monuments and the area conservation in al-Darb al-Asfar Area, as their work included pedestrianising the street of al-Darb al-Asfar after changing its sewerage system.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, there is a permanent representative of the SCA in the Executive Committee headed by the Governor with representatives from different Ministries, which pave the way for removing all the municipal obstacles for any conservation team working under the gown of SCA. Generally, SCA does not have a direct influence in area conservation in Historic Cairo. Rather, its responsibility and influence is bounded within the walls of the restored monuments; however, it cannot decide the streetscape surrounding that monument or the sewage system that is essential to replace the current leaking one etc.<sup>82</sup>

The second, *Edarat al-Mashroat* (the Project Department) is a technical department that deals with engineering projects and contracting, as well as managing and monitoring the technical and engineering aspects of restoration projects. Most of the restoration projects are delegated to Wadi an-Nil Contractors.<sup>83</sup> However, many other contractors, such as the Arab Contractors, Ministry of Housing, and Bakhoum and Orascom from the private sector are currently involved in different restoration projects in different areas in Historic Cairo. Their staff represent the engineering consultancy within the Ministry of Culture, and together with the SCA, they are responsible for the restoration projects

---

<sup>81</sup> Other examples were given by Dr. Gabalah Ali Gabalah who co-ordinated between the Governorate and the Spanish Conservation team restoring the Sabil of Qaitbay Water dispensary in Saliba Street, the IFAO (French Institute of the Oriental Archaeology) restoring al-Sinari Mansion in Sayida Zainab and many other restoration projects in Historic Cairo, interview, October, 2001.

<sup>82</sup> Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, interview, October, 2001.

<sup>83</sup> The company has long history with the Ministry of Culture and is owned by ex-officers of the *Mukhabarat* (the secret police, intelligence), and has close contacts with the government (Williams, 2002, p.462).

conducted under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Culture where the Ministry of Culture then plays the role of the technical consultant. This is not the case in al-Darb al-Asfar, managed by Mashrabiyya Institute, and al-Darb al-Ahmar Areas, managed by the AKCS-E. In addition, the Department is also responsible for some cultural projects in Historic Cairo. For example, the Fustat Museum is constructed as a cultural centre to promote the art of pottery in its original location adjacent to the Fustat archaeological site, close to the pottery industry quarter and traditional kilns.<sup>84</sup>

The third is the Historic Cairo Organisation. It was founded to complement the growing role of the Ministry of Culture in Historic Cairo. This organisation was established as a technical consultant for the Minister of Culture who has acquired a growing role and influence in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project since 1998, becoming the main co-ordinator of the different bodies involved in the national project as elaborated below.<sup>85</sup> It is composed of three departments: the Restoration Committee, the Information Centre and Urban Development Studies.<sup>86</sup> The Restoration Committee is responsible for the technical decisions regarding monuments under conservation in Historic Cairo-- it is thus similar to SCA but the latter is responsible for all monuments in Egypt while the second is meant to deal with more focus and contextual and technical considerations with the monuments under conservation in Historic Cairo. This is pursued with the help of the Information Centre that is meant to produce the GIS database and the documentation needed for effective management and planning and knowledge-based decisions. The surroundings of the monuments that create their intimate zone, where the Ministry of Culture is allowed to interfere and control any development in any area surrounding a monument or an archaeological site according to Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22 of Act 117 issued in 1983, are studied by the third department, Urban Development Studies, which is suppose to investigate the traditional urban fabric of Historic Cairo and its deficiencies and

---

<sup>84</sup> Mr. Gamal Amir, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>85</sup> Reported by Said Ali, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 19<sup>th</sup> March, p. 3, 1998. This is especially after the inaccurate restoration of al-Azhar Mosque elaborated above, which give a relative political support to the Minister of Culture regarded as the official with the right competence to effective urban management in Historic Cairo; the Minister of Culture has become the co-ordinator of the Ministerial Committee in 1997.

<sup>86</sup> The Organisation of Historic Cairo was established in 1998 as a technical advisor to the Minister of Culture and its foundation is almost synchronised with the beginning of digging for the Azhar Tunnel, Mr. Tarek al-Murri, interview, September, 2002. This is because the Ministry of Culture wanted to produce its own study of al-Azhar Piazza in order to have a proposal for this area produced by the Ministry of Culture to compete with that produced by the Ministry of Housing, as elaborated above and that was supported by the governor, Mr. Ziad Ahmed Amir, Workshop, 2001. These studies however were produced in co-ordination with Prof. Salah Zaki and Dr. Galal Abada until the official establishment of the Urban Development Studies in 2000, Dr. Galal Abada, Open Meeting, September, 2001.

potentials for development seeking a comprehensive and strategic planning. It also seeks establishment of effective strategies for urban and heritage management within Historic Cairo.<sup>87</sup>

The fourth is the Minister himself and his posts/ responsibilities that draw the limits of his influence and the different departments of the Ministry of Culture in Historic Cairo. According to the UNDP Study, the proposed organisational structure of the steering board of the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project co-ordinated by the Minister of Culture who is reporting to the Prime Minister despite being on an equal footing with the Cairo Governor and the Ministers of Awqaf, Housing and Tourism. The organisational structure proposal placed a specialised unit to implement and manage the Revitalisation Project under the direct control of the Minister of Culture with technical advice from the SCA, a year later became the Historic Cairo Organisation as maintained above (UNDP, 1997, p.156, fig. 20). This was also reflected in Articles 3 and 4 of the draft of the presidential decree that recognised the Minister of Culture as a chairman of the Revitalisation Project (UNDP, 1997, p.176). This structure was submitted to and explained to Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, the then general secretary of the SCA, through a special UNESCO workshop. As a result, a request from the Ministry of Culture was submitted to the President and co-ordinated with the Prime Minister to involve the above mentioned Ministers and Cairo Governor in an especial committee.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, the Ministerial Committee, mentioned above, was established and co-ordinated and headed by the Minister of Culture.

Moreover, the Minister of Culture is currently attempting not only to be the guardian of historical monuments<sup>89</sup> but also to establish the Ministry of Culture's control over public spaces in Historic Cairo, as well as Greater Cairo and even the whole of Egypt. This is achieved after establishing the national organisation of *al-Tansiq al-Hadari* (lit. Civilised Management)<sup>90</sup> Establishing such an organisation was raised after ugly

<sup>87</sup> This objective was almost a forbidden one; Dr Galal Abada, executive manager of the Urban Development Studies, revealed this objective after long debate with him during the Open Meeting from the representatives of the GOPP, Mrs. Huda Edward, and the planning department, Mrs. Hayam Aref in Cairo Governorate. Both responded in an astonishing mood to this objective, developing urban management strategies as they are already involved in developing such strategies, open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>88</sup> Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, interview, October, 2001.

<sup>89</sup> Some famous writers in the Egyptian press called for liberating the SCA from the Ministry of Culture, making it a Ministry of Monuments, which is more suitable to Egypt that contains 30% of the monuments of the World. Consequently, Mr. Farouq Hussni, the Egyptian Minister of Culture since 1980s, claimed the title of the Head of the SCA, having the SCA managed by a general secretary.

<sup>90</sup> What is meant here is 'urban management'; however the word 'urban' in Arabic is '*Hadri*' and not '*Hadari*' (which means lit. 'civilised'), i.e. without the 'a'. That was noticed by Prof. Taha Abdullah,

treatments of public squares in Giza in Greater Cairo introduced to al-Gala Square by Mr. Mahir al-Gindi the-then Governor of Giza in 1997, which necessitated the existence of a specialised national organisation that can secure a high quality of the work of beautification and streetscape in public spaces.<sup>91</sup> This organisation was finally realised through a presidential decree in 2002 (Mosa and Metwali, 2002, p. 4). Consequently, the Minister of Culture has acquired an officially and politically recognised urban management delegation to beautify public spaces, including those in Historic Cairo. The question now is how he is going to co-ordinate and manage to make this delegation effective. The Minister of Culture, therefore, is looking for executive power through laws to be issued with national guidelines for this purpose. Therefore, the Minister of Culture is currently restructuring the Urban Development Studies Department within Historic Cairo to secure the needed staff to give him the technical strength to be able to synthesise the needed legislations, general and detailed guidelines that can secure effective control over urban management that can give a civilised image to the public spaces (Mosa and Metwali, 2002).<sup>92</sup> Consequently, the Minister of Culture is regaining an official and authorised role to dominate urban management in Historic Cairo through such an organisation, especially after the Ministerial Committee became ineffective as revealed above.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

The definition of any historic area has been long defined by the SCA as the main organisation concerned with heritage safeguarding in the Ministry of Culture. It looks at the archaeological and historical value of the historical site or monument. This is because the staff of the SCA was originally founded and trained to be concerned with such values because of them being mainly specialised in Ancient Egyptian and Antiquities monuments

---

interview, 2001. Certainly this cannot be a spelling mistake in the title of a very important organisation that is established through a presidential decree. Therefore, it is likely that the term '*Hadari*' (civilised) is used intentionally instead of the more appropriate one '*Hadri*' (urban), which reflects the concern with giving the city a civilised/ modern image through artistic management of open spaces.

<sup>91</sup> Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, July, 2001.

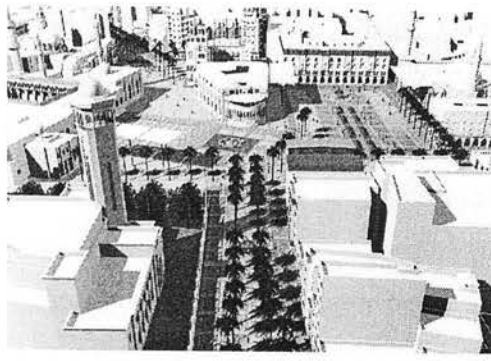
<sup>92</sup> This has been confirmed by Mr. Tarek al-Murri and Dr. Galal Abada, interviews, March, 2002. The later is now part of the restructuring scheme as the Urban Development Studies will serve as the technical staff needed for that national organisation for urban management. This has become necessary especially after the harsh critic given to the work of the Urban Development Studies Department by the ICOMOS and UNESCO delegates for their insensitive area conservation scheme for al-Hakim Mosque Area (also introduced in this research as Bab al-Nasr Area) as revealed by Dr. Jokka Jokilehto, Prof. François Figer (Harvard University in the workshop session 9-11 am, 19<sup>th</sup> February, UNESCO Conference in Cairo; also confirmed by Dr. Ana Paolini and Dr. Mizuko Ugo, interviews, March, 2002. This has made clear that the Historic Cairo Organisation should develop its techniques when dealing with urban problems.

that are nothing but archaeological sites demanding a kind of management different from that of Historic Cairo, the mediaeval, liveable urban fabric. The Islamic monuments and urban fabric are always a secondary type of heritage, e.g. the General Secretary of SCA is always an Egyptologist; it was Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah until 2002 and now it is Dr. Zahi Hawas who is also an Egyptologist specialised in the Old Kingdom and the Pyramids, an ancient valley of royal cemeteries.

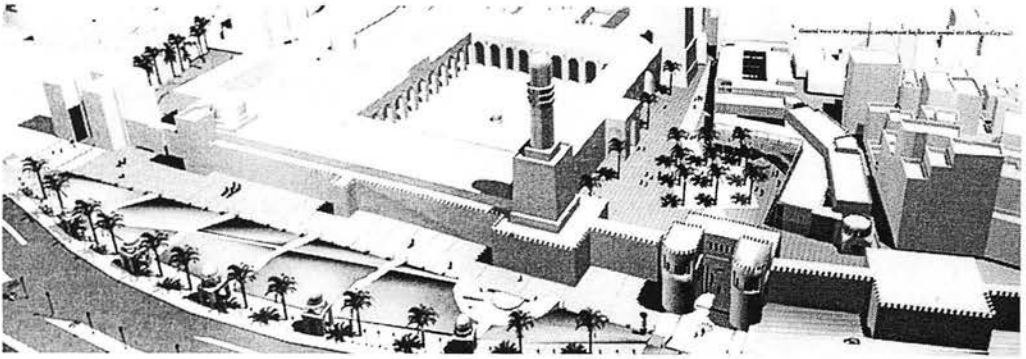
Even with the establishment of the Historic Cairo Organisation, Historic Cairo is still defined as an area concentrated with monuments and that has great potential for development, mostly in tourism industry as was expressed in the Urban Design Studies schemes (Historic Cairo, 2002).

#### -Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

Being involved in the restoration of huge number of dilapidated valuable historical monuments, the Ministry of Culture gives its attention to individual monuments. Even in the case of major restoration projects of clusters of neighbouring monuments it is likely to find that it is mostly done by foreign missions, such as ARCE in the Bab Zuwila Area. In addition the Ministry of Culture has just recently started to produce its schemes regarding Bab al-Nasr Area and al-Azhar (Historic Cairo, 2002). However, reviewing their schemes it is made clear that the discussed urban studies department, Urban Development Studies in the Organisation of Historic Cairo, is concerned with respecting the urban vocabulary of Historic Cairo and its medieval configuration (Historic Cairo, 2002). That came clear in the insistence of the Ministry of Culture to keep the twentieth century building of the Old Administrative building of al-Azhar (Mashiyyakhat al-Azhar) despite the resistance of the Governor and the Minister of Housing (ill.6.11). This was to avoid introducing a huge plaza totally unrelated to the medieval urban fabric distinguishing Historic Cairo. In addition, the Ministry of Culture also presented drawings and schemes that complemented the materials, and heights of the historical monuments in the area they dealt with in the northern walls (ill.6.12).



Ill. 6.11: The scheme of the Ministry of Culture to revitalise al-Azhar Square, including the historical mosques and the Mashyyakha Building.



Ill. 6.12: The scheme of the Ministry of Culture to revitalise al-Hakim Mosque and Bab al-Nasr, northern Historic Cairo.

On the other hand, the functional integrity of Historic Cairo is jeopardised through the beautification and sanitation attitude, to give a civilised look to al-Muiz Street, removing the Copper Market from its original location creating an urban gap (a vista in front of the Ayyubid Complex), see (ill.6.4c) that illustrates the still surviving guild in al-Muiz Street. The Ministry intends to remove the traders who are selling copper and brass products in this zone in al-Muiz Street, while this trade in this section of the street is well connected with the blacksmith industry located in Northern Gamaliyya and al-Darb al-Asfar Area and its surroundings nearby, see (ills.6.4a,b). Even when the dealers of these shops offered to rebuild their shop in a way that complements the Ayyubid Complex, the Ministry of Culture refused to grant this and is pushing to remove these traders which might result in an urban desert in this spot (Gohar, 2000).

The quality of authenticity of the urban environment in Historic Cairo is questionable. Removing indigenous industries and creating open spaces and streetscape

that are for beautification, as expressed in the Urban Development Schemes --such schemes are illustrated in *Historic Cairo* (2002)-- rather than complementing the local culture and lifestyle of the local community would certainly create a gap between the local community and their upgraded environment, i.e. negatively affecting the responsiveness and liveable nature in Historic Cairo. Such efforts of the Ministry of Culture are targeting giving a sanitised look to the traditional fabric paving the way for increasing investments in tourism, as can be deduced from the five-star hotels and polished vistas and boutiques introduced in the proposal of the Ministry to upgrade Bab al-Nasr and al-Hakim Area.<sup>93</sup> This was attacked by Caroline Williams criticising the proposed interventions of the Ministry of Culture to Historic Cairo. She maintains that it negated restraint and jeopardised the authenticity of the liveable urban phenomena for putting tourism as a prime motive (Williams, 2002, p.473).

The social aspects of sustainability as explained in Chapter Three are not considered by the Ministry of Culture. The interventions introduced to Historic Cairo and its different conservation projects are not taking the benefits of the local community on board. For example, the restoration team of the al-Kritliyya Historical Mansion in Saliba Street wanted to integrate the local community with the historical monument without jeopardising it. They proposed to create a public space that can accommodate a multiple utility space, through especial landscaping that is available within the premises of the historical mansion and an already existing store to keep light structures and seats, to serve as a place for the community to benefit from the monument. This was refused by the SCA, who preferred instead a garden surrounded with a metal fence (ill.6.13).<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> This was criticised for beautification and sanitisation only create museumisation of Historic Cairo as maintained by Nada al-Hagrassi in her article, "Will Fatimid Cairo become a Gohst Town?", as she questioned the urban meaning and authentic quality of the traditional fabric without its distinctive crafts and working class force, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 7th December, 2001, p.38.

<sup>94</sup> Mr. Nicolas Warner, interview, 2001.





Ill. 6.13: The open area behind al-Kirtliyya House, historical mansion under restoration, in Ibn Tulun Area.

In addition to secure a sustainable intervention, official administrative co-ordination between the Ministry of Culture and the other governmental authorities and institutions involved in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo is a necessity. Yet, through the activities of the workshop and the open meeting sessions organised by the researcher, it has become apparent that the Ministry of Culture is only represented in the committees in the GOPP and the Governorate, the main official bodies and authorities involved in urban management in Historic Cairo, through the SCA that is only concerned with the accurate restoration of historical monuments.

Nevertheless, the Urban Development Studies Department in Historic Cairo Organisation that is the urban development consultant of the Ministry of Culture which produces schemes for the urban upgrading and draws the strategies and agenda of the Ministry of Culture to deal with Historic Cairo was almost absent and unknown to the planners of the GOPP and the Governorate.<sup>95</sup> In addition, there is an unwelcoming attitude to co-operation with other governmental organisations involved in area conservation in Cairo, as revealed by Mr. Ayman Abdul-Moniem, Office Manager of the Minister of Culture for heritage management and the co-ordinator of Historic Cairo Organisation.<sup>96</sup> For example Mr. Abdul-Moniem questioned the role of Prof. Fathi Salih, head of the

<sup>95</sup> Mrs. Hyam Aref, head of the planning department, Cairo Governorate, commented in an astonishing manner when Dr. Galal Abada, the executive manager of the Urban Development Studies in the Organisation of Historic Cairo, maintained the duties and activities of his department, Open meeting, September, 2001. In addition Mrs. Mona Mustafa, general manager representing the GOPP, responded with the same astonishing attitude to Mr. Waleed Abdel-Moniem Khalifa representing Historic Cairo, when he explained the concern of his department and its current duties, Workshop, September, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> For example Mr. Abdul-Moniem questioned the role of Prof. Fathi Salih, head of the Cultnat as maintained below, who is producing intensive documentation of Egyptian national heritage (physical and non-physical), as elaborated below.

Cultnat as maintained below, who is producing intensive documentation of Egyptian national heritage (physical and non-physical) instead of establishing any kind of co-ordination with him. Also, when Mr. Abdul-Moniem was asked about his action to stop the project of the Southern Traffic Access that Governor wanted to implement, which could have endangered the monuments in Bab al-Wazir Area, Mr. Abdul-Moniem responded with silence and instead of contacting the Governor to co-ordinate with him he waited until the project is implemented to sue the Governorate.<sup>97</sup>

The economic sustainability can be traced through investigating the approach of the Ministry of Culture when dealing with the historical built environment, which would affect the local community, giving jobs and introducing economic basis etc. The Ministry of Culture however, prioritised the restoration to protect mainly the physical heritage through various restoration projects without introducing any adaptive reuse plans. Adaptive reuse cannot be always limited to converting the historical buildings into cultural centres and libraries as happened to Sabil Qayitbay in Saliba Street now used as a library or al-Harawi and Zainab Khatun Mansions behind al-Azhar Mosque, and al-Ghourri Complex in al-Azhar Street. These are used as cultural centres for folkloric dancing and musical performances or even left closed after restoration as the case of Wikallat Bazaraa (historical mall composed on rows of shops and workshops on the ground floor and occasionally on the upper floor and collective housing that contains apartments of varying areas), which is questioned by Dr. Ashraf Reda, Faculty of Fine Arts in Helwan University in Cairo.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Reda, pinpoints the absence of more effective adaptive reuse that can validate the millions spent on the restoring historical buildings, for it is important that conservation also have an economic aspect that can contribute in economic terms to its context (Strange, 1999) as discussed in Chapter Three. For example there is no restored historical building that is used as an office building or a hotel. This is interpreted by Prof. Taha Abdullah due to the absence of any creativity in thinking in the Ministry of Culture that can create effective partnership so more monuments can be restored and the liveability of the monument and its context can be maintained creating job opportunities.

In addition investigating the impact of the current work of the Ministry of Culture on the built environment in Historic Cairo, the swift acceleration of restoration, aiming at

---

<sup>97</sup> Mr. Ayman Abdul-Moniem, interview, March, 2002 and Ms. Nada al-Hagrassi a press reporter from *Al-Ahram Newspaper* who was investigating the Southern Access scheme with officials and planners from the Governorate and the Ministry of Culture, interview, 2002.

<sup>98</sup> Reported by Ashraf Reda in *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 2000, p.3.

restoring 195 monuments in eight years (Historic Cairo, 2002, pp.465, 6) draws dark shadows on the authenticity of the quality of the restoration of the historical buildings and not only the area conservation work.<sup>99</sup>

-Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

Regarding the statutory process, the Ministry of Culture has not produced a general appraisal for Historic Cairo, focusing on specific areas that are studied in detail as an action area in Historic Cairo. Furthermore, the Ministry of Culture has not defined boundaries of designation that encompass a certain characteristic zone for there are no defined concepts of value and specified criteria for classification of historic or architectural significance as elaborated below.<sup>100</sup>

Moreover, the Cairo Declaration came as a strong base for an area conservation charter with the major concepts to be considered in conservation, e.g., goals and objectives of conservation, understanding the values, limits of interventions, authenticity, integrity, sustainability and maintenance and monitoring.<sup>101</sup> The reports and summaries of this event were not developed or contextualised to produce an especial area conservation charter to guide urban and architectural conservation in Historic Cairo.<sup>102</sup>

The only system currently used is the registration of any building that is dated back to a 100 years ago according to Act 107 issued in 1983. Consequently, many buildings that are associated with significant individuals, architects or historical figures or of a significant architectural value are jeopardised and can be destroyed. This is best illustrated in the case of the Administrative Building of al-Azhar (Mashiyyakhat al-Azhar), whose demolition was proposed by the Ministry of Housing and the Governorate in their scheme to develop al-Azhar Area introducing the piazza of al-Azhar. The Ministry of Culture banned and

---

<sup>99</sup> The accuracy of restoration work of historical monuments in Historic Cairo is critically questioned by Pascale Ghazaleh in her article "Breaking the Silence" published in *Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper*, 5-11 April, 2001, p.17.

<sup>100</sup> Dr. Robert Vincent, head of the restoration and project department, ARCE, commented that the Ministry of Culture has not even produced a conservation charter that is certainly needed to serve as a legislative reference to judge the current massive restoration activities. This is despite of grouping all the organisations, governmental, on and international involved in conservation projects in Cairo in a Round-Table Conference titled "The Limits of Monumental Restoration" co-organised by SCA and IFAO on 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1999, whose recommendations were not elevated to acquire a legislative status.

<sup>101</sup> A report of the rapporteurs, summarising the thematic session four regarding the theoretical aspects of urban and architectural conservation, chaired by Dr. Jukka Jokilehto on Monday 18 February 2002, pm.

<sup>102</sup> This was interpreted by Mr. Tarek al-Murri who maintained that such an event was organised by the Ministry of Culture to legitimise its conservation projects, mainly the restoration projects after their accuracy were harshly criticised in the press, interview, 2002.

resisted this proposal. However, the Ministry of Culture could not legitimise their position against the removal of this 1936 building that belongs to a pioneer Egyptian architect. Lacking the right classification system put the Ministry of Culture in a critical situation and to protect the building it was registered as a historical monument. This can be scrutinised as an unconstitutional act for it is not recognised by the 107 Act. Yet, despite all of this trouble the Ministry of Culture has not yet worked at developing clear and effective criteria for heritage and architectural value for listing.

Nevertheless, the Minister of Culture has worked enthusiastically to acquire the presidential decree in 2002 to be the head of the National Organisation for Civilised/Urban Management, as elaborated above. Consequently the Minister of Culture is attempting to spread the control of his Ministry on the public spaces in general in Egypt, thus turning Historic Cairo into central urban management unit responsible for Historic Cairo.<sup>103</sup>

Regarding the action process, the Ministry of Culture tried to establish a partnership with private investors who wanted to exploit the ruined barracks of the British Army underneath the Citadel cliff. However, the absence of the clear legislation and classification that can explain the limits for exploiting physical heritage has caused much embarrassment for the Minister of Culture when he was harshly attacked in the press and the Parliament, as he could not justify his attempt to use such ruins that are still regarded as heritage. Consequently whatever exceeds 100 years of age is regarded as untouchable property which leads to stagnation of historical buildings and not circulating them in the market.<sup>104</sup> The Minister has not tried to repeat this experience again, not involving private sector or even governmental organisations in the Ministry's schemes as elaborated above. Local community in Historic Cairo were not also involved, which is a common attitude of the officials in Egypt when physical heritage is discussed, normally exclaiming "the people? What do they have to do with monuments?"<sup>105</sup> The social studies produced by the Urban Development Studies Department, Historic Cairo Organisation, counted on national

---

<sup>103</sup> Compare the same situation in the case of urban heritage management in Tunisia, the quality of area conservation of the ASM in le-Medina in Tunis and the quality of area conservation of the INP (the Tunisian Ministry of Culture) in the Old Town in Susa and in Kairwan, mentioned in Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.d. above.

<sup>104</sup> An interview with Mrs. Sikina Fuad, a writer in *al-Ahram Newspaper* who led the campaign against the Minister regarding this case, interview, 2001.

<sup>105</sup> *Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper*, 5<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> April, 2001, p.17.

statistics and not community which created insensitive planning as can be traced in the schemes introduced for Bab al-Nasr and al-Hakim Areas (Historic Cairo, 2002).<sup>106</sup>

The Ministry of Culture, through the Urban Development Studies Department in Historic Cairo Organisation, is aware of the different types of architectural values and not just bound to the registered historical buildings or those buildings that exceed a hundred years old, only historical value. Prof. Salah Zaki, head of the Urban Development Studies Department, introduced the concept of the buildings of architectural value especially for the buildings constructed in early twentieth century that are found throughout Historic Cairo.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, extensive documentation using advanced GIS applications are used, yet that has not yet been enforced through any legislations or guidelines. Yet, there is community based value that is considered when listing, e.g. especial saints' tombs or a location of especial religious ceremonies or performed rituals or even unregistered historical sites.<sup>108</sup>

Nevertheless, there is no consideration of any boundaries of designation except for the imaginary boundaries of the areas studied by Historic Cairo Organisation. They were not selected as an action area but rather, e.g., Bab al-Nasr and al-Hakim Areas were selected because they contain the Northern Walls and some endangered monuments so detailed documentation and area appraisal studies were produced to guide interventions in these areas. This is different from the action area that is selected to be a catalyst area that is chosen to be upgraded to guide the comprehensive regeneration of the whole historic town, as the mechanism introduced in section 4.1.2. c in Chapter Four above and as was exemplified in the GOPP study introducing al-Darb al-Asfar Area as an action area for the Gamaliyya District (GOPP, 1991a).

Yet, the Ministry of Culture has not produced any detailed guidelines, despite the fact that the Urban Development Studies Department was founded for this reason.<sup>109</sup> It has

---

<sup>106</sup> Information regarding the social studies conducted in the Urban Development Studies revealed by Mrs. Nisreen Laham, interview, 2002.

<sup>107</sup> Prof. Salah Zaki restored turn-of-the-twentieth-century houses in Bab al-Wazir area as an attempt to attract the attention to the value of such architecture that is not registered as historical monuments (Abdou *et al.*, 1997). He brought this concept with him when he became the head of the Urban Development Studies Department, Historic Cairo Organisation which can be seen in the documentation and the buildings of especial architectural and technical value in the al-Hakim Area.

<sup>108</sup> See the case of al-Maqrizi and Ibn Khaldun Tombs as well as other saints' tombs that are not registered or considered of value by the Ministry of Culture so they are not classified or listed. Consequently they were dumped by the Governorate when Galal Street, the Northern Traffic Access, was constructed above them, as elaborated above.

<sup>109</sup> Mr. Waleed Abdel-Moniem Khalifa, Workshop, 2001 and Dr. Galal Abada, Open Meeting, 2001.

not also put any of the urban studies, produced by Historic Cairo Organisation, into implementation. Even when Galal Street, the Northern Traffic Access, was constructed by the Governorate adjacent to the Northern Walls, where the Ministry of Culture decided to found an open museum<sup>110</sup> that was designed to be integrated with the historical walls through especial landscape designs, the Ministry could not implement its scheme (Historic Cairo, 2002, pp.476-82).<sup>111</sup>

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

The main approach to conservation is based on prioritising the monument, removing any surroundings within 30 metres around the monument according to Act 117 for year 1983. This rough treatment with the monument surroundings has been changed since 1997 by minimising the removal of the surroundings to six metres only as in the case of the Aqueduct walls in Magra al-Euon Area, see (ill.6.2).<sup>112</sup> Yet the rest of removal might be implemented in the future once compensation monies are available for those who will have their houses removed. The only exception for this approach was the case of Darb Shughlan neighbourhood in al-Darb al-Ahmar, where the eastern walls of Fatimid Cairo were uncovered (ill.6.14), which could have meant the removal of all the houses adjacent to it and to build a road or a yard as a forbidden area around the walls, supported and paralleled by the 1973 and 1989 schemes adopted by the Governorate.



Ill. 6.14: The uncovered Ayyubid walls, Eastern Walls, and the deteriorated urban fabric along that wall to the left; the mounds of al-Azhar Park introduced by the Aga Khan to the right.

<sup>110</sup> This museum was meant to exhibit the military architecture and artefacts, reported by Ashraf Mofeed, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2001, p.36.

<sup>111</sup> This lack of co-ordination between the Governorate and the Ministry of Culture in this incident is pinpointed by Mr. Ayman Abdel-Moniem, complaining that this reflects the Governorate disregard to the role of the Ministry of Culture, interview, 2002.

<sup>112</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, 2001.

Fortunately this never happened because of the Aga Khan foundation (AKCS-E) in charge of the revitalisation of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area signed a protocol with the Ministry of Culture in May 1999, which gave the Aga Khan the upper hand in dealing with monuments in this area and not the SCA.<sup>113</sup> Even with the Organisation of Historic Cairo and its Urban Development Studies department the priority is given to safeguard the monuments and to develop the area in a manner that emphasises such monuments. The community is envisaged from a very passive perspective.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, there is no attempt to revitalise any traditional urban management system or even a community-based one as that already used and successful in Old Damascus or in the close regenerated spontaneous quarters in Cairo, which is not considered in the Ministry of Culture schemes, as well as being not capable to achieve it even if it is intended due to the lack of any municipal authority.

The Ministry of Culture and its different departments involved in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo envisage Historic Cairo as a homogeneous zone<sup>115</sup> that is dealt with by adopting a beautification based approach to give this area a 'civilised' look with investment development in tourism,<sup>116</sup> which is intended by the Minister of Culture himself through his newly established organisation (organisation for civilised/ urban management) pinpointed above (ills 6.15a,b).<sup>117</sup> Consequently, the Ministry of Culture does not adopt a composite approach to upgrading, such as the FWP.

---

<sup>113</sup> Mr. Abdel-Khaliq Mukhtar and Mr. Adel Abdel-Sattar, interview, 2001.

<sup>114</sup> For example, when restoring al-Sinari Mansion in Sayyida Zainab District the residents of the neighbouring houses adjacent to the monument were removed to other locations through departments supported by the Governorate in other districts, mostly in outskirts instead of applying an urban upgrading scheme to the cluster that include the monument and these houses, reported in *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 3rd December, 2001, p.12. That was not only illustrated in the picturesque schematic urban upgrading schemes produced by the Urban Development Studies in the UNESCO conference held in February 2002 in Cairo but also through a clear comment that was given by Mr. Waleed Abdel-Moniem Khalifa who maintained that the scheme will be introduced and the community will accept at the end, which was interpreted due to the intensity of monuments in Historic Cairo, Workshop, 2001.

<sup>115</sup> Mr. Waleed Abdel-Moniem Khalifa and Mr. Abdu Abdellah Omran, questionnaire-workshop, 2001.

<sup>116</sup> This is maintained and criticised by Prof. Andre Raymond who accused the Ministry of Culture for museumising Historic Cairo, interview, 2001.

<sup>117</sup> In an interview with the Minister of Culture he reflects his role to conduct effective urban planning in a more comprehensive way in areas with especial cultural and architectural value through his newly founded organisation (civilised management organisation), using the *Hadari* not *Hadri* as maintained in footnote 90 above, reported by Abir al-Damarani, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 2000, p.3.



Ill. 6.15a: The Azhar Street today.



Ill. 6.15b: The proposed beautification of al-Azhar Street and the intersecting street of al-Muiz, as well as al-Ghurriyya Area neglecting the commercial activities existing today.

#### 6.4.1. e. Ministry of Awqaf:

The Ministry of Awqaf (religious endowments) has a binary nature: civil and religious. The civil is characterised by it being responsible for the management of the endowed properties either for charity or for heirs of certain families, according to the will of the endower. Protecting such wills and maintaining working them is religiously protected and respected by the Muslims, based on dogmatic terms, which gives it a religious nature and a wide base of public recognition and respect of its role in urban management. As elaborated above, the Ministry owns all the properties endowed, which vary from urban properties of different types to agricultural land. Such properties may include monuments from the fifteenth century or even before. One of the best examples is al-Ghuri Complex, built during the turn of the sixteenth century. The Area was full of textile merchants, where the shops were owned by the Ministry of the Awqaf, see (ill.3.1), which existed as an institution monitored by the Muslim legal judges, even before the construction of al-Ghuri Complex.



In the nineteenth century during the reign of Mohamed Ali, the autonomous Ottoman viceroy, the Awqaf as a religious institution was restructured to start to acquire a more centralised governmental form that developed to become the richest ministry during the reign of Khedive Ismail during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover, during the reign of Khedive Abbas Hilmi II and due to some struggles with the religious leaders of al-Azhar circa 1900, the Ministry acquired more autonomy in managing its monies.

This was altered dramatically after the revolution, during the reign of President Gamal Abdel Nassir when he cancelled the non charitable endowments. Yet the Ministry of the Awqaf is still in control of 100,000 *feddans* (the *feddan* is almost equivalent to 4200 square meters) of agriculture land in addition to 30,000 of reclaimed lands, as well as valuable real estate most of which are historical buildings, owning up to 80% of the still remaining property in use, as shops and residential buildings and those out of use and under the control of the SCA due to their historical value.<sup>118</sup> In general, the *Awqaf* as a system is protected through its religious reference, as revealed in Chapter One above. It is even still active until today, but not to as great an extent as was the case half a century ago.<sup>119</sup>

It has developed its role to not only be responsible for managing its properties but also to make calls for Islamic studies and introducing Sunni Islamic teachings in Egypt and abroad. This is pursued through its three main sectors, the Awqaf Organisation, responsible for the traditional role of property management, as well as owning most of the historical monuments in Historic Cairo. The second is the religious vocation sector and the third is the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, both of which co-ordinate with al-Azhar regarding religious matters and dogmatic academic concern.

Consequently, the Awqaf Organisation is the only division in the Ministry of Awqaf that is supposed to be involved in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project,

---

<sup>118</sup> Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, July, 2001. Also maintained by the Minister of the Awqaf that the Awqaf used to support the SCA but not much now as the Awqaf has given up the admission fees for tourists for the SCA to collect to finance the restoration work and up-keeping of such monuments, interview, March, 2002.

<sup>119</sup> Until today there are people who endow monies and properties for a certain religious reasons, e.g. and orphanage or research etc., to be managed by the Ministry of the Awqaf. For example the Minister of the Awqaf revealed in a TV programme broadcasted on channel three, Egyptian TV at eleven pm, that the system is still active as it was known before and its contemporary equivalence is the NGO and the community based organisations, giving an example of one of the modern time active endowment, i.e. a *Waqf* established in 1992 to promote research in the development of dogmatic studies that also finance for a competition.

especially because it has the General Department for Building and Construction, the engineering technical and consultancy office of the Ministry of Awqaf. This department is responsible for the up-keeping of the existing Awqaf mosques and secular buildings as well as constructing new projects, whether mosques or other investments for the Ministry. The department, in co-ordination with the Arab Contractors and the Ministry of Housing, was able to produce some significant religious architecture in the 1980s and 1990s that act as religious and intellectual Islamic landmarks in Egypt and abroad (Sedky, 1998).

Nevertheless, the Awqaf Organisation does not have the competence to consider necessary qualities of conservation, e.g. conservation. "The Awqaf officials do not mind if a restoration is shiny rather than authentic.<sup>120</sup> The 'newness' is pleasing to them and to religious communities they represent" (Williams, 2002, p.467). Therefore, the mosques restored or maintained by the Awqaf, reaching up to 3700 mosques,<sup>121</sup> are not among those registered by the SCA. The SCA, therefore, control these mosque technically (being responsible for their restoration and up keeping) and they used to receive for that financial support from the Awqaf, reaching up to EP 80 millions (US \$ 23 millions) during the period from 1992-4 immediately after the earthquake (The Ministry of Awqaf, 1999, pp.36, 7). However, the SCA are responsible technically for the restoration work of the registered mosques. "We could not change the frayed carpets of al-Rifai Mosque as we had to keep the old carpet as urged by the SCA", as maintained by the Minister of Awqaf.<sup>122</sup>

In addition, the properties of al-Awqaf that are located in Historic Cairo, whether residential or commercial units, come under the old rent-control laws. So the Ministry of Awqaf is the only governmental institution that deals with historic buildings it owns, which is almost 80 % of the historical buildings in Historic Cairo, as a real state stock that is subjected to market forces. This created a gap between the SCA and the Awqaf accusing the Awqaf through press campaigns of compromising heritage. This became even more critical when the Awqaf sold the renting right to some investors and individuals and intended to demolish and rebuild some units in the famous historical market of Khan al-

---

<sup>120</sup> Authenticity here is not only regarding the architectural authenticity but also the character and the meaning of place is not recognised by the Awqaf. The Minister of the Awqaf finds that the old shops should be a venue mainly to sell souvenirs and traditional crafts regardless the need of the community where these shops and historical malls (known as *Wikalas*) as revealed by Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq, interview, March, 2002.

<sup>121</sup> As reported in *Akhbar al-Yum Newspaper*, 8<sup>th</sup> September, 2001, p.21.

<sup>122</sup> Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq, interview, 2002.

Khalili.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, when the Awqaf intends to restore a historical building it faces much resistance from the SCA.

The restoration of al-Abasiri Mosque in Alexandria was the only example when a of co-operation occurred between the Awqaf and the SCA. In this project the Awqaf financed the restoration while the SCA conducted the restoration work needed.<sup>124</sup> Yet, this mosque was not a registered monument and it was thus the responsibility of the engineering department in the Awqaf Organisation. However the SCA interfered suddenly, registering the monument thus taking the restoration in its custody and forced the Awqaf to be only a financing source for the project without any co-ordination with its engineering department or even manage for capacity building for the Awqaf staff.<sup>125</sup> This means that such an incident came out of political pressure between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Awqaf rather than real intended co-operation.

Moreover, the Awqaf could not establish effective co-ordination with the Governorate as been epitomised in the conflict that occurred between the Awqaf and the Governorate when the latter wanted to remove the textile shops in al-Ghoriyya Complex to protect the monuments and to give a clean, 'civilised' look to the area, see (ill.6.15b) and compare with (ill.3.1).<sup>126</sup> The Ministry necessitated receiving its compensation through reallocating those who has been renting such units for centuries according to a dogmatic right of *estبدال* (exchange of the property for money or for another property in a different location for the public benefit, a religious right that guide urban management in Islamic city). The conflict occurred when the Governorate could not offer suitable location to transfer the shops and to compensate the Awqaf for its confiscated properties, which are religious endowments.<sup>127</sup>

Paradoxically, despite being the owner of most of the historical buildings, as well as being recognised as important partner in decision-making of the conservation planning

---

<sup>123</sup> This was illustrated when the Ministry of Awqaf has used its ownership authorities and offered to sell the right to rent, according to the old renting system, of the shops in Khan al-Khalili Mall and Gamal al-Din al-Zahabi Mansions, both are historical buildings, for sale. That was misinterpreted by the SCA and the press, accusing the Ministry of Awqaf of selling the heritage and reported by Nada al-Hagrassi, *al-Ahram Hebdo Newspaper*, 7<sup>th</sup>- 13<sup>th</sup> May 1997, p. 26; 14<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> May 1997, p. 26 and 22<sup>nd</sup>- 28<sup>th</sup> October 1997, pp. 28,9.

<sup>124</sup> Reported by Amal al-Gayyar, *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2002, p. 32.

<sup>125</sup> Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq, interview, March, 2002.

<sup>126</sup> The shops pinpointed are recorded in a deed made by Sultan al-Ghurri during the turn of the sixteenth century as religious endowments (Mihriz, 1972). The conflict occurred between the Governorate and the Ministry of Awqaf, due to removing these shops by the Governorate, was mentioned by Mrs. Hayam Aref, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>127</sup> Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq, interview, March, 2002.

in Historic Cairo as revealed by all the delegates representing the different actors of area conservation in Historic Cairo in the workshop organised by the researcher, the Ministry of Awqaf play a passive role in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project.<sup>128</sup> It is nominally represented in the Executive Committee and not effectively participating in decision-making in critical planning matters that involves some of the historical buildings in its possession, being substituted by the SCA or other departments in the Ministry of Culture.

For example, the Mashrabiyya Conservation team conducting the area conservation of al-Darb al-Asfar Project removed a row of six shops along al-Muiz Street and adjacent to the Eastern walls of Mustafa Gafar Mansion, a historical house under restoration. These shops belonged to an ancient deed that was recorded in al-Salihyya Court (volume 521, document number 934, p. 479, line 9) in 1759 (Hassaballah, 2001, p.167). Yet the houses were removed neglecting any right of the Awqaf to claim even for a compensation for these shops overlooking the street, disregarding the Awqaf's right or the religious right to preserve such commercial entities (ills.6.16a,b).<sup>129</sup> The Minister of Awqaf was unaware of the removal of these shops and considered it a violation against the religious concepts and the legal ownership of the Awqaf.<sup>130</sup> That is to say, that despite owning most of the historical buildings in Historic Cairo and possessing a great deal of monies and investment, the role of the Awqaf is dwarfed by most of the main actors in the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo Project, mainly the Governorate and the Ministry of Culture. It is, thus, a passive actor rather than an active partner in area conservation planning in Historic Cairo.

---

<sup>128</sup> That was expressed clearly by the representatives of Cairo Governorate, GOPP, Arab Contractors, Arab Bureau, Historic Cairo Organisation and the SCA, questionnaire-Workshop, 2001.

<sup>129</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Asaad Nadim, head of the Mashrabiyya and responsible for area conservation in al-Darb al-Asfar. He also maintained that he removed the shops without acknowledging the Awqaf for it is normally not interested in such properties and it is a very bureaucratic institution, which makes it very difficult to co-operate with, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>130</sup> That was apparent when the researcher asked Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq, the Minister of Awqaf, about the removal of the six shops by the area conservation team of Mashrabiyya. The Minister could not hide his astonishment. The researcher, moreover, inquired about the effectiveness of the management and listing system of the Ministry of the Awqaf of its properties in Historic Cairo. The Minister of Awqaf maintained that the Awqaf has a map that indicates the location of the different properties of the Awqaf in Historic Cairo. Yet he could not elaborate any system of monitoring or review of the different violations committed, whether by the citizens occupying them or the governmental and non-governmental organisations involved in conservation in Historic Cairo, interview, March, 2002.



Ill. 6.16a: The old shops along Mustafa Gafar wall on al-Muiz Street; a shot taken in 1970s.



Ill. 6.16b: The western wall of Mustafa Gafar overlooking al-Muiz Street today with all the shops removed and sequenced pavement was paved in a tilted tiling and surrounded with metal chains to prevent any use of it.

#### 6.4.1. f. Ministry of Tourism:

The Ministry of Tourism has no municipal competence, it only deals with the tourist programmes and added locations on the touristic map of Cairo, including Historic Cairo. Therefore the main objective of the Religious Complex project was to beautify the area to be prepared for the tourist groups visiting regularly this area that include the first mosque (Amr ibn al-As Mosque), synagogue (Bin Ezra Synagogue) in Egypt and some historically valuable churches, see (ills.6.3a,b). The Ministry of Tourism through the Tourism Development Organisation financed the project with EP fifteen millions (US \$ 4.8 millions) commissioning Dr. Mona Zakariyya as a consultant and a project manager.<sup>131</sup>

Dr. Zakariyya formulated a residing team on the site and co-operated with the Arab Contractors, the Ministry of Housing, who were the contractor for the project. Moreover, the Governorate, represented through the head of the *Hai*, the head of Misr al-Qadima District, who facilitated consensus for development for Dr. Zakariyya team.<sup>132</sup> That is to say that the Ministry of Tourism's influence was only bounded to the walls of the Coptic

<sup>131</sup> Reported by Gihan Mustafa, *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 2001, p.29.

<sup>132</sup> Dr. Mona Zakariyya, interview, August, 2001.

and Christian cemeteries and the elevations of the houses that were redecorated, as well as other streetscape work and the architectural designs of the craft market and the bus terminus (beautified and planned) that are the main components of the projects (ill.6.17).

Despite being a project for beautification of the tourist bus route leading to Amr Ibn al-As Mosque and the ancient Coptic Quarter, the project has dealt with the local community and streetscape. The project cannot be considered as an area conservation work but it did complement its context.



Ill. 6.17: Decorated walls of the Coptic Cemetery along five kilometres, which is the main part of the beautification scheme of the Ministry of Tourism in the Religion Complex Area, Misr al-Qadima, southern Historic Cairo.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:<sup>133</sup>

Historic area, in general, was regarded by Dr. Mona Zakariyya as a public area, predominantly residential with mixed use character of humble activities and services common in such areas. In addition, the area has no specific architectural style with a dilapidated housing stock. The area, unlike Gamaliyya District or al-Muiz Street where monuments and the traditional fabric is still traceable and replete with historical buildings, is almost free of any monument, except for the Mosque of Amr Ibn al-As and the Coptic quarter where the Coptic monuments and historical churches are located in a walled well-defined zone. Consequently, Dr. Zakariyyah was aware that she is mainly dealing with historical entities but not a historical area. It is thus an area that only acquires its meaning through its people, the local community and dies if it they are evacuated from it.

#### -Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

<sup>133</sup> The information revealed in this section and the following ones regarding the work of Dr. Mona Zakariyya and her team was revealed during an interview and the open meeting organised by the researcher in 2001. In addition, this information was also confirmed through successive visits to the Religion Complex Area and its surroundings, Qasr al-Sham and al-Fawakhir (pottery-making area) during the work of the team in 2001 and in 2002 and 2003.

Dr. Zakariyyah and her team were aware of the functional integrity of the area and the distribution of its amenities, which was reflected in her planning of the bus terminus that is a very important service and the fire station close to it. The visual integrity was complemented through the colour scheme used and the finishing materials. However, based on the comment of Mrs. Hayam Arif, the head of the planning department in Cairo Governorate, Dr. Zakariyyah's proposal for the fire station could introduce a visual obstacle in the form of a long tower that could have blocked the visual continuity between Amr Mosque and the Coptic quarter behind the fire station. The Governor rejected the proposal and ordered it to be altered as such a visual discontinuity could imply a psychological separation between Christian Coptic monuments and a very important Muslim symbol, Amr Ibn al-As Mosque. Nevertheless, elevation-wise, the work echoed the main characteristic features distinguishing the nearby aqueduct and Coptic churches through the motifs Dr. Zakariyya used to decorate almost five kilometres of Christian cemetery walls, see (ill.6.17).<sup>134</sup> This might imply that Dr. Zakariyya and her team were aware of the visual integrity on the elevation level but not on an urban scale, three-dimensional level.

The project is for beautification and the Governorate is the actual authority in charge and its concepts are the most influential. Therefore the work in the main route, Amr Ibn al-As Mosque Street and in front of the Coptic walled quarter, became more theatrical. This is due to the Governor's order to give (actually create) a style to the area (ills.6.18a,b).<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, some shops had to alter their activities as urged by the Governorate, converted into souvenirs and soft drinks shops. Certainly this has nothing to do with the original character of the area and it just creates kitsch (Sedky, 2001c).<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Mr. Magdi Shinoda, a member of Dr. Zakariyyah team, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>135</sup> That was a direct instructions which was given by the Governor to Dr. Zakariyya during his visits to the area and review of the schemes of the work, Dr. Zakariyyah, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>136</sup> That is debated by Dr. Zakariyyah for being originally a severely deteriorated area that lacks any distinguished architectural characteristic, interview, August, 2001.



Ill. 6.18a: Urban beautification in the Religion Complex Area; unified colours imposing a specific style.



Ill. 6.18b: Victoria Street off Grass Market in the Old Town in Edinburgh; the colour scheme is varied, giving a room for a public taste of colours aiming at a responsive image of the area.

Nevertheless, when the sustainability of such beautification work is investigated, it is recommended to explore the impacts of such projects on the social, economic and environmental aspects of the area. Generally the team attempted to involve the community in selecting the right interventions, as maintained below. This was made to complement their culture and to use interventions that are not only accepted by the Ministry of Tourism or the Governorate but also by the local community who can up-keep it for their own benefits. For example when the team wanted to introduce a traditional turned-wood fenestration screens they displayed which on street collecting the different comments of the street passers and the people living in the vicinity who negatively commented on that fenestration system. They rather expressed their preference to the wooden Venetian blinds, which they could not afford because it is expensive, using rather aluminium windows. In addition, the traditional turned-wood fenestration is negatively interpreted for being holding too many crosses which makes it more Christian rather than suitable for the houses of the Muslims where these screens will be mounted on. Consequently, despite the fact that the Venetian blinds is more European rather than Egyptian or mediaeval, the team used the fenestration more culturally accepted by the local community so it can be maintained after



the departure of the team from the area. Another example is the pigeon-breeding-wooden towers that are not an ancient but rather a popular hobby distinguishing the area and distinguishing the roofs of the area with their characteristic green and yellow ribbon colours; therefore the team decided to protect them.<sup>137</sup> In addition, the team established an informal co-operative relationship with the Governorate representative, head of the *Hai*, to acquire official legitimacy needed when encountering any municipal issue, such as development censuses and co-ordination with the Governorate agenda for infrastructure, scheduled according to the Governemnt plans, aiming at establishing co-ordination necessary for effective implementation of the project.

The team was keen to keep the residents of the dilapidated houses, wall-bearing houses built during the turn of the twentieth century, restoring them, as well as exposing their stones or adorning the first floor with stones to echo the work introduced by the team to the Coptic cemeteries wall and the beautification of the other elevations on the main route, Amr Ibn al-As Mosque Street. That was regarded as a sustainable intervention for the restoration of these houses instead of tearing them down and reallocating their families.<sup>138</sup> In addition the project also incorporated a craft training centre and an exhibition and a craft mall which can offer some job opportunities to the traditional crafts, mainly pottery, in the area.

Regarding the environmental sustainability, the team was not involved in restoration however when the only incident that might help explore its awareness of the environmental assets of the area came in the way they dealt with an Art Deco building. Despite the fact that the team adorned the ground floor of all the buildings of the main route (Amr Ibn al-As Mosque Street) with stones, they did not touch the Art Deco building which was plastered with some characteristic motifs of the 1920s and it was left true to its epoch. The team preferred to leave the building not homogeneous in its adorned materials with its surroundings in order not to compromise its physical value despite it not being a registered building or under any kind of municipal or governmental protection.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> Dr. Zakariyya, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>138</sup> It cost only about EP 200 (US \$ 60) for the square meter of the ground area to repair a two or a three-floor house which is much cheaper than tearing it dawn and reallocating its families in the Governorate apartments that are sold for EP 20,000-25,000 (US \$ 6000-7500) for each apartment, Dr. Zakariyya, open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>139</sup> Dr. Mona Zakariya, open meeting, September, 2001.

-Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

Dr. Zakariyya was commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism, i.e. a Ministry without municipal management authorities. Thus, she was granted the budget pinpointed above to pursue area beautification project, not a scheme that is planned on a strategic level where partnerships could be promoted. Therefore, Dr. Zakariyya and her team were not in a position or requested to produce area character or any types of general appraisal, especially because there was no central authority or municipal body that might question or necessitate a certain urban environmental quality that might be affected with any introduced intervention.

There are no well-defined boundaries for the designated area.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, due to the status of the team, it was of in position or requested to produce or recommend any legislations and general guidelines and references. However, the team has been acting as an effective municipal management unit, thanks to the strategic co-ordination with the head of the district (*Hai*), in the routes and the areas where the team is implementing its beautification and amenities projects.

The team has not produced any detailed appraisals or reports. However, it managed to involve the community to express their demands in an interactive way within the site through in-field debates that were conducted informally and through displaying models of suggested interventions of wall adornment and fenestration, which was a very effective way of community participation in design decisions.

However, since the project was only meant to create a better elevation for tourists crossing the area between Amr Ibn al-As Mosque to the historical Coptic quarter, the team was not responsible for any restoration work, which was the responsibility of the SCA within the walls of the Coptic quarter. Dr. Zakariyya's team produced no scientific documentation or listing system, as the area was an agglomeration of buildings of almost value-less architecture, which made it unnecessary for the team to produce a detailed area appraisal.

The team rather, was involved in work and documentation while in the task because of the nature of the mission it was commissioned, beautification. The team was

---

<sup>140</sup> This is because the Religion Complex is at the very south of Historic Cairo and even after the Aqueduct (in Magra al-Euon Area); therefore, it is problematic and not well-defined area and its boundaries are not specified or recognised by municipal boundaries or even by those who registered Historic Cairo as a World Heritage, Dr. Mizuko Ugo, interview, March, 2002.

not authorised to produce any development guidelines. Yet the team wanted to create sustainable beautification that can be accepted by the community which was expressed through the types of the interventions culturally accepted by the local community and that are also positively regarded by the government, i.e. regarded as an elegant nostalgia by the officials. This was the only compromise that the team could make in order to pave the way for peaceful implementation phase where there are no much opponents from the local community to the project.

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

Dr. Zakariyya and her team has not attempted to found for example any sense of community leadership or urban management informal institution common in mediaeval Cairo or even as that restored in the regenerated, spontaneous quarters mentioned above. The team has not restored any traditional system because it is not authorised to do so; it acquires its legitimacy to deal with the area through the Governorate municipal branch, the *Hai*.

However, the team adopted more than an approach when dealing with the area of the Religion Complex. In the main route, Amr Ibn al-As Mosque Street that is the main touristic link between the historical mosque and churches of Mari Gergus (the ancient Coptic Quarter) the team used only natural materials in adorning the elevations of the houses to give an integrated image of the modern residential buildings with the ancient monuments around them, see the stone adornment on the ground floors that are surmounted with plain plastering mocking the traditional plastering on the beautified elevations of the houses illustrated in (ill6.18a). Moreover, there were many restrictions on the hazardous industries and activities which necessitated changing the activities of some shops as pinpointed above, which can be described as a restricted system of urban control.

On the other hand the al-Fawakhir Area (the traditional pottery-making and kilns area) was treated in a more functional way using reinforced concrete as a lot of soil treatments were needed in this area. It is in this zone, where the team dealt in a pro-community approach working with enhancing social infra-structure through the work conducted to upgrade the youth sport centre and the ateliers for the pottery artisans. This is followed despite the Governorate's concept of such industries in this spot, described which as hazardous and non-hygienic. Yet this is confronted informally by the team because the pottery is a backbone industry for most of the population in the area living within the

Religion Complex Area or on the hills full of squatters around it. In addition, this area is behind the traditional route of the tourist buses.

#### 6.4.1. g. Ministry of IT and Communication/ Biblioteca Alexandrina, Cultnat:

The Cultnat is the national centre for documentation of cultural and natural heritage of Egypt. It is founded officially on the first of January 2000. However, it came as a result of ten years of continuous efforts of national heritage documentation conducted in the RITSEC (the Regional Information Technology & Software Engineering Centre, the IT consultancy of the prime minister). This work was initiated by Prof. Fathi Salih, the ex-Egyptian representative in UNESCO. Prof. Salih is from an IT technical background but with strong and individual concern with heritage safeguarding through documentation. This was translated into initiating the Cultnat to document the positions of the Egyptian museums, manuscripts, Islamic Cairo monuments (SCA registered monuments) and Colonial Cairo.<sup>141</sup>

The Cultnat was founded as a national organisation with a great technical support from the Ministry of Communication and IT. Currently, it belongs to the Biblioteca Alexandrina (International Library of Alexandria), which is an independent intellectual organisation. The Cultnat is intended to be a national information resource available to different organisations and individuals through the Biblioteca Alexandrina and the internet.<sup>142</sup>

The Cultnat contributed to the Revitalisation of Historic Cairo with a GIS-based directory of Islamic monuments. In addition it produced a strategic study for heritage documentation, introducing a system of value and a listing mechanism, as well as designation for area of especial cultural value (Hassan, 2001). This work and the concept of value and significance of the documented physical heritage are defined in co-ordination with the SCA.<sup>143</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the individual connections of Prof. Fathi Salih with UNESCO which permitted him to act as its informal representative and monitor the area conservation projects in Historic Cairo, Cultnat has not played any influential or even active role in area conservation in Historic Cairo. This can be interpreted as a result of a lack of effective co-

---

<sup>141</sup> Prof. Fathi Salih, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>142</sup> Dr. Reem Bahgat, interview, June, 2003.

<sup>143</sup> Dr. Reem Bahgat, interview, June 2003.

ordination with the different organisations involved in heritage documentation. For example, the Cultnat project to document colonial architectural in Cairo is almost repeated by the IT department in Cairo Governorate and the Architectural Design Support Centre (ADSC).<sup>144</sup> Consequently, the Cultnat produced its strategies and documentation that were released in a book, i.e. (Hassan, 2002), instead of calling for establishing a unified and agreed upon system of value and cultural significance to be recorded and documented as a national registry. Moreover, and as stated above, the involvement of Cultnat in the statutory process of area conservation of Historic Cairo was not welcomed and regarded suspiciously by Historic Cairo Organisation, the Ministry of Culture, the institute which is also involved and responsible for the same task.<sup>145</sup>

#### 6.4.1. h. Cairo University:

There are two research centres in the Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University, involved in conservation projects in Cairo. The first is the Engineering Centre for Archaeological & Environment, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University (ECAE). It is only involved in documentation and restoration consultations, having the Ministry of Culture as the main client. It does not conduct any urban studies. It only produced the streetscape surrounding the Aqueduct restored in Magra al-Euon Area.<sup>146</sup>

The second is the Architectural Design Support Centre (ADSC), which is not involved in any area conservation project in Historic Cairo. It is rather involved in some studies produced for the urban upgrading of Colonial Cairo, financed by the IRD. It is composed of members from the academic staff of the Architectural Department, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University. They are also the individual consultants for the GOPP, commissioned to do the detailed urban studies, e.g. the upgrading of al-Abbasiyya District. They are almost only concerned with the technical documentation and the definition of the architectural and urban character.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> When Dr. Sahar Attia was asked why she never co-ordinate with the Cultnat to minimise the work in Mohamed Fared Street, the action area selected by the (ADSC) team in Colonial Cairo, she implied that there was no chances to establish such a co-ordination, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>145</sup> See footnote 96 above.

<sup>146</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, 2001.

<sup>147</sup> Mrs. Huda Edward, Dr. Sahar Attia and Dr. Shahdan Shabaka, interview and Open Meeting, 2001.

#### 6.4.1. i. Commissioned Consultancies for Area Conservation Projects:

Despite lacking any national scheme for area conservation, thanks to the inactive role of the Ministerial Committee, which means the lack of a national perspective of area conservation on a wide scale needed to deal with the wide zoned of Historic Cairo, area conservation schemes on a neighbourhood scale are encouraged. This is especially when the proposed organisation brings the funding needed for such schemes, such as Mashrabiyya, FEDA, AKCS-E, ARCE, and the German Institute.<sup>148</sup> The last two are involved in major restoration projects restoring clusters of monuments but not involved even in streetscape or any municipal matter. The first three on the other hand, i.e. the Mashrabiyya, FEDA and AKCS-E, are non-governmental organisations involved in area conservation and brought foreign funding to three historic areas in Historic Cairo. Each varies in its definition and approach to area conservation.

#### *-THE MASHRABIYYA:*

The first, Mashrabiyya, is headed by Dr. Asaad Nadim, a professor of Egyptian folklore and woodwork. He had a strong business relation with Kuwait where he managed to apply for a grant from the Arab Fund, a Kuwaiti-based fund for development and heritage safeguarding in Arab and Islamic countries. The grant was originally to restore the seventeenth-century mansion of al-Suhimi. The restoration work was extended to restore the contemporary mansion of Mustafa Gafar and the Khurazati House, located in between. The grant was equivalent to US \$ three million. Therefore the Mashrabiyya formulated a restoration team and started studies since 1994, working under the auspices of the SCA.

The project started officially in 1995. During the course of the restoration work, the team decided to expand their concern to resolve the critical and chronic causes responsible for the deterioration in al-Suhimi Mansion, i.e. the leakage of the sewage in al-Darb al-Asfar Street. That inspired the team to expand their concern to the street of al-Darb al-Asfar, conducting streetscape and beautifying elevations overlooking al-Darb al-Asfar, which was made possible through an extra grant from the same granting source (the Arab Fund) of another US \$ one million to fund for a scheme title ‘the Revitalisation of al-Darb

---

<sup>148</sup> This concept is accepted even if these associations or organisations do not have a strong pre-qualification to support their proposal, which is legitimised by Mr. Ayman Abdul Moniem (Historic Cairo Organisation, Ministry of Culture) when he mentioned that “they brought the fund, they brought the money”. A comment that he revealed when the researcher discussed with him the quality of the area conservation work of the Mashrabiyya team in al-Darb al-Asfar, interview, March, 2002. A similar comment was given by Mr. Mahmoud Yassin (Governor Deputy and co-ordinator of the Executive Committee), interview, April, 2002.

al-Asfar Area' (ill.6.19).<sup>149</sup> This is to say that the Mashrabiyya team started as a restoration team under the garment of the SCA and then they wanted to work on a neighbourhood scale, which demanded co-ordination with the municipal authorities, the *Hai* and the Governorate.



Ill. 6.19: Beautified and restored elevations overlooking al-Darb al-Asfar Street.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

The Mashrabiyya team, headed by Dr. Nadim, adopted an archaeological perspective when al-Darb al-Asfar was envisaged by the team. The importance of al-Suhimi Historical mansion located on the eastern part of al-Darb al-Asfar of the Street, together with the historical Mansion of al-Khurazati that is not registered by the SCA and Mustafa Gafar Mansion. Dr. Nadim aimed to “restore the area” as he revealed in the interview with the researcher. The area of al-Darb al-Asfar was to him a 120-metre-long street that contains three mansions of major architectural and historical values which will be dealt with, including its houses, as the way dealt with the historical mansions located on the eastern side of the street, i.e. dealing with the physical configurations of al-Darb al-Asfar. This concentration on the values of states implied complete neglect of the area’s values of processes expressed through the commercial and industrial activities of the area.

#### -Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

Conducting area conservation in al-Darb al-Asfar Street, the Mashrabiyya team were not aware of the traditional urban cumulative structure of the Islamic city, in which the mansions interrelate in a sophisticated form. The Arab-Islamic city hardly knew the concept of free-standing buildings. These considerations were not respected by the Mashrabiyya when dealing with the eastern wall of the historical mansion at the eastern

<sup>149</sup> Dr. Asaad Nadim, interview, August, 2001.

side of al-Darb al-Asfar Street, Gafar Mansion. The team removed six shops to expose insignificant stone masonry creating an urban gap along the eastern wall of Gafar Mansion on Muiz Street, see (ills. 6.16a,b).<sup>150</sup> Removing these shops is to deny the cumulative nature of the mixed activities and form as this area of al-Muiz Street is, until today, a very commercial active area. These shops were already there even before the construction of Gafar Mansion according to a deed written in the eighteenth century (Hassaballah, 2001, p. 167).

Regarding the functional integrity, al-Darb al-Asfar Street is located in the middle of an urban block where blacksmith workshops are concentrated (GOPP, 1991a, section 2, p. 34). This is because this area is adjacent to the northern part of al-Muiz Street, the main commercial and active thoroughfare in medieval Cairo, along which different guilds are distributed and the metal products, especially utensils made of brass and copper, are exhibited in various shops, see (ills.6.4a-c).<sup>151</sup> The copper has now been replaced by the aluminium workshops that are exhibited in the nearby shops in al-Muiz Street forming a socio-economic matrix that reflects the contemporary functional integrity of al-Darb al-Asfar with its surrounding urban fabric and that had its traditional traces. That was disregarded by the Mashrabiyya team. They regarded this type of activities in al-Darb al-Asfar as a hazardous activity. They tried to convince the shop owners to change their activities to sell soft drinks and souvenirs, which was the case even with the shops and workshops that are not located close to the historical mansions on the eastern side of al-Darb al-Asfar Street.<sup>152</sup>

On the other hand, the Mashrabiyya team used limestone and buff colour painting of the outer elevations of the houses over looking al-Darb al-Asfar Street to give a visually integrated image with the historical mansions. That was also complemented by street furniture made of limestone and street lamps with a nostalgic look, as well as reintroducing the street gate to al-Darb al-Asfar from its western side, al-Gamaliyya Street (ill.6.20).

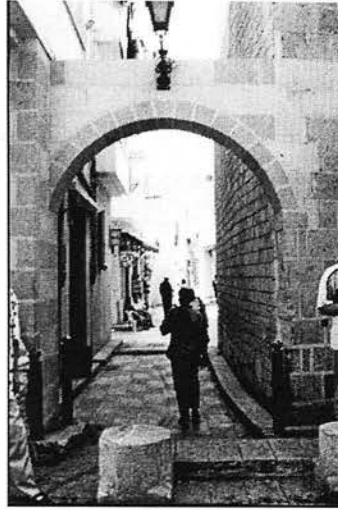
---

<sup>150</sup> See footnotes 129 and 130 above.

<sup>151</sup> Al-Darb al-Asfar Street is intersecting with al-Muiz Street close to al-Nahassin section (lit. the copper utensils makers), part of al-Muiz street.

<sup>152</sup> Information revealed by Mr. Samir Sharawi the owner of a metal and aluminium shop and workshop and Mr. Abdul Moniem the owner of a grocery shop in al-Darb al-Asfar, interview, August, 2001.





Ill. 6.20: Introduced nostalgic gate to the eastern entrance of al-Darb al-Asfar Street, from al-Gamaliyya Street.

The authenticity as an environmental quality is questioned also in the area conservation work conducted by the Mashrabiyya team. The streetscape and elevation painting was a work of beautification. The pedestrianisation of the whole street altered the mixed use character of the street, crippling the commercial activities on the eastern side where the historical mansions are located and the western one where many workshops and shops of aluminium utensils are located (ill.6.21).



Ill. 6.21: A lane of al-Darb al-Asfar Street that is pedestrianised, which deprives the workshop from the proper services.

The interventions introduced by the Mashrabiyya team and their approach did not consider the social demands of the financially venerable community especially in al-Darb al-Asfar Lane, off al-Darb al-Asfar Street. The team did not offer any social scheme that

can upgrade the environmental quality. The team for example did not offer any scheme or loan or incentive programmes to restore the private houses in the area (ills.6.22a-c).<sup>153</sup>

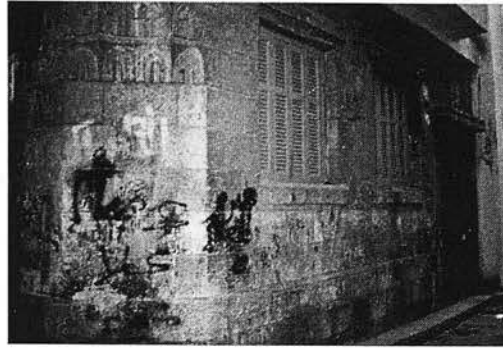


Ill. 6.22a: Painting the houses in al-Darb al-Asfar Street was the main goal regardless restoring them or dealing with their threatening, dilapidated condition.



Ill. 6.22b: Wall-baring houses with lethal cracks that can collapse are only painted; this example is located at 4 Atfat al-Darb al-Asfar, off al-Darb al-Asfar Street, where the historical houses are located.

<sup>153</sup> In interview with Mr. Yusuf, an old blind, retired employee living in 4 Atfat al-Darb al-Asfar (the lane off al-Darb al-Asfar Street) he exhibited the lethal cracks in his apartment and the whole building, which is also similar to many other buildings in the area especially those overlooking al-Darb al-Asfar Street that are painted only by the Mashrabiyya team. He maintained that the team changed the sewer system, paved the street and painted the elevation of his house but did not even buzzer to fix the manhole or the cracks or help him to do so while the craftsmen were already there. He is counting on charity in his living and he could not do this repairs. The manhole was fixed to him as a charity work by other neighbour to avoid falling dawn as he is blind and can be put in danger because of that. Yet the whole house, as well as many other houses in the area, is still endangered with cracks that were not repaired or studied by the Mashrabiyya team, see (ill.6.22b).



Ill. 6.22c: A house that is not painted because it is located on a small lane off al-Darb al-Asfar Street, i.e. away from the vision of the tourists normally heading the historical mansions.

On the other hand, the Mashrabiyya team, working under the umbrella of the SCA, managed to establish administrative co-ordination with the Governorate. In addition, using the fact that Mrs. Suzan Mubarak was to inaugurate the project, the area conservation and the restored houses, accelerated the censuses-issuing process.<sup>154</sup> Yet they did not establish an effective public institution that can maintain the houses or al-Darb al-Asfar after the departure of the team, as the NGO proposed and established by the team was not effective and was not paralleled with real concern with the benefit of the community as elaborated below.

The economic sustainability quality of the Mashrabiyya work is also questioned. The team pedestrianised the whole street and not only had the eastern part where the historical mansions are located which crippled the commercial activity in the street. They could not offer any alternative for the workshop owners as they did not integrate their activities in al-Darb al-Asfar Street with a wider context of, for example, al-Gamaliyya District where the street is located.<sup>155</sup> Voids were left, painting only their fences without developing them and create living units or public open spaces as elaborated in the GOPP study (GOPP, 1991a).

The housing stock was left painted from outside and dilapidated from inside jeopardising the inhabitants, see (ills.6.22a,b). Pedestrianising the whole street created a suitable environment for the cyclists to race on the street, which necessitated adding ramps and obstacles of an ugly shape to stop them, see (ills.6.19,20).<sup>156</sup> This could have been

<sup>154</sup> Dr. Asaad Nadim, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>155</sup> Mr Samir Sharawi maintained that he suffered EP 200,000 (US \$ 60,000) losses after the project due to this pedestrianisation that stopped him using his workshop and shop. Therefore, he sued the SCA who introduced the Mashrabiyya team to al-Darb al-Asfar Area. Mr. Sharawi presented the court documents to the researcher, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>156</sup> Dr. Asaad Nadim and Mr. Abdel Moniem, interviews, August, 2001.

avoided if the team pedestrianised the eastern part of the street where the historical mansions are located, while leaving the other parts for the mixed activities that could be put under control, using clean technology and effective fire detecting system. In addition, adding a gate on the western entry of the street and a stone streetscape on the eastern side of the street made it almost impossible for the fire engines and ambulances to enter easily the street and its side lanes (ills.6.19,20).

On the other hand, the sustainability of the restoration applied to the historical mansions was a quality that is well considered. For example the sewer of al-Darb al-Asfar was regarded as an important task needed to stop the chronic threat of water leakage affecting the foundations of the historical mansions. For this goal the Mashrabiyya did not wait or manage with the scheduled plan of sewer reform in the Governorate; rather they fixed it in co-ordination with the responsible department in Cairo Governorate. Moreover, the historical but not registered house of al-Khurazati located between al-Suhimi and Gafar Mansions was purchased by the Ministry of Culture and the residents, who were many poor families were reallocated in apartments owned by the Governorate but purchased by the Mashrabiyya team and sold to these families with especial wavering of the price of the offered units in addition to an extended mortgage to secure the two historical mansions that suffered a lot from the intensive water leakage coming from the Khurazati House.

#### -Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

Dealing with a small street, the Mashrabiyya is not in a position to act on a statutory level. It is supposed to be dealing on a detailed planning level with al-Darb al-Asfar Area, composed of al-Darb al-Asfar Street and the two off lanes, see fig. 6.2. This is due to the absence of a comprehensive planning strategy for the wider context, al-Gamaliyya District for example at the northern part of Historic Cairo. That was not the case and al-Mashrabiyya did not follow the 1973 or 189 schemes adopted by the Governorate and the GOPP neither complementing the proposed detailed study of the GOPP (GOPP, 1991a) or its principles. In addition there was no general character study of the area. Therefore there was no need to draw any line of designation as the work of elevation painting and street paving stretched along the street and the side lanes.

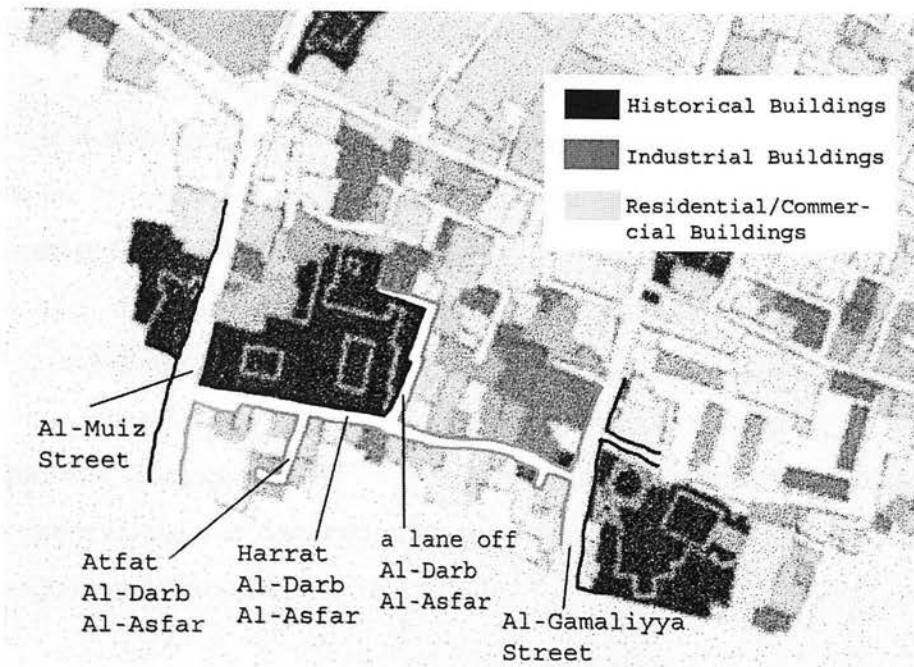


Fig.6.2. A map of Harrat al-Darb al-Asfar and its two off-lanes that shows the distribution of the historical and residential and industrial buildings.

On the other hand and on the action level, al-Mashrabiyya did not establish any partnership as they had financial sufficiency due to the Arab Fund grant. Moreover, they acted as the area conservation management unit without any partnership with any other organisations or individuals. Their work and communication with the SCA and the Governorate was for routine monitoring of the work progress and censuses needed for pedestrianising the street and changing the sewer system on it.

This work was pursued parallel to establishing communication with local residents of al-Darb al-Asfar. Yet, despite the claim that the local community was actively involved in area conservation through an established NGO, this was just an attempt of the team to claim for a form of community participation.<sup>157</sup> In fact the community of al-Darb al-Asfar received several visits from Dr. Nawal al-Missiri, an anthropologist and the wife of Dr. Nadim the head of the team. She was the head of the social programme in the project. The programme was translated into workshops and meeting with the community members to

<sup>157</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Asaad Nadim, interview, August, 2001. However in a field visit the researcher discovered that the NGO was a superficial attempt to be able to claim that the project had a kind of community participation. This became apparent after learning that the NGO was not officially registered and it was falsely claimed to be active by the Mashrabiyya team for which they rented a room as the headquarter in the lane of al-Darb al-Asfar where the up-keeping of the different houses in the Area can be discussed among the community members. That came to an end after one year, after the official inauguration and the termination of the renting contract of the NGO headquarter. Information revealed by Mr. Samir Sharawi, owner of a workshop in al-Darb al-Asfar Area, interview, August, 2001.

inform them about the historical value of the historical mansions and their architectural importance to prepare the community to the civilised intervention, the beautification of the street and the restoration of the historical mansions. Therefore, the type of community participation in this project is the informative one, the lower and less active participation type as defined in Chapter Four above.

The only documentation done in this project was a detailed architectural and historical documentation of the historical houses as well as technical report of their conditions and conservation needs. No detailed guidelines for urban or architectural development were produced. What was mainly aimed at is a report that documents the restoration process and the area conservation work outside the gates of the historical houses were just a small section, see SCA (2001).<sup>158</sup>

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

The Mashrabiyya team envisaged al-Darb al-Asfar almost as an isolated island. For example it regarded the industrial activities as hazardous and recommending their removal because the residents of al-Darb al-Asfar are not working in these workshops. This means Dr. Nadim overlooked the fact that the Gamaliyya District is a whole and al-Darb al-Asfar is part of where some of the residents of al-Darb al-Asfar are working in workshops in other neighbouring streets and vice versa. For example, in the GOPP study (GOPP, 1991a), al-Darb al-Asfar was selected as an action and a catalyst area to exemplify a comprehensive approach to revitalise al-Gamaliyya District as a whole. Even when al-Darb al-Asfar Area was discussed in this study, the whole block bounded by al-Dababiya Street to the north, al-Gamaliya Street to the west and al-Tumbakshiyya Street to the south and al-Muiz Street to the east, see (fig.2.2). This geographical zone is divided in the middle by al-Darb al-Asfar Street.

The Mashrabiyya, led by Dr. Nadim, pursued their area conservation through a monument-area approach. Their whole boundaries and focus was the 120-metre-street of al-Darb al-Asfar, extending their work of restoration to surpass the historical mansions to the area, which was defined by Dr. Nadim as 'area restoration' as elaborated above. The work pursued was beautification of the elevations overlooking al-Darb al-Asfar Street,

<sup>158</sup> Both the team of Mashrabiyya and the Ministry of Culture through the SCA were aiming at establishing an Egyptian school of architectural restoration through a documented work that can compete with the work of the long established foreign missions working in restoring Egyptian monuments for long time (SCA, 2001).

aiming at giving it a polished / 'civilised' look by painting all the walls with buff colour and paving the street with limestone.<sup>159</sup>

Despite the fact that the historical mansions are concentrated on the eastern side of the street while the rest of al-Darb al-Asfar are residential buildings and workshops, the Mashrabiyya team adopted the same approach, monument-area and beautification, for all the different parts of the street. Yet, the team was not that keen to paint the houses in Atfit al-Darb al-Asfar (a small dead-end lane off al-Darb al-Asfar Street) because it is not directly visible from the historical mansion side, i.e. they will not cause any visual disturbance for the visitors of the historical mansions (ill.6.22c).

*-FEDA:*

The Friends of Environment and Development Association (FEDA) is an NGO established by professors of architecture and environmental studies and lead by Prof. Adli Bishai, Dr. Milad Hanna, Dr. Baha al-Bakri and Magda Ebid. Those professors had established and conducted research in the Institute of Environmental Studies and Research, Ein Shams University in Cairo. Dr. Adli Bishai was the dean of the Desert Research Institute, the AUC. This group of specialised academicians have profound concern with sustainable and environmental development.<sup>160</sup> They wanted to pursue and participate in the revitalisation of Historic Cairo. That was made possible through their individual efforts, establishing FEDA NGO. It was funded by the Swiss-Egyptian Development Fund, which was made possible through the individual efforts and connections of the above academic team with the Swiss Government.<sup>161</sup> FEDA, then, applied with its project to upgrade the Gamaliyya District, with al-Tumbakshiyya Street as an action area to the Executive Committee, Cairo Governorate. The latter accepted their proposal, especially because they brought the grant and were not going to cost the government any financial burden.<sup>162</sup> FEDA also became a representative with a member in the Executive Committee, being

---

<sup>159</sup> Mr. Nicolas Warner, ironically, brought the researcher's attention to the fact that almost all the restoration projects and area conservation conducted under the umbrella of the SCA and the Ministry of Culture in general are using the buff colour calling it, 'heritage colour' because of its resemblance to stone but this is a very romantic perspective, also unauthentic, for medieval Cairo was famous with its gay colours as pinpointed by many travellers in the nineteenth century.

<sup>160</sup> Dr. Milad Hanna, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>161</sup> Reported by Said Halwi, *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2002, p.14 and Mr. Ahmed Yassir (senior planner in the GOPP who was commissioned by the FEDA team to be a member of the NGO and a senior planner of the action area project, 'The upgrading of al-Tumbakshiyya Street'), Workshop, 2001.

<sup>162</sup> Revealed by Prof. Taha Abdullah as a member in the Executive Committee, interview, 2001.

considered as a voluntary involved body concerned with environmental quality experts who are already involved in a project conducted in a very critical spot in Historic Cairo.<sup>163</sup>

Unlike the Mashrabiyya team, FEDA approached Historic Cairo in a comprehensive way, focusing on Gamaliyya District that was regarded as the most endangered part of Historic Cairo. Therefore, they chose to upgrade the environmental quality of the Gamaliyya Area, as well as safeguarding the traditional crafts in this historical area. They selected al-Tumbakshiyya Street, close and parallel to al-Darb al-Asfar Street and intersecting with al-Muiz Street. Upgrading al-Tumbakshiyya Street is the action area of FEDA team as a pilot project for a comprehensive upgrading in al-Gamaliyya District. The project is still under implementation (ill.6.23a, b).

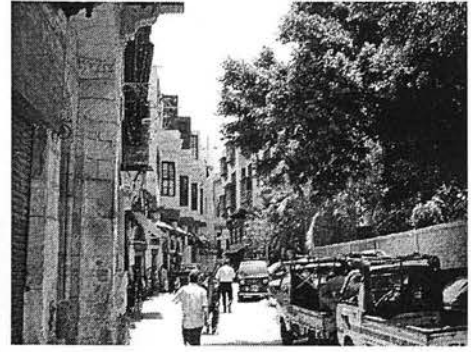
---

<sup>163</sup> Mr. Mahmoud Yassin, interview, April, 2002.





Ill. 6.23a: The eastern entrance of al-Tumbakshiyya a street from al-Gamaliyya Street; this part is full of historical buildings.



Ill. 6.23b: The western part of al-Tumbakshiyya Street from al-Muiz Street; the metal-sheet trade and workshop is concentrated on that part to the left.

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

The historical area to the FEDA team is a phenomenon that is composed of physical entities (historical buildings) and the community. The area character and significance is made and envisaged through the people of that area.<sup>164</sup> However, the economic and cultural aspects of the area are only considered if they are traditional crafts, e.g., turned wood and decorative work and souvenirs, as the team still considering the metal small industries and metal sheet trade in the area inappropriate.<sup>165</sup> The historical area is also envisaged as a potential venue for investment and development through using the urban voids and gaps and dilapidated structures.<sup>166</sup>

#### -Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

FEDA has conducted its work in al-Tumbakshiyya Street respecting its original and complementing urban fabric, i.e. respecting the structural integrity of the area. They also filled the gaps in the areas they dealt with, e.g., they reconstructed Wakalat Kahla (a mall) (ill.6.24), a historical but unregistered building by the SCA and owned by the Ministry of Awqaf on Gamaliyya Street close to al-Tumbakshiyya Street. However, the functional

<sup>164</sup> Mr. Ahmed Yassir, questionnaire-workshop and the open meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>165</sup> That was confirmed by Mr. Darwish an owner of a shop in al-Tumbakshiyya Street that deal in metal sheet and never produce or cut them in his shop, revealing that the team convinced him to leave the street and that they warned him that his trade might be considered hazardous by the Governorate and the municipal authorities. This also happened with Mr. Mohamed Fuad who is an old tenant of the ground floor in Wikalat al- Zitun who was trading in flour but he was evacuated as the whole *Wikala* (mall) was demolished and he will be removed together with other workshops to another *Wikala* outside al-Tumbakshiyya Street, Mr. Darwish and Mr. Mohamed Fuad, interviews, June, 2003.

<sup>166</sup> Similar the market-oriented conservation approach of Ian Strange (1999), pinpointed in Chapter Three above.

integrity is questioned as the team envisaged the area as a historical area with a mixed use character.



Ill. 6. 24: Wakalat Kahla, located on Gamaliyya Street, close to al-Tumbakshiyya Street, where all the reallocated workshops from al-Tumbakshiyya are transferred to.

Yet FEDA team disregarded the fact that the urban block, including al-Darb al-Asfar and al-Tumbakshiyya Streets are the quarter long known for metal industry (GOPP, 1991a, section 2, p. 34) to be exhibited on the nearby al-Muiz Street, see (ills.6.4a-c).<sup>167</sup> However, the team restored and reconstructed a nearby *wakala* building (an industrial-commercial mall) located on Gamaliyya Street where the team offered to reallocate the workshops in al-Tumbakshiyya.<sup>168</sup> Despite the fact that this might alter the functional integrity of al-Tumbakshiyya Street, FEDA team reallocated the workshops to a nearby area not to affect the community or workforce in the area. On the other hand, the treatment of the elevations and the reconstruction of Wikalat Kahla came in a visually integrated appearance, complementing the Ottoman architectural style of the buildings in the area.

Despite the fact that the metal manufacturing trade and industry is going to be grouped in the nearby Wikalat Kahla building, acting as a small industrial complex, the area has not lost its mixed use activities as other crafts and workshops will replace them as well as filling the gaps in the urban fabric of the area, replacing the dilapidated buildings and introducing development opportunities in the area, as the case of the removed Wikalat al-Zitun. This will contribute to the liveability and the mixed use character of the area.

<sup>167</sup> See footnote 151 above.

<sup>168</sup> FEDA reconstructed Wikalat Kahla on Gamaliyya Street in co-ordination with the Ministry of Awqaf and the Governorate to be able to reallocate the workshops regarded as hazardous and that are not producing traditional artefacts and crafts. Wikalat Kahla was prepared to accommodate 70 workshops in addition to nine shops on the Gamaliyya Street in addition to facilities and a coffee shop, Said Halwi, *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2002, p.14.

The quality of sustainability of the work conducted by FEDA team can be traced on a social level. The team pursued their work while considering the area's character and the industrial activities in which, suggesting proposal to alter the activities within the action area (Tumbakshiyya Street) while offering an alternative within Historic Cairo in an industrial complex (Wikalat Kahla). FEDA started the project through the Executive Committee in the Governorate and thus, became able to establish co-ordination with other represented organisations involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo, especially the Ministry of Awqaf that owns most of the historical buildings and the dilapidated structures and vacant spots targeted for development by FEDA team. This facilitated the implementation of the area conservation work in the area.

Furthermore, the team has introduced development opportunities through the vacant land and restored structures for investment, which is an economic asset to the area. Meanwhile, the team has pursued its work without jeopardising the historical environment in the area. Yet, they were not as sensitive when they dealt with the individual houses, which are not historical. For example, when the team was demolishing the dilapidated structure of Wikalat al-Zaitun they used a bulldozer insensitively, which caused major cracks in an adjacent residential building (ill.6.25).<sup>169</sup> This indicates that the team is only sensitive and achieve sustainable results only with potential units, historical one, but not as keen when dealing with the individual properties and ownership. This might define the lack of the community actual involvement which is elaborated below.



Ill. 6.25: Insensitive demolition of Wikalat al-Zaitun has a negative physical impact on the surrounding residential buildings in al-Tumbakshiyya Street.

<sup>169</sup> Mr. Darwish and Mr. Mohamed Fuad attracted the researcher's attention to this incident in the interviews in June, 2003, which was confirmed by the researcher through field observation.

-Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

The team focused on al-Tumbakshiyya Street and the problems of reallocating the workshops and the residents of the demolished Wikalat al-Zaitun. They did not focus on introducing statutory planning. Thus, they acted as a management unit that is concerned with the upgrading of al-Tumbakshiyya Street, even when dealing with the nearby Wikalat Kahla on Gamaliyya Street, converting it into an industrial complex accommodate the workshops removed from al-Tumbakshiyya Street. The team did not deal with any legislative problem on a macro scale (covering Historic Cairo or the whole Gamaliyya, e.g. boundaries of a designated area or an especial safeguarding zone). It worked under the umbrella of the Executive Committee, i.e. considering the 1973 and 1989 schemes and the general guidelines of the GOPP, which did not give any detailed studies for al-Tumbakshiyya Street. That was made possible through the participation of architect, Ahmed Yassir as a member in the FEDA, who is also a senior planner at the GOPP.

On the action level, the partnership established through effective co-ordination among FEDA, the Ministry of al-Awqaf (the owner of Wikalat Kahla that is almost demolished and abandoned without any control from the SCA) and the Governorate has facilitated the implementation of the upgrading in al-Tumbakshiyya Street. Yet no partnership with individuals, e.g., private investors or even the local community was conducted. However, the planning of the area conservation work conducted in al-Tumbakshiyya was pursued through community consultation. These consultations were to learn about the needs and the actual demands of the community to guide the interventions introduced by the team as came in the industrial complex in Wikalat Kahla to group the metal industries removed from al-Tumbakshiyya Street, as well as a cultural centre and a library and a computer facilities needed by the people of the area.

The project, however, did not produce any detailed studies or documents that illustrate the different assets of the area, neither proposing any classification nor listing system or any proposed detailed guidelines for any future development. The team is concerned mainly with the physical implementation to achieve tangible results. That came through the restoration of Wikalat Kahla and co-ordinating with the Governorate to offer new residential units for the residents evacuated from Wikalat al-Zaitun and the other

workshops whose industrial activities are regarded as unsuitable for the street. This paved the way with the community to be secured which made the implementation phase of the upgrading of al-Tumbakshiyya Street feasible.

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

Despite the fact that the FEDA team has not tried to revive any cultural or traditional urban management system as those discussed in Chapter Four above, they followed a relatively responsive approach to area conservation. While they dealt with the upgrading of al-Tumbakshiyya Street, which contains some historical buildings and some remaining ground floor shops and workshops from partially demolished historical malls (*wikalas*), in a restrictive way removing the metal industry from the street, they allowed them in a nearby street, Gamaliyya, but in an organised and controlled way to avoid any environmental hazardous. This is due to the fact that al-Tumbakshiyya Street contains valuable historical buildings, especially in its western side where some workshops on it were removed. In its eastern side it is adjacent to an eleven-century mosque (al-Aqmar) from the Fatimid Period and it is of architectural and historical values which necessitated removing any dilapidated structure close to it and replacing them with appropriate development (currently under planning). In addition al-Tumbakshiyya is classified within the Heritage Corridor, introduced in the UNDP 1997 study mentioned in Chapter Four, which necessitates relatively restrictive guidelines and area conservation approach. In the case of the Gamaliyya Street which a bit further to the east, there are many dilapidated buildings that are ruins already, even if they were of an historical value their physical condition today could promote them for de-listing as explained in Chapter Four, which encourage the team to deal with it in a more creative and less restrictive approach compared to that followed in al-Tumbakshiyya Street.

-AKCS-E:

The Aga Khan Organisation is an international foundation concerned with Islamic cities, especially architecture. It is also distinguished with its prestigious architectural and conservation prizes awarded to the projects conducted in Islamic cities. The Organisation established the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) in 1988. The Trust developed a especial programme for area conservation in 1992 known as the Historic Cities Support Programme (HCSP). The main scope of the programme is to improve the living conditions

and simultaneously enhance the built environment in selected historic areas—accepting and controlling change in a way that is compatible with both the heritage of the past and the present and future needs of the inhabitants who are to maintain that heritage. This is sought through mutual support to cultural enrichment and socio-economic improvement to achieve meaningful architecture and urban settings (AKTC, 1992, pp.1, 2).

The programme, which came as a result of long pre-qualifications of the Organisation in urban upgrading and conservation, addressed Historic Cairo (HCSP, 1992). The Programme introduced the proposal of a park, known as al-Azhar Park, as it was close to al-Azhar Mosque, adjacent to the eastern borders of Fatimid Cairo and Historic Cairo in general. The park was meant to be the gift of H.H. Karim Aga Khan,<sup>170</sup> introduced to Historic Cairo that offer a necessary green area in its very dense urban fabric as early as 1990.<sup>171</sup>

The organisation also concerned with the area adjacent to the proposed park (Darb Shughlan and parts of al-Darb al-Ahmar area in general) which needed to be developed as they were severely deteriorated. To pursue such a project the Near East Foundation (NEF) branch in Cairo was enlisted to co-ordinate with the Aga Khan Organisation. The latter established a project management unit, Aga Khan Cultural Services (AKCS-E), co-ordinating with a community based body known as the Development of al-Darb al-Ahmar Limited as elaborated below, to pursue the design and implementation of the park project and the urban upgrading of al-Darb al-Ahmar, including Darb Shoughlan that is also known as Aslam Mosque Neighbourhood adjacent to the Park.

The area where the park was proposed had been used as a garbage dumping area full of mounds of garbage that covered three huge water tanks. The site of the park was officially submitted to the Aga Khan Organisation in 1997.<sup>172</sup>

#### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

Being an area adjacent to Fatimid Cairo, the walled city and the famous tourist hot spot in Islamic Cairo, al-Darb al-Ahmar area is not only envisaged by the AKCS-E as a vessel of valuable traditional architecture and urban fabric. The AKCS-E team envisaged

<sup>170</sup> This present to be introduced to Cairo came as a contribution made by H.H. the Aga Khan to support Cairo during the activities of the UNESCO conference held in Cairo 1980, Dr. Mohamed Mikawi, August, interview 2002.

<sup>171</sup> Mr. Mohamed Abdel-Hafiz and Dr. Mohamed Mikawi, interviews, August, 2002.

<sup>172</sup> Dr. Mohamed Mikawi, interview, August, 2002.

al-Darb al-Ahmar from a holistic perspective that does not divide its urban spatial structure from the current activities. It also considers, on an equal foot, the historical and architectural value of the monuments punctuating al-Darb al-Ahmar that are distributed unevenly in different areas, as well as the social and cultural values distinguishing the area. For example, when dealing with Aslam Mosque Neighbourhood (ill.6.26), Darb Shoughlan Area, the team concerned with the fourteenth-century Mosque of Aslam as well as its current ritual role and the open space before it that is still the venue where some *Sufi* ritual ceremonies and practices.<sup>173</sup>



Ill. 6.26: Darb Shughlan, the main action area in al-Darb al-Ahmar with one historical monument, a fourteenth-century mosque (Aslam Mosque).

Consequently, the AKCS-E team appreciates both the values of states and processes. Moreover, detailed studies are pursued to grasp the actual essence of the social matrix and bonds distinguishing the area (see, Ibrahim, 1997). For example the team is aware and reflects in its designs the concept of the extended family that is still the predominant mode in the area as many families have been living in the area for 100 and 150 years inheriting the same craft, most of which are contemporary crafts that are associated with daily activities, e.g., the area produces 50-60% of the shoes sold in Cairo.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Mr. Karim Ibrahim, open Meeting, September, 2001.

<sup>174</sup> Mr. Karim Ibrahim, Open Meeting, September, 2001 and Mr. Mohamed Abdel-Hafiz, interview, August, 2002.

-Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

The quality of integrity is highly considered by the team that is concerned with introducing minimal interventions that are knowledge based.<sup>175</sup> The structural integrity of the medieval accumulative composition of the city expressed through the integration of the houses with the historic walls (the Eastern Walls of the Fatimid Cairo) along the walls in Darb Shughlan Area was not regarded as violation against the historical walls, see (ill.6.14).<sup>176</sup> It is possible to find such integration and the accumulation of houses on historical walls in historic towns as the case of Old Damascus and Aleppo. Therefore the team modified the houses, changing the location of the toilets that caused a water threat to the historical walls while keeping the relationship of the houses and walls the same.<sup>177</sup>

Moreover, the team studied the spatial structure of the urban fabric of al-Darb al-Ahmar, defining its social association, as well as its functions. The proposed intervention of the team was to maintain the current spatial structure of al-Darb al-Ahmar and only upgrade the environmental quality of its open spaces. The associated functions, use, of these spaces are studied suggesting preserving the current industries, e.g. manufacturing furniture, leather shoes and tents and textiles, to be practiced in the main thoroughfares running through the urban fabric of al-Darb al-Ahmar. The team is also filling the vacant plots that are dilapidated or ruinous after the earthquake in 1992. This dilapidation and deteriorated environment forced the workshops to penetrate the residential streets and lanes off the main thoroughfares where they are originally located. This created hazardous conflict between activities. Therefore, the suggested proposal was to re-organise this conflict in spatial-functional matrix, reallocating the workshops back to where they were originally were few decades or even years ago and restore the predominant residential nature of the less integrated neighbourhoods in al-Darb al-Ahmar (AKCS-E, 1999). Another example is the case of al-Tablita Market, the vegetable market supporting the nutritious needs of a wide zone of al-Darb al-Ahamr and al-Azhar Areas (ill.6.26). Despite the attempts pursued by some jewellers to gentrify the area trying the convince the Governor to sell the market ground to them especially while the market place is very close

<sup>175</sup> Dr. Dina Shehayeb, interview, September 2000.

<sup>176</sup> The AKCS-E team legitimised this claim when studying archival photos from the nineteenth century illustrating the historical wall with houses over which, Mr. Karim Ibrahim presented a photo dated to 1892 of the historical walls with houses integrating with it, Open Meeting, 2001.

<sup>177</sup> Mr. Karim Ibrahim, Open Meeting, September, 2001.



to al-Azhar Mosque and al-Azhar Street with a land value that worth around EP 100,000 (US \$ 28,000) per square meter, the AKCS-E supported the constitutional right of the market tenants to keep an essential amenity for the residents of the area.<sup>178</sup>

Unlike the previous actors involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo, the team did not prioritise the visual integrity. The social and economic dimensions were pursued first to create a strong basis for sustainable development of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area. The monuments were not compromised but the polished walls with glossy appearance of the historic area were not achieved as it was never targeted. Rather, the team started slowly to emphasise what has been recognised as buildings of especial value, most of which date back to the turn of the twentieth century.

Therefore, the team dealt with the area with its contemporary givens, while respecting its historical value that showed in its monuments, many of which are still in use or been considered for more community-integrated adoptive reuse. The minimal interventions were to avoid any substantial alteration of the area's character. The team consider it equally important to safeguard the artistic crafts in the area, such as the souvenir workshop, as well as manufacturing leather products and textiles sold to a wide range of Cairenes and even to many Egyptians of the middle and lower middle classes who regard al-Darb al-Ahamr as a public commercial area. This was politically possible, despite the governmental paradigm that envisaged historic areas as a touristic mine to exploit, due to the fact that al-Darb al-Ahmar is not close to the tourist hot spots in Cairo close to al-Azhar Square and Khan al-Khalili (the famous historical souvenir market).

Sustainability, as an environmental quality, was secured on various levels: social (cultural /administrative), economic and environmental. On the social one, the team was aware of the social and cultural matrix and values due to intensive and field investigations. The families in the area have shared and developed social bonds and economic ones that can be investigated in a substantial degree of integration and social and economic links; thus, the team avoids any removal of workshops or houses, keeping that option to the minimum. Rather upgrading and creating development loans was an alternative that proven its economic feasibility.

---

<sup>178</sup> Dr. Ashraf Botrus, interview, August, 2002.

On an administrative level, the AKCS-E managed to establish an effective, grass-rooted management system for urban upgrading. That was supported by protocols and official co-operation agreements held with the most influential governmental institutions that have legal authority to control and to monitor or even to stop work in al-Darb al-Ahmar, i.e., the Governorate and the Ministry of Culture as elaborated below.

As maintained above the pursued upgrading complementing the social systems and values in al-Darb al-Ahmar suggested different social schemes that has proven financial feasibility. For example, restoring the houses and changing the sewage systems and redoing the infrastructure in the action area, Darb Shoughlan, was much cheaper than relocating the people to new areas.<sup>179</sup> In addition, the vacant plots and demolished buildings will be rebuilt according to accurate guidelines to offer potential future expansion and growth. The pursued projects meant job opportunities as well. For example the different upgrading and restoration projects in al-Darb al-Ahmar had started with 100% work power from outside al-Darb al-Ahmar and by 2001 70% of it became from al-Darb al-Ahmar, see section 4.1.2.b and (ill.4.4) in Chapter Four.<sup>180</sup> That was all pursued without compromising the historical monuments or the environmental quality of the mixed use and residential quarters in al-Darb al-Ahmar.<sup>181</sup>

#### -Area Conservation Process (Statutory and Action Processes):

On the statutory level, the AKCS-E pursued a comprehensive environmental study, which could be considered an extensive area character appraisal, i.e. (Ibrahim, 1997). For which, Dr. Ibrahim and his consultancy (CDC) were commissioned to produce an extensive survey, covering the social, cultural and environmental (architectural and urban) conditions. The CDC used the PRA technique, see section 4.1.2.b, to define the actual and most necessary interventions needed for the community and the environmental upgrading.

On the other hand, the concept of area designation is not institutionally recognised or supported by any law or decree to give it the nature of an area demands especial planning as elaborated in Chapter Four. However, al-Darb al-Ahmar and al-Azhar Areas has obvious topographical/ administrative boundaries, taking a triangle form with its base

<sup>179</sup> Mr. Karim Ibrahim, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>180</sup> Mr. Ahmed Abdou, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>181</sup> Mr. Karim Ibrahim maintained that the team targeted the environmental upgrading, i.e. developing services and amenities, physical conditions of the housing stock and the environmental quality of the open spaces, interview, August, 2002.

along the Azhar Street, the eastern boundaries are located along the newly introduced Park of al-Azhar and Mohamed Ali Street to the west. Therefore the team has well defined administrative boundaries. However the team was not only interested in developing these areas. It was rather taking this area as a venue to illustrate a comprehensive and integrated development model to apply in Historic Cairo. Thus the team intended from the beginning to document its experience, producing general guidelines and recommendations for future urban upgrading projects in Historic Cairo.<sup>182</sup>

To achieve such goals and to produce necessary reports, designs and planning decisions as well as implementing their recommendations and tasks a central urban management unit was established. That was achieved through a two-tiered system of management. The first is an advisory committee responsible for defining the main needs of the area to be upgraded as well as ensuring broad public consensus. That was achieved in collaboration with the NEF, establishing al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited organising the work and the involvement of the local community and their involvement in decision making and implementing the social and economic upgrading schemes. The second tier is a technical planning one responsible for translating the community's broad targets and decisions into conceptual and more detailed plans of actions, represented through the AKCS-E unit that also pursue its main project, al-Azhar Park.

On the action level, it was essential to establish a legal basis for the team to be able to pursue its projects and ensure real and safe involvement of the local community. That was achieved through a governmental institutional recognition, which was realised through co-ordination with the Governor who accepted the AKCS-E as a decentralised urban upgrading team, and not merely involved in area conservation projects of limited geographical zones as FEDA or Mashrabiyya on a street scale. The Governor agreed to deal as a development partner with the AKCS, changing his regular call for beautification and heritage safeguarding and the 'civilised' look, which is needed to be adapted to a more community-oriented approach. He adopted the AKCS's principles and approaches to development in the press interviews, promoting for social upgrading schemes as those adopted in al-Darb al-Ahmar Area, which are introduced and implemented by the AKCS-E

---

<sup>182</sup> This intention/ motivation was discussed and co-ordinated with the Governorate, Dr. Dina Shehayeb, interview, August, 2000. It was also declared by the AKCS-E report (1999, p.4) in their detailed study to upgrade Darb Shughlan Area as a model for future rehabilitation action in similar distressed areas.

but he could talk them as they acquired the legitimacy of the Governorate.<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, the Governor did not maintain his alliance when he wanted to refresh the Southern Traffic Access that was supposed to cut al-Darb al-Ahmar running parallel to the historical eastern walls adjacent to the introduced Park, which meant demolishing Darb Shughlan that is the main action area of the AKCS-E, see footnotes 40 and 97 above and 205 below.

Moreover, a protocol was signed with the SCA in May 1999 to restore the monuments in the area as well as to give the team the legal right to pursue an integrated and a comprehensive upgrading of the area and the buildings adjacent and laying on the historical walls. That was an essential legal step to take as the SCA has the right demand the demolition of all buildings adjacent to the historical walls, that was only discovered in 1998 when digging the ground of the Park area. This could have meant the removal of Darb Shughlan the area along the historical walls and the newly introduced Park. Therefore the SCA has to agree upon their approach that intended to keep the houses over the walls after treating them to remove any threat against the stones of the walls.<sup>184</sup>

The AKCS-E team considered the community as its main partner through loan schemes and involving the community in its different plans and schemes for upgrading under a legal form, al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited. Thus the community was effectively involved not only through effective consultation as the case during the preparation of the area appraisal adopting the PRA approach, but also through effective participation in decision making. For example in the case of al-Tablita Market, the representatives of the vegetable dealers grouped with the AKCS-E technical team to decide together the effective design needed and to discuss how to accommodate the textile merchants, who will be reallocated from al-Ghuriyya Area, in their market.<sup>185</sup> This was almost always the case with other groups and community members through different interviews with groups through public debates or with individuals during the detailed upgrading studies on the action areas projects. Furthermore, the community developed with the AKCS-E team another level of involvement through granted training for

---

<sup>183</sup> Reported by Nadiya Yusuf (2002).

<sup>184</sup> Mr. Abdel-Khaliq Mukhtar and Mr. Adel Abdel-Sattar, interviews, September, 2002.

<sup>185</sup> That was organised by Dr. Ashraf Botrus, who confirmed that the design of al-Tablita Market was guided by the vegetable dealers' demands and recommendations. For example when they learnt about the textile dealers who will share them the market and that they will be accommodated on the first floor they recommended that the textile merchants will have their separate entrances and loading area which caused radical changes in the design and the AKCS-E team complied with that demand considering which an essential design criteria to secure sustainable effectiveness of the performance of the market in the future, interview, August, 2002.

restoration; thus many members from the community started to develop a physical contact with the historical monuments as restorers and in different investigations and research activities pursued to design and implement different upgrading interventions.

The team pursued an accurate system of documentation defining the buildings of especial architectural value, most of which are from the turn of the twentieth century. Given that there is no national listing or architectural classification, such as class A, B or C, the team was after defining the building of relatively an obvious architectural character, by preserving which a distinctive character of the neighbourhood, where they are located, might be restored. The priority, rather, is given to those buildings that suffer severe threat. The same goes to the areas defined as especial zones of work, action areas, in al-Darb al-Ahmar and al-Azhar Areas under the urban development led by the AKCS-E. The last defined the action areas using a system similar to that defined in Chapter Four above, specifying four main action areas: al-Azhar Lane, al-Khiyyamiyya Area (tent-maker market), Bab al-Wazir Street and the area along the newly introduced al-Azhar Park (which is the area along the discovered eastern historic walls that is known as Aslam Mosque Neighbourhood or Darb Shoughlan Area) (UNDP, 1997, p.75), see (ills. 3.6b, 6.26).

Because of the project of the Park and the archaeological value of the discovered eastern walls the area along that wall was given much emphasis. Thus Darb Shughlan Area was the main action area of the project for which detailed guidelines were developed, i.e. AKCS-E (1999). A study focused on all the houses in the area, specifying the 125 houses, studying the physical composition and status of the architecture and the urban fabric of the area and its relation with the historical Mosque of Aslam, a plot by plot study (AKCS-E, 1999, p. 9). In addition, a detailed social survey was pursued to cover the social and cultural preferences and financial abilities.

This detailed study illustrated development guidelines through giving samples of development of some of the deteriorated houses and give guidelines for future development. On the financial level, the loan programmes designed, managed and offered by al-Darb al-Ahmar Limited offered strong incentives for the community to restore their houses and to develop the area on grass-roots level. These loan programmes were for income-generating activities (normally small loans for small businesses from EP100-3000), Bank-guaranteed loans (up to EP 15,000) and housing credit loans (for restoring the

houses while the AKCS-E team would offer free consultations).<sup>186</sup> Yet, there were no legal recommendations or any proposal for an urban design Act; however the team considered the whole project as a pilot attempt to illustrate a model approach to dealing with deteriorated areas that can be adopted in other similar cases as maintained above.

The implementation of the different upgrading schemes in al-Darb al-Ahmar was accompanied by community involvement, training them and involving them in some jobs as maintained above. Thus, a strong association between the community and the comprehensive rehabilitation scheme of al-Darb al-Ahmar was created and maintained by the official development limited that studied carefully the actual community needs, giving financial support through loans which increased the involvement of the community and the rehabilitation scheme. This paved the way for a smooth implementation process that is supported by the local community.

#### -Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

The AKCS-E team did not adopt or revitalise any traditional urban management system. The team was satisfied with establishing an effective community involvement through an organised establishment, al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited. To a certain extent the work conducted and the community participation was encouraged. However, the community participation was not achieved through any of the traditional institutions more embedded in the traditional culture of the community of al-Darb al-Ahmar, such as the *Mukhtar* (officially recognised popular leader) that is a still surviving urban management system that secure community involvement in Old Damascus, see Chapter One. The community representative as the link with the urban municipal authorities (known as al-*Muhtasib* and his subordinates known as *Shikh al-Harrah* in Historic Cairo or *al-Mukhtar* in the Fertile Crescent Region), the case revitalised in El-Sawira Historic town in Morocco and even in the spontaneous quarters in Manshiyyat Nasir close to Historic Cairo, where the community leader (usually an older person elected by the local community) is a social and urban management institution that is revitalised currently to achieve sustainable development that complement the cultural values of the local communities where area conservation or urban regeneration projects are implemented in the Arab-Islamic cities.

---

<sup>186</sup> Mr. Khalid Kamal, interview, August, 2001.

Meanwhile, the AKCS-E team did not revitalise such urban management institutions. They rather established al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited, employing local youth, who are actually young local activists and not community leaders. Those youth were named 'community leaders'. They were trained to conduct social 'investigation' and spread the awareness of the environmental quality in the area. Despite the effectiveness of this system in collecting the information necessary for comprehensive upgrading, those young local activists are actually field researchers. Consequently, the local community is not taking the lead and it is still patronised by the NEF which has taken over and dominated planning for community upgrading and decide its different activities.<sup>187</sup>

The team adopted a responsive approach similar to the FWP, introduced in Chapter Four. While pursuing a comprehensive scheme, community-oriented, in the first action area (Darb Shughlan) and al-Tablita Market, the team focused on restoration and relatively more restricted architectural guidelines in al-Azhar Lane and Bab al-Wazir Streets where more than 23 monuments are to be found. This varies according to the context (the action area). For example the first two areas have few monuments and they are associated with social activities and amenities essential for the people of al-Darb al-Ahmar and al-Azhar Areas. On the other hand al-Azhar Lane (ill.6.27) and Bab al-Wazir are nothing but galleries of Islamic architecture where complete rows of historical malls, collective housing, mosques and monasteries that date back to the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods, fourteenth- eighteenth centuries. However, even in such historically valuable areas the AKCS-E considered the role of the community, which became apparent when the team restored the Khayer Bek Complex (ill.6.28) (a late thirteenth- sixteenth century accumulative historical complex located in Bab al-Wazir Area) and proposed it to be reused as a community centre to help the people of Bab al-Wazir.<sup>188</sup> The whole area under development pursued by the AKCS-E adopted an integrated planning approach, through which the inhabitants of areas suffering high density and limited job opportunities were

---

<sup>187</sup> Mr. Ahmed Abdu criticised the NEF for the deficiency of its interference as the main planner and strategies maker of community development, which he encountered in some of proposed schemes which he and some community members proposed but the NEF crippled or denied sometimes, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>188</sup> Mr. Seif al-Rashidi, interview, August, 2001.

trained to participate in revitalisation in deteriorated historical areas creating necessary job opportunities.<sup>189</sup>



Ill. 6.27: Al-Azhar Lane and al-Tablita vegetable market to the right, behind Abu al-Zahab and al-Azhar Mosque. The Tablita Market is the main food market in the area.



Ill. 6.28: Khayir Bek Complex, Bab al-Wazir, al-Darb al-Ahmar Area.

#### 6.4.1. j. Ministry of Social Affairs.

The Ministry of Social Affairs is not directly involved in area conservation. It was invited by the Governorate to pursue social studies of the community members inhabiting Bab al-Nasr Cemetery when it was partially removed to construct Galal Street, the Northern Traffic Access (ills 6.1a, b).<sup>190</sup> Since then the Ministry of Social Affairs is represented in the Executive Committee.

#### 6.4.1. k. Ministry of Environment.

It also has no direct influence in area conservation projects in Historic Cairo. Despite being a member in the Executive Committee to watch the environmental hazards caused by unsuitable activities, it does not play an active role.<sup>191</sup> This is because it is already preoccupied with the air pollution caused in rural areas in Egypt and not giving

<sup>189</sup> Mr. Seif al-Rashidi, interview, August, 2001 and Mr. Mohamed Abdel-Hafiz, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>190</sup> Mr. Mahmoud Yassin, interview, April, 2002.

<sup>191</sup> Prof. Yahya al-Zini, interview, July, 2001.



much concentration to the urban public spaces' environmental qualities as its counterparts in Europe, bearing in mind that such a Ministry has only been recently founded. In addition, even when the Ministry defines environmental hazards it is sometimes difficult to respond legally to such violations.

#### 6.4.1. 1. Legislation.

Tautology is the bureaucratic basis that defines and controls development and legitimise and organise interventions and the role of each actor involved in area conservation in Cairo. No law can be constitutional unless its draft is submitted to the technical office of the General Organisation for Legal Consultations and Legislations at the National Supreme Court to review it and transfers it to the Parliament to be confirmed. Any draft is produced by the concerned Ministry. Nevertheless, there has not been any proposal submitted by any of the Ministries involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo since the beginning of its current area conservation project to the National Supreme Court to be reviewed.<sup>192</sup> This would make Act 3 (issued in 1983 regarding urban design and built environment management) and Act 117 (issued in 1982 regarding antiquities and historical sites) the only two active laws and legislative reference to area conservation work in Egypt in general.

However, there are some current attempts by the Ministries of Housing and Culture to update these laws and to propose restructuring of their influence and roles played in area conservation. In the case of the Ministry of Culture, there are some attempts to acquire more influence and control over conservation and public spaces in Historic Cairo and Egypt in general.<sup>193</sup> Even the updates of the GOPP guidelines to be integrated and develop the currently adopted 1973 and 1989 schemes are not submitted to the National Supreme Court or the parliament to avoid any political or public inconveniences.<sup>194</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup> Mr. Al-Said al-Hussaini, the head of the technical office, the General Organisation for Legal Consultations and Legislations, the National Supreme Court, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>193</sup> These attempts by the Ministry of Culture to acquire a monitoring role over development and beautification of public spaces with especial concern with Historic Cairo is reported by Said Ali, *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1998, p.3. See also footnote 90.

<sup>194</sup> The project of the law developed by the Ministry of Housing especially for historical areas has not yet been submitted for a political reason due to the fact that any such interference in the old renting system and the stagnant real estate stock would cause severe public discomfort, especially after the pressures made against occupants of these areas, see also footnote 202 below.

### -The Meaning of the Historic Area: Values to Protect:

The only articles that define historic areas in Egypt are Article 27 (chapter 4, Act 3, 1982) in the Urban Design Law and Article 3 (Act 117, 1983), in what is known as the Antiquities and Monuments Law. In the first, Historic Cairo is weighted in the same balance with the downtown area (colonial Cairo and the CBD), defining it as a centre for commercial, financial, cultural and entertainment activities that accommodates business headquarters, administrative buildings and hotels. There is no mention, however, of the residential activities or especial definition of the cultural and historical significance of Historic Cairo as a quarter for traditional mixed use activities and lifestyle as defined in Chapter Two above.

The second does not regard a historical area from a comprehensive perspective. It concentrates on the monument and the archaeological sites, allowing for beautification around the monument or archaeological site by clearing buildings around them (about 30 meters around each monument). This creates many restrictions on development and does not prioritise the local communities' benefits, seeking only beautification of the urban fabric.

### -Area Conservation Environmental Quality (Integrity, Authenticity and Sustainability):

In general there is no definition of the environmental qualities to be considered when implementing area conservation, due to the absence of specified charters adopted by authorised institutions involved in area conservation in Egypt. Therefore the only working legal basis is that offered by Acts 3 issued in 1982 and 117 issued in 1983.

### -Area Conservation Process:

The only designation concept recognised by law is the 'beautification zone' of 30 meters around each monument. This is achieved through boundaries of domain that are defined by the SCA and the municipal authorities as stated in Article 19 of Act 117, 1983.<sup>195</sup> This is not monitored or feasible to be achieved in historic Cairo because of the nature of the medieval fabric and the narrow allies where monuments and residential buildings agglomerate in a very compact manner.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>195</sup> This resembles the 1943 Act of designated areas in France; see section 4.2.1.b. in Chapter Four.

<sup>196</sup> For example in the case of al-Darb al-Ahmar and the eastern walls that is considered by the SCA as a monument and is supposed to be buffered by a 30 meters zone for protection. However that was not achieved

Regarding the action processes, the local communities have a legal right to scrutinise any planning schemes introduced by the GOPP in the local municipal authority's quarter, the *Hai*, as maintained in Article 3 (a) in Act 3, 1982. Moreover, Article 46 in Act 3 (1982) that necessitates transparency in the case of any compulsory purchasing to be published at least two weeks prior to the execution, as well as mounting an announcement in the local police station and the *Hai*. However, this is not practiced because of marginalising the role and right of the local community as elaborated above, which is also maintained due to the absence of transparency in urban management. For example the Minister of Housing has not produced the schemes updated by the GOPP, finished in 2000, for Historic Cairo to avoid any public dissatisfaction. The Minister wanted to avoid that because of his election to represent the people of Gamaliyya (Historic Cairo) and Manshiyyat Nasir in the Parliament.<sup>197</sup>

In addition, the only recognition of the architectural and historical value of any building is only given to those registered by the SCA. A building is recognised as a monument, only if built more than 100 years ago, as maintained in Articles 1 and 2 in Act 117, 1983. There is no classification or mentioning of especial architectural or any other values, parallel to the architectural listing concept and classes elaborated in Chapter Four. Furthermore, there is no consideration of the designation as a concept except for the 'beautification zone' surrounding the monuments as maintained above.

-Adapted Approaches to Area Conservation:

Article 40 in Act 3 (1982) did not promote any cultural approach; however, it did not necessitate complete redevelopment when upgrading a deteriorated area, such as the situation of many spots in Historic Areas, as defined in the studies produced in GOPP (1988a,b,c ;1989). Yet, it encourages transferring the local residents from the deteriorated areas-- Historic Cairo is included-- if there is an alternative (new residential units as those offered by Cairo Governorate for the residents of some areas in Historic Cairo to be

---

for the AKCS-E pursue area conservation scheme in that part of Historic Cairo which necessitate the existence of the urban fabric adjacent and integrated with the historical walls, which is exceptionally accepted by the SCA due to an especial protocol between it and the AKCS-E signed in 1999, Mr. Adel Abdel-Sattar and Mr. Abdel-Khaliq Mukhtar, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>197</sup> Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, July, 2001.

transferred to and they are mostly in the new settlements away from Historic Cairo).<sup>198</sup> This is supposed to be pursued in a general way, not culturally sensitive (contextual), as maintained in Article 69 in the Ministry of Housing Decree number 600 issued in 1982 (the enactment decree of Act 3 issued in 1982). This Article also focuses on population density and the physical configurations (heights of buildings and street profiles etc.), a consideration that is applied in any area in Egypt.<sup>199</sup>

#### 6.4.2. U Group:

##### 6.4.2. a. Community Members and Representatives.

Despite the fact that the impetus for conservation is civic pride and identity, yet a similar sense of *civitas* has not developed in Historic Cairo. This is interpreted by Williams (2002, p.465) as due to many of its citizens being marginalised and living outside the legal framework. This is due to the cumulative conflicts occurring due to the old rent control laws and the undecided relationship between the tenants and landlords, especially since the Awqaf, the main owner of many residential and commercial units, does not give them a strong legal stance to defend their rights.<sup>200</sup> This can be illustrated when we learn the great degree of panic of most of the local communities living in areas under conservation when they start to see the conservation team in the area.<sup>201</sup> In addition, the local communities have no effective role in planning and decision making as elaborated in the Localities section above. It is also almost impossible for them to scrutinise any governmental strategy or a scheme even in the Parliament.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>198</sup> This has been also maintained by Act 135 issued in 1981, which also gives five years before the implementation of any evacuation or removal of any building that is supposed to be removed according to any introduced planning scheme.

<sup>199</sup> See footnote 79 above.

<sup>200</sup> This situation enabled FEDA team to evacuate the residents of Wikalat al-Zaitun on al-Tumbakshiyya Street because they did not have enough legal support or awareness which made it easy for them to be removed, as revealed by Mr. Mohamed Fuad, the tenant of the storage on the ground floor in the same building, interview, 2003. That was not the case with Mr. Darwish the owner of a showroom on the same street selling metal sheet to leave the area, as Mr. Darwish was legally aware and owns clear deeds, interview, 2003. See also footnote 165 above.

<sup>201</sup> That was the case in al-Darb al-Ahmar when the locals started to shout 'the demolition team' whenever they saw the area conservation team as they were always afraid feeling insecure, Mr. Seif al-Rashidi, interview, 2000.

<sup>202</sup> The Minister of Housing, Dr. Ibrahim Siliman has nominated himself as the representative of al-Gamaliyya (northern Historic Cairo) and Manshiyyat Nassir (a spontaneous quarter to the east of Historic Cairo), the most subjected area and that are under development and schemes designed by the GOPP and implemented by the Governorate, in the Egyptian Parliament. The Gamaliyya is the most important and subjected district in Historic Cairo and Manshiyyat Nasir is a spontaneous district that is under intensive upgrading by the Ministry of Housing in collaborations with many partners and international grants. This is

#### 6.4.2. b. NGOs:

There are two types of NGOs in historic areas in Cairo. The first type is local NGOs. Some are established by individuals from the local community to pursue some activities important for that community, e.g. Qasr al-Sham NGO established to up-keep the mosque (which is not a historical one but a neighbourhood one) in Qasr al-Sham Area where there is a majority of Muslims living adjacent to the historical churches in the Coptic quarter. Another kind are NGOs established by activists or heritage or cultural specialists who established NGOs concerned with cultural safeguarding and social development, such as Asala NGO in al-Darb al-Ahmar that is concerned with training the local community in the area to produce traditional art handcrafts and Fatimid Cairo Development Agency (FCDA) NGO.

The second type are NGOs of international nature and connections or with a macro scale concern, i.e. focusing on social development or environmental upgrading in Egypt. For example, the Anglican Coptic Association (ACA) is concerned with social upgrading and elevating the lifestyle of deteriorated areas, and pursues its activities in Misr al-Qadima, close to Qasr al-Sham Area and the spontaneous areas close to the southern part of Historic Cairo. The Near East Foundation (NEF) is a American-based organisation that is concerned with environmental upgrading through integrated planning, pursuing their activities in al-Darb al-Ahmar in co-ordination with the AKCS-E.

Nevertheless, the role of NGOs in environmental upgrading is still not effective enough due to the governmental restrictions on the role and management of NGOs in Egypt. However there is a change as the Act 33, about regulating the role of NGO in Egypt, issued in 1964 was amended through Act 153 in 1999. Yet there are still restrictions on receiving foreign aid and grants or in dealing in political matters.<sup>203</sup>

---

interpreted by Prof. Taha Abdullah as an attempt from the Ministry of Housing to develop Manshiyyat Nassir to receive the occupants who might be removed from Gamaliyya, interview, July, 2001. Moreover, the people of Manshiyyat Nasir and Gamaliyya, who have no actual municipal power, will not be able to scrutinise any area conservation scheme pursued in their areas as their representative is the Minister of Housing where such schemes are produced.

<sup>203</sup> There is currently a kind of resistance of the Egyptian NGOs to this governmental patronage as reported by Abdel-Azim al-Basil in his article, the NGOs refuses patronage", *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 13<sup>th</sup> December 2000, p.3. In addition, the NGOs in Egypt is suspicious and not encouraged to participate effectively in community and environmental development after incident of Dr. Saad al-Din Ibrahim who was the founder of Ibn Khaldun research centre and who conducted research and received grants for reports for the EC about Egypt and who was accused and condemned to jail. Therefore, most of the NGOs move unconfidently as revealed in *Al-Akhbar Newspaper*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000, p.14.

In general, the second type of NGOs deal more effectively with environmental development than the first type. For example the ACA pursued successful upgrading co-ordinating with the Governorate to develop the spontaneous area of Kum Ghourab.<sup>204</sup> This was not the case of the first type of the NGOs that were founded either by the local communities or Egyptian specialists and activists. For example, the FCDA could not act or respond effectively to the insensitive urban beautification conducted in al-Ghuriya Area, few metres away from its headquarter or to the problem of the Southern Traffic Access in Batniyya.<sup>205</sup>

Rather, these local NGOs act effectively when they are co-ordinating with international NGOs within an efficient urban upgrading scheme that is monitored by a well organised urban management body. For example the AKCS-E, the area conservation and urban management unit in al-Darb al-Ahmar, in collaboration with the NEF has incorporated the local NGOs, Asala and al-Ashira al-Muhamadiyya, in an integrated upgrading programme targeting social development. This was not the case in Qasr al-Sham Area where there was no comprehensive scheme or a defined urban management unit. Therefore, despite the fact that the ACA approached Qasr al-Sham Association to co-operate with during the implementation of Qasr al-Sham Area pinpointed above, this co-operation could not be established.<sup>206</sup>

### 6.4.3. W Group:

#### 6.4.3. a. UNESCO:

UNESCO is an international organisation that can only recommend to the government some considerations and principles to follow when pursuing conservation projects to secure a certain limit of quality of that conservation work. However, the UNESCO has no authority over any country, acting as a technical consultant. Even when

<sup>204</sup> Reported by Hanin Makram, *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1999, p.36.

<sup>205</sup> The head of the Fatimid Cairo Development Association, Dr. Nawal Hassan, stand bravely against the Cairo Governor during the UNESCO conference in February 2002, resisting the pedestrianising al-Azhar Street and the removal of the textile trade from al-Ghuri and al-Azhar Areas. After the conference the Governor invited her to be a member in the Executive Committee. Nevertheless she refused to react to the problem of the Southern Traffic Access jeopardising the monuments in Bab al-Wazir and depriving a wide community from their residential units in al-Batniyya Area despite of being within Fatimid Cairo. When she was asked why, Dr. Hassan responded because of her concern not to lose her membership in the Executive Committee as reported by Ms Nada al-Hagrasi while she was preparing a press report about the Southern Traffic Access problem, interview, September, 2002.

<sup>206</sup> That was revealed by Mr. Magid, ACA, Workshop, 2001 and confirmed by Mr. Abu Khalid, Mr. Taha Yaqub and Mr. Ibrahim Abdel Aziz Ibrahim, residents of Qasr al-Sham, Role Play Session, 2001.

the UNESCO protested against the inaccurate restoration of Islamic monuments conducted by or under the supervision of the SCA especially the work conducted in al-Azhar Mosque, it did not send any warning or activate the proposal to remove al-Azhar from the World Heritage List.<sup>207</sup>

Moreover, when UNESCO participated in a Conference that was held in February 2002 in Cairo as a co-organiser, it was an attempt from the SCA to readjust its image and was the actual organiser of the conference.<sup>208</sup> That was a step taken by the SCA in September after the Centre for Islamic Architectural Heritage (CIAH), an independent Egyptian organisation, advised the international ICOMOS in August 2001. Consequently ICOMOS reported to the World Heritage Centre at UNESCO (Williams, 2002, p.465). In addition, a complaint regarding the inaccurate restoration conducted in Islamic monuments in Cairo, was presented to Mrs. Suzan Mubarak, the First Lady.<sup>209</sup> The conference came as a series of educational sessions from the UNESCO experts to introduce some concepts essential for conservation, e.g., authenticity, integrity etc. They also commented negatively on the area conservation schemes introduced by the Historic Cairo Organisation, Ministry of Culture, during the workshop sessions in the same conference. That was confirmed by the summaries of the different sessions, Reports of the Rapporteurs and introduced in this research as Cairo Declaration, discussing different themes of conservation conducted in Cairo.<sup>210</sup> Yet UNESCO's experts did not criticise or introduce any assessment of the general approaches followed in area conservation in Cairo. Nevertheless, this declaration was not elevated or developed to create a charter of conservation in Historic Cairo as elaborated above.

Furthermore, when the Governor insisted on pursuing the Southern Traffic Access cutting the urban fabric of al-Darb al-Ahmar and exposing the 23 monuments in Bab al-Wazir Street to heavy traffic,<sup>211</sup> the UNESCO office in Cairo through Dr. Mizuko Ugo arranged for a meeting with the Governor. The main result was to request the Governor to

---

<sup>207</sup> Despite the fact that some work of restoration, such as that pursued in the Mosque of Sarghatmish was condemned by the World Heritage Mission in their report in August 2001 in page 19 (see Williams, 2002, p.462 and footnote 22), UNESCO denied that confirming that warning the Egyptian Government of the inaccurate restoration conducted in al-Azhar Mosque and removing it from the World Heritage List was a piece of information that was mistakenly passed to press, maintained by Ms. Nada al-Hagrassi, Mr. Tarek al-Muri and Dr. Mizuko Ugo, interviews, March, 2002.

<sup>208</sup> Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah, interview, October, 2001.

<sup>209</sup> This complaint was signed by about 40 of international archaeologists and conservation specialists working and associated with research in Historic Cairo, Prof. Wolfgang Mayer, interview, February, 2003.

<sup>210</sup> See footnote 101 above.

<sup>211</sup> See footnote 41 and 97 above.

inform the office in the future of any development that the Governorate will pursue in Historic Cairo.<sup>212</sup>

#### 6.4.3. b. ICOMOS:

ICOMOS is an international organisation that co-operates with the UNESCO for heritage safeguarding and based in Rome. The international ICOMOS acts as an international NGO that co-ordinate with local ICOMOS in each country. Each local ICOMOS is composed of several committees concern with different aspects of heritage documentation and safeguarding. The number of the governmental employees who are involved in heritage safeguarding, such as the employees of the SCA, should not exceed 40 percent of the total number of the members of each local ICOMOS. One of the main roles of ICOMOS is to monitor the quality and effectiveness of the conservation work.<sup>213</sup>

That was not the case in Cairo, as ICOMOS was very inactive in the last years.<sup>214</sup> Most of its members were employees from the SCA who are responsible for conservation work which created a great paradox. This paradox is due to the fact that ICOMOS members are requested to assess regularly the quality of the conservation work so how would those members question the work for which they are officially responsible?<sup>215</sup> This ineffective situation of ICOMOS Egypt necessitated its restructuring, under the patronage of Dr. Zahi Hawas, the current General Secretary of the SCA, who commissioned Mr. Tarek al-Muri to do this mission.<sup>216</sup> However, ICOMOS EGYPT now is not active and it has never played any active role in the revitalisation efforts conducted in Historic Cairo.

#### 6.4.3. c. Foreign Aid Agencies:

Foreign aid agencies and granting sources do not interfere in the conservation and development projects conducted in Historic Cairo. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through its Department for Development Co-operation in Cairo, granted EP three millions (US \$ 800,000) to finance the UNDP 1997 study. The Italian Government had nothing to do with the grant or the study after giving the grant.<sup>217</sup> Another example is the Japan

<sup>212</sup> Dr. Mizuko Ugo, interview, November, 2002.

<sup>213</sup> This information was revealed by Dr. Josef Faris, head of ICOMOS Lebanon in August 2000, Beirut.

<sup>214</sup> Dr. Salih Lami, the head of the Egyptian ICOMOS for nine years, maintained that the members of the ICOMOS Egypt who are mostly SCA employees hardly grouped, Interview, August, 2002.

<sup>215</sup> This piece of information and the above dilemma are exclaimed by Mr. Tarek al-Muri.

<sup>216</sup> Mr. Tarek al-Muri, interview, February, 2003.

<sup>217</sup> Mr. Fabrizio Ago, interview, August, 2001.



International Co-operation Agency (JICA). It has no direct link with development projects concerned with social and urban upgrading and development. It rather co-operates with the Social Fund for Development (SFD), an Egyptian Governmental Organisation, which manages the grants received from the JICA through its established social development schemes.<sup>218</sup>

Other granting sources are the foreign archaeological missions and research centres who conduct restoration projects and they are not working on an urban scale, such as the ARCE and the German Institute, restoring many historical mosques and monuments in Historic Cairo.<sup>219</sup> Even the consultancies, such as Mashrabiyya and FEDA, received the grants to revitalise al-Darb al-Asfar Street and al-Tumbakshiyya Street and pursued the conservation work without any interference in planning decisions from the Arab Fund and the Swiss-Egyptian Fund respectively.<sup>220</sup> The only exception to this is the Aga Khan Organisation. The Organisation has technical experience and pre-qualification in many Islamic historical cities, which is why the organisation act as a foreign fund and a moderator of the urban upgrading project through its local division in Egypt (AKCS-E) as elaborated above.

### **6.5. An Overview of Policies of Area Conservation in Cairo:**

The above actors pursue area conservation in Cairo within a political paradigm that is responsible for the current active policies and their activation/ in-activation processes. This section explores such politics and policies. This is followed up through studying the current area conservation policies as specified in Chapter Five, exploring the power arrangement and the values and interests of the different parties involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo, as well as the actual framework through which the actors play their roles.

#### **6.5.1. Power Arrangement:**

##### **6.5.1.a. N Group:**

After the 1952 Revolution and during the presidency period of President Gamal Abdel Nasir, Egypt adopted Socialism, as a political ideology pursued under a military

<sup>218</sup> Mr. Shokichi Sakata, interview, August, 2001.

<sup>219</sup> Dr. Robert Vencent, interview, October, 2000 and Prof. Wolfgang Mayer, interview, February, 2003.

<sup>220</sup> Dr. Asaad Nadim, interview, August, 2001 and Mr. Ahmed Yassir, workshop, September, 2001.

patronage, i.e. generals' and officers' rule involved in most of the civil institutions. This has created and maintained a centralised administrative model that is still active until today. For example, Mayfield (1996) describes the political system of modern Egypt as highly bureaucratised system that dominates the whole of the country economically, socially and politically. Therefore, Egypt represents an example where the role of the state has been shaped by a belief in guardian or nation state ideal (Attia, 1999, p.109). In such a paradigm centrality reached its peak in every national project. In such cases many of the most technical planning problems are not sorted out without direct interference from the President himself.<sup>221</sup> This has been confirmed during the workshop organised by the researcher when the representatives of the Ministries of Culture and Housing maintained that regardless of planning or technical considerations, which they have to respect in their proposals, the supreme orders take priority and might alter a complete planning scheme, i.e. a strict type of top-down planning mechanism and prioritisation of the state's agenda to any other considerations.<sup>222</sup>

This centralised administrative model has not changed even after the state adopted open market policies of development to achieve liberal economy, which can be traced back to the period of President Sadat and his 'Open Door' economic policies aiming at liberating the Egyptian economy from the public sector domination in the 1970s, as well as the current privatisation process of most of the governmental amenities and services. Yet, it is the generals or those from a military background or loyalty that are established at the posts dealing with urban management and involved with civil problems. For example, General Mahmoud Yassin, the deputy of Cairo Governorate, is the co-ordinator of the Executive Committee and General Emad Maqlad, is responsible for the construction projects at the

---

<sup>221</sup> This fact is reported in a governmental magazine criticising the centralised administrative model in Egypt, maintaining the role of the President who continuously interfere to stop conflicts between different governmental organisations that cripple the implementation of major national projects, reported in October Magazine, no. 1386, 18 May, 2003, p. 3. This is because of the granted power given to the President as the supreme power and in his position he can issue decrees with the power of laws, according to Act six, 2000 that support the continuation of working with Act 29, 1972.

<sup>222</sup> This was maintained by the representatives of the Arab Bureau, GOPP and SCA during the workshop sessions, 2001. Mr. Abdu Abdellah Omran al-Dali, SCA representative, illustrated the domain of the supreme orders that might compromise heritage in an example he gave about the current hydraulic project at Esna Aqueduct that is planned to be finished in 2006. By that time many Phronic temples will have be inundated with the Nile water or severely jeopardised, a fact that the SCA overlooked due to superior orders as these hydraulic projects are prioritised in the state's agenda for development and growth, workshop, September, 2001.

Ministry of Culture.<sup>223</sup> This has also encouraged some ex-generals from the secret police to establish a private contracting company that won several tenders from the SCA to pursue restoration in many Islamic monuments.<sup>224</sup> In general, this situation is maintained by the state that gives it a legal support. For example, according to the Supreme Administrative Court, in case of the absence of the Governor (who is supposed to be a civilian governor) his deputy is the head of the police in his governorate who is supposed to be responsible for any municipal problem.<sup>225</sup>

On the other hand, despite the governmental economic reformation recommended by the IMF and the World Bank, the Egyptian Government does not specify a clear conceptual and political vision (ideology). While claiming to be a state of institutions that adopts a democratic system, Article 4 of the constitution, modified in 1980, maintained that Egypt is a country adopting both a socialist system and a democratic one. To Shihata (2001, pp.223-53) this is paradoxical, as while the constitution maintains a socialist system in its different articles, the state is moving further towards an open-market economy.

This contradiction was pinpointed by Faruq Gowida (a famous Egyptian writer and thinker), attributing it to the lack of a clear ideology adopted by the state. For example, Faruq Gowida finds the state establishing Singour University and supporting the Francophone Organisation, having even an Egyptian leading it, while neglecting the traditional and Islamic identity of Egypt.<sup>226</sup> Qamha (2000, pp. 77-79) also supports this idea; in an academic study applied to 90 Egyptian intellectuals of varied ages and belonging, 77 expressed their dissatisfaction with the ambiguity of the ideologies adopted by the state and recommended having a motivating one.

This is to say that Egypt is liberal and open when economic issues are raised. Yet Liberalism is not merely limited to economy, it is rather an ideology that is a package of economic basis integrated with administration system and democracy. Thus open-market policies are indivisible from democracy (the role of people and the degree of their involvement in decision making), for they are produced and practiced in the western world as a package of concepts. Certainly that is not very clear in Egypt. "Indeed Egypt is very

---

<sup>223</sup> This is maintained by Mr. Gamal Amir, who interpreted this phenomenon due to the continuing tradition of the Revolution (since the 1950s) who preferred to recruit trusty leaders to technical ones. This is also the situation today where those generals who are stationed in many governmental organisation to maintain co-operation that cannot be achieved without a military-like will, interview, August, 2002.

<sup>224</sup> See footnote 83 above.

<sup>225</sup> *Al-Akhar Newspaper*, 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2002, p.11.

<sup>226</sup> *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 2001, p. 36.

ambiguous when discussing if it adopts a democratic politics or capitalism as an ideological system for both suffer interference from the state” (Said, 2003).

#### 6.5.1.b. U Group:

The privatisation and economic liberation efforts pursued by the state are not paralleled with ‘institutional thickness’ that can balance the relation between the people and the state in its current shift to open-market mechanisms (a shift from the subsidised and patronage of socialism to the open-market mechanism).<sup>227</sup> Unfortunately these processes of economic liberation were not supported with effective social schemes, as that described above as ‘institutional thickness’. The ‘individual’ in general is absent from the contemporary political message, not only in Egypt but also in the Arab World in general. His rights are not respected, being compromised for bigger political titles/ calls, such as national objectives and belonging etc. This is not the case of the official political messages of the right but it is even the same with the fundamentalist Islamic left, which dwarfing his chances in participation in decision making (El-Helo, 2001).<sup>228</sup>

This is even maintained through the constitution that threatens the civil rights in its Articles 47 and 48, subjecting them to unlimited restrictions by the state, which is paradoxically described as unconstitutional by Shihata (2001, pp. 229-33). Moreover, the emergency laws that are supported by the Presidential decree 105 issued in 2000 and 38 issued in 1997 to extend working with Act 560 that was issued in 1981, which was introduced in 1958 in Act 162, put great restrictions on community participation in decision making prioritising national security to individual’s rights. In general, the system is closed and not open to public scrutiny (Rivlin, 1985). Therefore, an inheritance of public disputes with the current administrative system and decision-making mechanism has created a gap of distrust, which is supported by the absence of transparency and insensitive policies and legislations derived by political events rather than community’s benefits. In addition, the delay in enforcing laws and urban decisions has contributed much to this lack

---

<sup>227</sup> The concept of ‘institutional thickness’ is introduced by Amin and Thrift (1995, p.102). Institutional thickness is a term that is given to indicate a strong institutional presence of local syndicates, financial institutional, local chambers. They are supposed to interact creating a network of institutions that can give a fair representation of the local community (giving them an equal opportunity) so when development or privatisation are thoughts in favour of investors the rights of the community and weaker individuals are protected. The term ‘thick’ is used to establish legitimacy and nourish relation of trust.

<sup>228</sup> This contradicts with the original Islamic teachings, in which administration of the believers, the Muslim community, is regarded as a balance between the rights of the *Umah* (nation) and *Fard* (individual) dealing with them on an equal foot, as revealed in Chapter One above.

of trust which crippled the co-operation between the state and the community and widens the gap between them.<sup>229</sup>

Moreover the ineffectiveness of the role of NGOs in Egypt, elaborated above, as well as the ineffectiveness of the currently introduced laws of human rights has also maintained the above identified gap between the state and the local community. Fatma Baraka, Ahmed Attia and Dalia Gamal maintain that the newly introduced laws of human rights in Egypt in 2003 have not scrutinised Act 105, issued in 1980, which limit individual rights and freedom. They also mentioned the comment of the Minister of Higher Education, who is also a state consultant for international laws, who maintained that such a human right law introduced by the government is essential at this phase, mainly to give a democratic *image* of Egypt and to maintain that it respects the human rights so it cannot receive any *forign political pressure*; yet it was never maintained that this law came to bridge the gap between the state and the local communities.<sup>230</sup>

Furthermore, the passive role of the community expressed through what is identified by Tuma (1988) as the IPI behaviour (Indecision, Procrastination and Indifference), has established inactive role of the community that instead of resisting the above centralised model, it avoids direct clash with the government paving the way for slack regulations and behaviour of carelessness that was confronted by indecision mood of administration and procrastination in different localities as elaborated above. Thus, the local communities have led themselves to an indifference mood allowing the state to defeat them and neglect them in different levels of administration as the case in urban management in localities as in the case of Historic Cairo.<sup>231</sup>

#### 6.5.1.c. W Group:

The international organisations concerned with heritage and the funding agencies have no direct impact and cannot interfere much in the Egyptian politics or policies of heritage management. The role of UNESCO for example is limited to recommendations of the accurate conservation as elaborated above. Even when inaccurate work is pursued that might jeopardised the authenticity or the integrity of any monument or an historic area,

<sup>229</sup> Mr. Claudio Acioly, interview, September, 2002.

<sup>230</sup> Reported in *Akhbar al-Yum Newspaper*, 21<sup>st</sup> June 2003, pp. 16-17.

<sup>231</sup> A similar situation occurred in a more democratic political model, in UK, in the case of Covent Garden. Brian Anson describes the end of the old community's resistance, which was certainly granted better rights to scrutinise the development decisions as compared to the local communities in Egypt, as a great tragedy in which the old community in Covent Garden allowed themselves to be led to defeat (1981, p. 264).

UNESCO and its representatives have a relatively passive role and sometimes overlook that fact to avoid any claim of political interference.

### 6.5.2. Values and Interests:

In general, within such a political model the local communities (U group) are regarded as weak/ venerable groups; they are dominated by the state's agencies and organisations (N group), while the W group play the role of a consultant group that is almost ineffective in area conservation and urban management in Historic Cairo. Their (U group members) values and interests are likely to be given up, especially with the absence of a clear national system of value that organises and rearranges the priorities of each group in every case and according to the actual value of the site or monument dealt with; needless to mention there is no current effective and active (on legal basis) documentation or classification system as elaborated above.<sup>232</sup> For example, while in Tunisia the Washington Charter 1987 is the officially adopted area conservation charter adopted by the Tunisian authorities involved in area conservation, there is no such a consideration and there is no current intention to produce an especially authored charter for area conservation.<sup>233</sup> This is also because the value of authenticity and the role of local community as the denominator of the historic area as an environmental phenomenon.

#### 6.5.2.a. N Group:

As reviewed above, the most influential governmental organisations involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo are: Cairo Governorate, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Culture. The other Ministries or organisations involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo are working as associates with the above three main organisations.

On the other hand, despite the fact that the Ministry of Awqaf owns almost 80%-90% of the non-religious historical properties and has the legal and religious right (dogmatic) to possess the historical religious structures, the state does not involve it

<sup>232</sup> A fact that was given by Prof. Taha Abdullah, interview, July, 2001, and was confirmed by the

<sup>233</sup> The Cairo declaration and recommendations for heritage management issued by the UNESCO's expert after the UNESCO conference held in Cairo in February 2002 could be developed and adopted as a legal technical reference for heritage management. Yet there has not been any effort to achieve such a goal by the Ministries or organisations participating in the conference, not after the conference and not now as far as the author knows and as reviewed by Mr. Tarek al-Muri and the other interviewed subjects and press reporters involved and concerned with heritage management who are mentioned in this research.

effectively. For example, according to the presidential Decree no. 83 for the year 2000 regarding the Supreme Council of Tourism the Awqaf was neglected and had no representatives in the council while the SCA had its representative. This means that only the SCA (which is concerned with the restoration and the physical aspects of the historical buildings) that is allowed to participate, while the Awqaf (that owns the buildings and that is involved with social and cultural aspects that might be jeopardised with tourism) is not included. Moreover the state, represented through its different organisations above, does not concern itself with revitalising a cultural approach or adopting a traditional urban management system such as al-Awqaf system elaborated in Chapter One above. This is because the state's interest is expressed through the plans and schemes (acting as the state's agenda for development for this part of Cairo) pursued and implemented by the above indicated main actors involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo, i.e., Cairo Governorate, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Culture.

Cairo Governorate, is an executive body. However, the main objective of the Governorate is to generate investments and benefits through tourism industries, as expressed by the Governor above.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, the Governorate is interested in realising the national planning schemes, when co-ordinating with the Ministry of Housing. This has expressed itself through major traffic projects to achieve vehicular accesses that link the city outskirts and new expansions, necessary for national development. This has been achieved through the different flyovers, highways and tunnels inaugurated by the Governor and the Minister of Housing, not only in Historic Cairo but in different parts in Cairo.

Such schemes are strategies for expanding investment and economic and urban growth for Cairo 2017, the main agenda that motivate the work of the GOPP.<sup>235</sup> The GOPP co-operates with the Governorate, as pinpointed above, to achieve the national agenda for growth and development. However, the GOPP is a consultancy that gives recommendations and designs and suggests schemes at the Ministry of Housing, where the Minister is not only the political power but also the superior technical authority for planning decisions issued by the Ministry of Housing.<sup>236</sup> Therefore, the consultancies

---

<sup>234</sup> See footnotes 31 and 32, as well as Governor's decree 457 for 1999 that promotes for mimics and polished and sanitised environment at Historic Cairo.

<sup>235</sup> See footnote 26.

<sup>236</sup> Dr. Ibrahim Siliman, the Minister of Housing, is not only the higher political and technical authority in the Ministry but he even represents the people of a great part of Historic Cairo, Gamaliyya and Bab al-Nasr,

decisions and recommendations in the Ministry or co-operating with it are overridden by those of the Minister or the actual tendencies decided by him. These tendencies are contractors-like one, prioritising financial benefits achieved for the Ministry rather than the well-being of the physical heritage or community benefits when we come to a real ground.<sup>237</sup>

The Ministry of Culture, through the SCA, is supposed to be concerned with the physical heritage. Yet, the speed and the dubious accuracy of its restoration work draw some question marks about its real interests in Historic Cairo.<sup>238</sup> In addition, the double standards of the Ministry of Culture, dealing with Mashyakhit al-Azhar Building (the old administrative building of al-Azhar that is located in al-Azhar Square) as a registered building despite it being built during the first half of the twentieth century which does not make it a historical building according to the law, for it was built less than 100 years ago, while neglecting other historically and architecturally valuable structures that are located outside Historic Cairo.<sup>239</sup> These double measures in dealing with heritage according to geographical location, as well as considering the Minister of Culture's struggles to remain in charge and be the main actor in area conservation in Historic Cairo, might direct the reader's attention to a hidden interest of the Ministry of Culture in Historic Cairo that is not primarily safeguarding physical heritage.<sup>240</sup>

This notion is confirmed by Williams who maintained that "Egypt will join fifteenth European and eleven other Mediterranean Countries to become part of the Exhibition Trail, a project of the 'Museum without Frontiers' whose aim is to enhance understanding and appreciation of the cultural heritage of the European, Middle Eastern and Northern African Communities" (2002, p.457). This might explain the enthusiasm of

---

where most of the current area conservation are under implementation, in the Parliament. He thus blocked the way for any public scrutiny of any intervention introduced in the area, see footnote 202 above.

<sup>237</sup> See for example the Ministry of Housing decision regarding al-Azhar Tunnel in footnote 71 above. See also the actual motivation behind the Ministry involvement in conservation work as revealed by the Arab Contractors in footnotes 59 and 60 above.

<sup>238</sup> See footnote 99 above.

<sup>239</sup> Khalid Mubarak reporting in *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 19<sup>th</sup> May 2000, p.3, about the deterioration of Prince Toghay Palace that is from the turn of the twentieth century and represent a transitional and rare architectural style that deserve protection while the Ministry of Culture and the SCA neglected it completely leaving which to deterioration. Furthermore, Mohamed Salmawi, reported in *al-Wafd Newspaper*, 3rd January 2002, p.14, about the insistence of the Ministry of Culture to demolish the first mechanical press in Egypt introduced by Mohamed Ali in early nineteenth century, pinpointing that the Ministry of Culture is not only neglecting the historical and patriotic value of such a heritage but also resisting the prime ministerial decree against this action of demolition.

<sup>240</sup> See footnotes 89, 90, 91 and 92 above to learn about the struggles of the Minister of Culture to establish his role in the political arena of heritage safeguarding in Historic Cairo.



the Ministry of Culture to participate in urban studies and management in Historic Cairo to pave the way for cultural route between the historical buildings for tourists and those from different countries interested in physical cultural heritage.<sup>241</sup>

In general, if there is a common goal that is pursued by the above main actors involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo, it is the 'civilised' look and the polished environment (sanitised). This is sought by the Governorate in collaboration with the Ministry of Housing, which is more concerned with generated monies of construction projects associated with area conservation, in addition to the Ministry of Culture. The last is also after a civilised image of the historical routes for the 'Museum without Frontiers' scheme and to establish the Minister of Culture more in the national project of the revitalisation of Historic Cairo. This is mainly sought to polish up the historical fabric for the by-default clients, tourists and their dollars as revealed clearly by the Governor above (Williams, 2002, p. 473). Nevertheless and as deduced from the above, the 'civilised' environmental look has not taken on board the local communities. Not, for example, as the situation in Edinburgh in 1972 when discussing the conservation of the Georgian Town, where it was decided that the best way is to develop this historical area making it civilised first for its people then it will be civilised for any tourist to come (Matthew, Reid and Lindsay, 1972).

#### 6.5.2.b: U Group:

The U group are best represented by the everyday users of the place, people who live and work there. They are interested in maximising those values that are significant to their daily life, including social, economic, psychological, and spiritual or cultural values. They might, however, compromise the other tangible heritage values esteemed by the above group, such as the historic and aesthetic value altogether or even the environmental (hygienic) qualities which contribute to the gap between and the local communities and the officials and planners pinpointed above.<sup>242</sup>

---

<sup>241</sup> *Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper*, 22- 28 July, 1999, p.17. and 8-14 November, 1999, p.17.

<sup>242</sup> See fig. A3.1 in appendix three below.

**6.5.2.c: W Group:**

The main values of the World group are those discussed in Chapter Three above. The international organisations value the tangible qualities/ heritage as much as the intangible ones and the rights of the traditional communities as well as different ethnicities from an ethical perspective that call for cultural and ethnic multiplicities and co-existence. That was even expressed through a growing call to allow for change and development for the traditional to keep it alive and not to museumise it while respecting the givens of the past. This is through adopting cultural perspective for development (UNESCO, 2000).

This group however might be accused for being the cause of the states of less democratic model to overlook the rights of the local communities living in heritage. Nevertheless it is essential to readjust this false image as the World group is not only concerned with physical heritage, which is the main species the governments develop as the core product, in addition to its sequenced tangible and augmented products as elaborated in section 3.3.2 in Chapter Three above, to sell the heritage seeking the tourism dollars. This can be proven when reviewing the values of processes protected through the different international charters pro the integrity and authenticity of heritage sites and their sustainable management and safeguarding processes as elaborated in Chapter Three above.

**6.5.3. Institutional Framework:**

The above organisations are supposed to co-operate and to conduct their roles for the revitalisation of Historic Cairo. The problem is that there are many organisations involved in such a national project, which makes environmental and municipal management very complicated (Leitmann, 1995). This is manifested through some sings of institutional conflicts among such organisations. For example, the Ministry of Tourism is authorised to issue licenses for shops that offer touristic services according to Act 1, 1992. This might contradict with the plans and schemes pursued by the municipal authorities and might contradict with it. In addition, a hunting-mistake behaviour is common among the Ministry of Culture and the Governorate and even between the Ministry of Culture and some other organisations involved in heritage documentation like Cultnat.<sup>243</sup> This is because of the absence of a statutory definition of the role of each

---

<sup>243</sup> See footnote 96 which illustrate a kind of lack of co-ordination between the Cultnat and the Ministry of Culture. In addition, the incident of the Southern Traffic Access which meant great jeopardy of the historical buildings in Bab al-Wazir and the historical urban fabric of al-Darb al-Ahmar in general in which Mr.

organisation, which is supposed also to give a wide accepted definition of heritage and the ways to safeguard it to organise the roles of each of the involved organisations in heritage management to avoid any conflict; for example the Egyptian Constitution does not contain any article regarding heritage, environmental or local community safeguarding (Shihata, 2001, pp. 249-53).

This can be interpreted as due to the enthusiastic concern of the "...politicians who are involved in area conservation in what to do and how to do, how to proceed area conservation projects, and not according to what principles and basis",<sup>244</sup> which needs to be specified clearly on statutory basis regarding heritage definition and the organisation framework that can achieve its safeguarding. That was illustrated by the Egyptian press questioning the intellectual and principle references for the accuracy of the conservation work in Egypt in general.<sup>245</sup> Therefore, Faruq Gowida criticised that statutory absence and demanded an effective law that protect heritage and organise its safeguarding in Egypt.<sup>246</sup>

Regarding the actual framework of urban management in Historic Cairo, the municipal management was the responsibility of the Governorate lead by the governor, before the National Revitalisation Project, as illustrated by Serajaldin in the municipal management framework (1984, p.163). However, after the growing attempts and calls for the revitalisation of Historic Cairo, the Ministry of Culture was regarded more as the main co-ordinator responsible for urban upgrading as illustrated in the framework (UNDP, 1997,

---

Ayman Abdel Moniem (the Minister of Culture office manager) expressed clearly his intention to wait for the Governor to commit a mistake to sue it rather than contacting it to co-ordinate with it, see footnote 111 above. The same negative administrative attitude was flowed by the *Hai* (the local planning authority representing the Governorate) in Qasr al-Sham Area when they waited until the Ministry of Culture financed and implemented the urban upgrading in the area without co-ordinating with it and came with restoration orders for the residential, unhistorical houses, which meant a tremendous cost for the local community that they could not afford and a complete alteration of the work implemented by the Ministry of Culture in the area. The *Hai* and the Governorate were certainly aware of the urban upgrading pursued by the Ministry of Culture but they kept aside from this work waiting until it is finished instead of co-ordinating with the Ministry of Culture and its planning office (Historic Cairo Organisation), victimising the people of Qasr al-Sham who cannot afford the restoration expenses and currently suffer sever cracks and might be evacuated from their houses for security reasons, information based on the researcher's field visits and observations in Qasr al-Sham Area in 2001 and 2002 and an interview with Mr. Medhat Sabri, Mr. Mohamed Taha and Mr. Abu Khalid, interviews and Role play, 2001.

<sup>244</sup> This note was given by Mr. David Leven, Senior Planner at the Planning Services Division, the Scottish Executive Development Department, during the third discussion session on 16<sup>th</sup> June during the activities of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) Annual School, 15- 18 June, 2000, Strathclyde University, Glasgow. His comments criticised the role of the politicians and their involvement that is not based on sufficient intellectual and statutory basis in a country like Scotland that is relatively more advanced in heritage management, as well as a more democratic political model, when compared to Egypt.

<sup>245</sup> Atef al-Kilani and Samah Samir, *Rose El-Yousif* no. 3816, 28 July -3 August 2001, pp. 47-9; Ehab El-Hadari, *Akhbar al-Adab Newspaper*, 18<sup>th</sup> November, 2001, p.10; Pascal Ghazleh, *al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper*, 5-11 April 2001, p.17 and Fayza Hassan, 28<sup>th</sup> February – 6<sup>th</sup> March, 2002, p.20.

<sup>246</sup> Reported in *al-Ahram Daily Newspaper* (the international version) 12<sup>th</sup> March 2000, p. 16.

p.156, fig.20), which was echoed by the governmental support when establishing the Ministerial Committee (which was supposed to be chaired by the Minister of Culture) and that was to draw the principles and general guidelines for the Executive Committee. Yet, the first committee has diminished, practically speaking leaving only the executive one without guidance or code of conservation ethics and principles to pursue the urban upgrading. This has continued within a venue of struggles and gaps among the involved organisations from one side and among them and the local communities on the other hand, according to the lack of trust and the IPI behaviour (Tuma, 1988) as indicated above.<sup>247</sup>

This led to a mosaic of zones of control/ urban management zones within Historic Cairo, creating territorial domains of administrative control. For example, the areas located to the north of the Northern Walls and Bab al-Nasr Cemetery are the responsibility of the Governorate. The areas to the south of the Northern Walls and al-Darb al-Asfar are under the direct control of the Ministry of Culture; the Religious Complex Area (between the Mosque of Amr and the Coptic quarter) is dominated and led by the Ministry of Tourism, from the garment of the *Hai* (the local municipal authority), as well as the Governor's administrative support. Finally, it can be deduced that the Governorate managed to create alliance and to give an administrative support to the Ministries of Housing and Tourism, as well as conducting effective communication and agreements with the Ministry of Awqaf through the Executive Committee. On the other hand, such co-ordination is not pursued as effectively between the Governorate and the Ministry of Culture, except in one case Magra al-Euon because of the geographical location of this area close to the National Paediatric Cancer Hospital and Zinhoum Spontaneous quarter, which is under intensive urban regeneration, both projects are pursued under the auspices of the First Lady, Mrs. Suzan Mubarak.

### **6.6. Conclusion:**

Generally, it is possible to maintain that the current definition of the meaning of historic areas in Egypt, as recognised by the officials and those who influence the planning plateau, recognises historic areas as a manifestation of physical heritage, focusing mainly on the values of states and not the values of processes. It is also recognised as venues for

---

<sup>247</sup> See footnote 231 above.

investment and potential zone for development in tourism, regardless of the local communities' cultural and environmental values.

In addition, the quality of environmental integrity is partially recognised, mainly, the visual integrity while dealing with a lesser extent with the structural and functional integrity of the historic areas. The authenticity is also jeopardised because of the concentration on development without equal consideration to the cultural and community values. Furthermore, the causes for sustainability (sustainable conservation planning) as an environmental quality are not also fulfilled. For example, on the administrative level, no effective co-ordination was pursued or an organisational system among the different departments and organisations that are involved in area conservation. Moreover, the local communities' demands are not prioritised.

The economic considerations of the communities' businesses are not also respected. The concentration as revealed in the governmental organisations' strategies to investments in tourism, aiming at converting as much as possible from historic Cairo into a 'touristic' area that is sanitised to acquire a 'civilised' look that is thought to be the prerequisite of such a type of development.<sup>248</sup> Consequently, most of the introduced interventions prioritised development for tourism to the physical environment, as can be deduced from the Azhar Tunnel and the Southern and Northern Traffic Accesses elaborated in the previous chapter.

Regarding the area conservation processes and on the statutory level, area general character appraisal reports are common but they are produced for different locations, according to the project and the organisation in charge. Yet there is no general area appraisal for the whole fabric of Historic Cairo or a general strategy or study that is recognised and set for implementation by the official organisations. This is especially because there is no central management unit that is responsible for urban management and that conduct integrated planning for the whole Historic Cairo, thanks to the current challenge for control and domination over Historic Cairo and its urban management. Moreover, there is no designation or a clear defined boundaries of designation as the concept of designated area is not yet recognised or passed to legislative phases to be enforced or considered when implementation of different area conservation schemes. Moreover, the current laws and general guidelines for heritage safeguarding are ineffective

---

<sup>248</sup> 'Civilised' is a loaded term when used by official organisations in Egypt. It is used to refer to any settlement that is clean, well served and equipped with sufficient amenities, see footnote 2 above.

and require updating to be able to cope with the current enthusiastic urban upgrading in Historic Cairo.

On the action process level, there is no real partnership among different organisations or any departments involved in area conservation in Historic Cairo. Not to mention, there is no established partnership scheme for investment in heritage management with the private sector or the local community through the governmental planning authorities responsible for heritage safeguarding and urban planning and upgrading. In the case of the local communities, they are ignored in most of the cases. They might be consulted in the best case but never participate effectively in the schemes organised by the government and its organisations involved in urban upgrading.

The documentation activities are advanced, supported by GIS technologies through different departments in different organisations; most of them double their efforts to produce documentation for the same areas or historic buildings. There is, however, no listing system or a classification technique or legislation that can help planners to define the actual historic, architectural or social/ cultural values of any structure or urban fabric, recognising only the historical value of any building. This leads to the loss of many valuable structures that are important to preserve the integrity of many quarters in Historic Cairo.

There are many detailed area appraisal and urban studies, produced by different departments and organisations in the Ministry of Housing or consultancies, also commissioned by the Ministries of Culture and Housing. However, most of these studies are discarded or not considered or used in a general planning scheme. Moreover, such studies, detailed guidelines, are not passed into implementation. On the other hand, most of these detailed guidelines focus on technical aspects, e.g. architectural style and streetscape, while neglecting the financial assets that might motivate the local community to participate effectively in such development schemes. For example, they never mention loans for local community to restore their houses or to develop their small business in the area.

The implementation of many schemes is crippled due to inappropriate planning that neglects the community, focusing on the long-run gains achieved through beautifying historic areas seeking a 'civilised' look to pave the way for tourism while neglecting the short-run gains essential for the local communities such as the dilapidated housing conditions, as well as other social problems such as unemployment and hazardous industries that have become an integrated economic base for the local communities.

Furthermore, as repeated above, cultural consideration has not been a priority, there was no real cultural approach to area conservation. Most of the organisations participated in area conservation in Historic Cairo have not revitalised any traditional urban management system. Also, the implemented projects reflected the irresponsive planning adopted by the governmental planning authorities and departments. There is no composite approach to area conservation. It is mainly beautification and safeguarding physical heritage seeking a 'civilised' look for potential touristic development.

The above can be attributed to the current power arrangement in Egypt, a state-centred political model. Regardless of any technical consideration the state domination draws the planning strategies and the implementation of any project; it is to say a paradigm that adopts a state-oriented mechanism and strategies that never take the individual's interests into account. It is clearly expressed that the main national priority and agenda is development for tourism. In addition, the values and priorities of each governmental organisation are not specified according to a clear value and priority system with a clear national reference, such as a legislative backup or national guidelines or charters for heritage and urban management. This is despite the fact that many of the involved governmental organisations in area conservation have the planning and conservation competence and are aware of most of the environmental qualities that are necessary to be recognised when conservation planning is sought, at least on the technical and middle-managerial level. This however changes when implementation is pursued as the only priority and goal is national financial gain. Furthermore, there is a huge gap, expressed through conflict in values and interests, among the different parties involved in area conservation, especially among local communities on one side and the organisations and authorities responsible for conservation planning.<sup>249</sup>

---

<sup>249</sup> The only exception to this case is the Aga Khan Organisation that conducts area conservation in Historic Cairo in a defined territorial domain, al-Darb al-Ahmar Area, represented by the AKCS-E. Its work is relatively successful, when compared with the other area conservation projects in other parts in Historic Cairo for their team has complemented the area conservation environmental qualities, as well as adopting area conservation processes similar to those introduced in Chapter Four above. The AKCS-E is working in isolation aiming mainly at finishing the comprehensive development conducted in al-Darb al-Ahmar, documenting which to act as a pilot and a planning reference project; see section 6.4.1.i above.

## CONCLUSION



**Conclusion. 1. Overview:**

The deteriorated condition of historic areas in Cairo, especially after the 1992 earthquake, as well as the uninterrupted environmental decline despite the continuous upgrading attempts that have been pursued since 1980s, inspired this research. Therefore, an exploratory mode of research was followed, to define the actual meaning and values in historic areas and the qualities to be safeguarded, through investigating the current processes and mechanisms of area conservation. This has been pursued through a comprehensive approach, incorporating a broad perspective towards area conservation, adopting the U, N and W framework, envisaging the meaning and values of historic areas and deciding the appropriate approaches to area conservation through the U's N's and W's (Users, Nation and the World) perspectives and the claim of the U, N or W groups to any historic zone.

It is an attempt to evaluate the urban interventions that have been introduced in Historic Cairo since 1994, which is a short period to judge their impact, thus necessitating the broadening of the spectrum of the epistemological context of this research to incorporate the Arab-Islamic context. Therefore, examples and reviews of the similar projects in Tunisia, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon have been consulted. The main goal was to construct an effective and comprehensive approach to area conservation that respects the especial contextual/ environmental qualities and values of the historic cities as a model to assess the current revitalisation scheme in Historic Cairo. Legislative experience and planning control systems in UK have also been consulted, on the conceptual level.

In part one (Chapters One and Two conducting what-to- conserve inquiry), focusing on the wider context of the present research, the Arab-Islamic context, the research investigated the current meaning of historic areas and its current role and the latent and persisting values inspired from its original meaning and concepts introduced with the formation of the early urban and environmental concepts of Islamic urbanism, lifestyle and urban management systems, as in section 1.2 in Chapter One. This was integrated with the continuing forces (cultural, economic, political etc.) introduced to the studied urban phenomena, elaborated in section 1.3 in the same chapter.

Reflecting the above on the case of Cairo, the reader is introduced to the context of Historic Cairo as a case study in section 2.2 in Chapter Two. The following sections in the same chapter trace the urban transformation patterns that created cultural changes, consequently introducing physical changes in the built environment especially in historic

quarters in Cairo. Focusing more on the case of Historic Cairo seeking the definition of its actual significance, it is compared with other quarters that integrate with it or affect it and interact with it, such as colonial Cairo that became the CBD of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and even the spontaneous quarters that also exhibit similar deteriorated environmental conditions. Using the above introduced U, N and W framework, it has been possible to define a subjective meaning of historic areas in general, developed especially for the Arab-Islamic city including Historic Cairo as in section 2.6 in Chapter Two.

A subjective meaning of historic area has been introduced defining the significance of such an urban phenomenon as a result of the accumulation of the different groups with claims to historic areas (U, N and W) with their different systems of values (whether tangible or intangible ones defined in this research as values of states and values of processes) and priorities, which determine the actual value of each historic area or a site within every historic area or even a lane. This is applicable to the wider context of this research, as well as to Historic Cairo as the case study of the present research. This is also important to determine the most effective approach, or approaches in case of adopting a composite approaches within the same area, to be followed with each case for a contextual approach that responds to the specificity (significance and especial conditions whether social, cultural, economic etc.) of each spot dealt with in each historic area.

In part two (Chapters Three and Four conducting how-to-serve inquiry), after pinpointing the actual significance and the values shared with different parties with different degrees of claims to each spot under conservation, it was essential to define the actual environmental qualities that sustain such significance especially in historic areas in general. This was made possible through attempting to define the meaning of area conservation, as in section 3.2 and especially through reviewing the international charters of area conservation in sub-section 3.2.2 in Chapter Three.

There are three main environmental qualities: integrity, authenticity and sustainability, that are responsible for a balanced urban phenomenon that secures a well preserved and operating environment. They are recommended to be considered all together when decision-making or a planning scheme is thought to upgrade any historical quarter, especially needed to control any development or growth and even funding mechanism involved in the area conservation scheme, as elaborated in section 3.3 in the same chapter. Therefore, it is suggested that area conservation be defined as a fluid concept that takes on board the above determined qualities as well as different considerations,

determined by the values of the above defined groups/ actors (U, N and W) that leads to secure a balanced environment with a clear character and maintained significance, as elaborated in section 3.4.

The above goal is achieved through a specified area conservation process. It is a type of planning that complements the special nature of historic areas under conservation, through cultural and environmental-friendly approaches to area conservation planning. This is pursued through statutory and action phases as elaborated in Chapter Four. This might be expressed through sophisticated area conservation schemes that are composed of composite approaches, complementing various considerations such as community considerations, development growth and protecting national heritage simultaneously, e.g., the FWP illustrated in sub-section 4.4.2 in Chapter Four.

Consequently, this research accumulates concepts and considerations of area conservation that are based on actual cases of studies and broadly accepted principles that are discussed in the international literature and charters of area conservation. This is pursued in part three (Chapters Five and Six, synthesising the assessment criteria required to conduct the assessment of area conservation in Historic Cairo) to formulate evaluative criteria according to which an assessment of area conservation scheme can be made. The assessment however, targets a historic environment; thus it is defined as an environmental assessment, which is composed of assessment of urban environmental qualities (as those identified above for historic areas and that are identified as environmental evaluative filters) and policies for urban management that are responsible for the actual values and considerations that are implemented, as elaborated in Chapter Five (see fig.5.4).

It is also in this chapter where the main conceptual framework of the present thesis is developed, in which effective area conservation and a balanced historic environment is suggested to be achieved through safeguarding the above defined main environmental qualities: integrity, authenticity and sustainability. This is made possible through comprehensive conservation planning that considers the especial meaning of the historic areas. This is achieved through a specified process that also complement cultural values and that is designed and implemented in a responsive mood. This model is also considered from within the current policymaking paradigm, in which the power arrangement of the state and the people are interacting according to a defined political system. In addition, the values of interests of each active partner in the area conservation and the urban management processes are represented to study their role and degree of influence to be

able to define the actual organisational framework (who is who and who controls what). This is determined through integrating the perspectives of the effective groups from U, N and W, involved in area conservation. This model is presented in the form of criteria, which is deduced from the arguments made in the previous chapters to define the positive aspects and to set the references needed for assessment.

Such an assessment model is employed to investigate the area conservation paradigm in Historic Cairo, narrated in Chapter Six. It is thus made possible to explore the actual situation in Cairo and the degree of awareness and competence and the actual values and priorities that lead and influence area conservation in Historic Cairo.

## **Conclusion. 2. Findings:**

### **Conclusion. 2.1. The Research Methodology:**

The adopted comparative methodology is an exploratory mode of research. It is pursued through deducing/ accumulating a conceptual framework that recognises and assembles a structure of approved area conservation qualities, ethics and processes based on international theory, practice and examples that are mainly from regional cases that are consulted because of their contextual resemblance to the case of Historic Cairo.

Such a methodology compensates for the limited duration of the area conservation experience in Historic Cairo. The exploratory mode expanded the spectrum of investigation to grasp different aspects of the meaning of historic areas. These include the point of view of involved parties and the different approaches to area conservation adopted within a policy-making paradigm that is dominated by the political model. Also included are the value and priority systems of each of the influential groups responsible for area conservation, mainly in the Middle East Region while focusing on Egypt.

This exploratory inquiry has also guided this research, collecting the above mentioned qualities and values to be safeguarded. The inner validity of such an inquiry has been also supported by fieldwork research and interviews with reliable sources involved in urban management in the consulted examples. Thus, the conceptual framework, elaborated in Chapter Five, came as a responsive product that is based on cases in similar cultural and political contexts, which supported a practical validation of the above qualities and different approaches to area conservation, being tested through the explored examples and cases consulted in parts one and two in this research. Such a framework has proven an effective epistemological means to conduct a comprehensive investigation to explore the

quality of conservation planning in Cairo and its sequenced environmental qualities, as well as assessing it. Moreover, the triangulation technique followed (confirming the revealed information and the deduced data through accumulating the outcomes of the different research methods employed in this research) has increased the inner validity of the investigation conducted in Historic Cairo and sharpened the research inquiries and sequenced hypotheses.

### **Conclusion. 2.2. Historic Cairo as a Case Study:**

Historic Cairo is a very significant medieval urban fabric, and shares many physical configurations and cultural systems with its counterpart Islamic cities, especially in the Middle East and more precisely in the Fertile Crescent Region (Jordan, Syria and Lebanon). Yet it is also unique in its size and its still-active traditional industrial and lifestyle systems, which is the main reason for classifying Historic Cairo as a world heritage site. Moreover, Historic Cairo, as a case study, is ideal for research and academic challenges for the number and the sophisticated nature of the problems it exhibits. Therefore, studying them provides a valuable reference to deal with the common problems and obstacles crippling effective area conservation and urban upgrading in many medieval urban phenomena and more precisely in the Islamic and Middle Eastern historic towns.

### **Conclusion. 2.3. The Assessment as a Research Main Objective:**

The 'Assessment' of area conservation has been selected as an epistemological means, which necessitates a broad spectrum and considerations to explore to grasp multi factors that influence conservation planning. It also acts as a cross-sectional study as it provides a variety of experiences both in terms of the meaning and the approach to define and to deal with historic areas through various activities, whether policy, law making, planning or implementation of an area conservation scheme.

### **Conclusion. 2.4. The Research Methods:**

The research methods employed in this research to pursue an accurate investigation to explore conservation planning in Cairo are document analysis, interviews, a workshop (including the pre-test questionnaire), an open meeting and role-play sessions. The first method, document analysis, has proven much effectiveness. Counting on the governmental organisational reports, they represented reliable sources that help identify the values and

priorities of each organisation. This is also validated through reviewing the press, where the Ministers or high officials reveal their organisations' policies and strategies. This has proven much validity after cross checking the information collected and revealed. Also the official reports are the most valid and interdepartmental documents; thus, their data and guidelines are like laws in that they recognise and express the actual tendencies of each organisation. In addition, the press reports used are mainly from *al-Ahram* and *al-Akhbar Newspapers* and publications in general; being the official newspapers makes them reliable and reveals the actual policies of each organisation revealed through official media channels, i.e. valid data and policies. This method also compensates the impossibility of interviewing the high officials of the Cairo Governorate and the Ministers of Culture and Housing as their actual agenda could be deduced from their reportages published in the press and the official reports kept in their ministries that illustrate the strategies of their organisations.

The interview as a technique has also proven its effectiveness in the types and amount of information it reveals. That has been possible through adopting a semi-structured interview technique. However, this technique cannot be employed alone for its inner validity might need support. This is because of the potential of biased answers that are given by some officials due to political pressures. Therefore, despite the effectiveness and the amount of information this technique might bring, it is recommended to conduct document analysis to learn about the organisation and its structure, as well as the influencing officials to interview and to allow the interviewer (the researcher) to sense the potential bias in the interview so it can be circumvented in other questions or through further investigations of different research methods.

Both the workshop and the open meeting methods have proven strong validity for the information revealed by the professionals and planners involved in them as this is given in action, during an experiment or a specialised in-depth discussion. It also increased the reliability of the answers revealed in the interviews by double checking and comparing them with the responses and concepts revealed during the sessions held in the workshop and the open meeting. Being also a very rare chance to group different delegates from different organisations involved in area conservation, the type of information revealed has been unique for any other research method will only consider the answers of one organisation revealed through a representing subject. Yet, in the workshop and the open meeting, acting as venues rarely assembled, there is a great chance to grasp in depth and in

action the actual non-revealed obstacles through direct confrontation between the representatives of competing organisations, as elaborated in different sections in Chapter Six. Furthermore, the questionnaires (pre-test and post-test) have been also an effective technique to clarify the definition and meaning of historic area from the planners' point of view.

On the other hand, the role play method has been the least successful one. The local communities, from Qasr al-Sham, taken as a sample group were too demoralised to act in response to the role-play process. Therefore, the role-play sessions turned into group interviews, where four or more interviewees from the community were grouped and interviewed together, which led to clear and obvious reflections of the local communities' reservations against the current approaches to area conservation expressed through the interventions introduced in their environment.

### **Conclusion. 3. Assessment of Area conservation in Cairo:**

Historic Cairo is mainly dominated by the governmental organisations, as the responsibility and the degree of involvement in area conservation among the local communities, international and governmental organisations are not balanced, in conflict as elaborated in section 6.5 in the previous chapter. This situation of conflict is maintained through an inter-organisational conflict. This leads to a territorial domain, where each organisation tries to claim an upper hand to control and to implement urban upgrading in one of the historic quarters in Historic Cairo, which maintain the absence of co-ordination and comprehensive planning.

Consequently, it is now possible to review the hypotheses this research started with. It has been clarified that the main target has always been tourism dollars government investment is due to envisaging historic areas as a commodity to generate monies from the tourism industry. In addition, reviewing the work pursued by governmental organisations in Historic Cairo, the claim raised by many officials who interpret the current crippling of area conservation schemes and the continuing urban deterioration as due to the lack of sufficient funding can no longer be supported. It is rather a matter of absence of effective co-ordination and reasonable and realistic involvement of local communities who give the historic areas their meaning and significance. This is besides the absence of an active and broadly recognised and clear system of values and priorities that could provide the terms of

reference needed to confront the current administrative and technical conflicts crippling the different efforts to apply comprehensive development in Historic Cairo.

Generally, in evaluating the research hypotheses, they have proven their validity being at the top of the list of problems causing environmental deterioration and crippling conservation efforts, as well as being responsible for the low quality of area conservation planning in Cairo. On the other hand, it has been deduced that the common claim, made by many officials regarding financial problems as the main cause of such deterioration, is not at the top of the list of the chronic and acute problems affecting area conservation in Cairo. Rather, there must be other inquiries to be addressed as the possible root of and the actual cause for the current deterioration and the reason for maintaining such deficiencies in the environmental upgrading in historic areas in Egypt in general, which can be regarded metaphorically as the origin and the starting point from which all the problem chains, hypothesised in section 2.2.1 in Chapter Two, radiate.

#### **Conclusion 4. Research Significance:**

Since this inquiry has been pursued from the beginning as an urge to evaluate and judge the current paradigm and approaches to area conservation in Historic Cairo, a theoretical inquiry has been conducted. This has generated broad, assembled criteria to evaluate and judge any area conservation scheme that emerged as a sub-product of this research (a model of area conservation assessment, see fig. 5.4) to give the intellectual authority to judge the quality of area conservation planning in Historic Cairo. While most of the area conservation literature sought specified environmental qualities or land use policies to evaluate a certain conservation scheme, the above criteria have been assembled, responsively, as an accumulation of environmental qualities and value principles and conservation planning processes, which have been supported by international literature and various tested cases.

On the other hand, according to these criteria it is possible now to consider and to employ, as evaluative tools (a model for area conservation assessment), the current definition of historic area that guides and motivates any intervention introduced in such an urban phenomenon, the environmental qualities of historic areas, the urban management and conservation planning processes and the different approaches to area conservation (cultural, composite etc.). This is essential to be able to conduct a comprehensive judgement needed when testing the quality of any area conservation planning scheme.



This made it possible to explore and evaluate the case of Historic Cairo, envisaged through the above assembled criteria. Despite the extensive literature produced about area conservation in Cairo and the different enthusiastic planning and conservation schemes, Historic Cairo continued to witness deterioration and its few accomplished schemes have not been promising. In addition, the absence of the evaluative stance and feedback in the current planning and policymaking plateau in Egypt increased the need for an evaluative study, which makes the present inquiry a pioneering, initiative step towards a realistic confrontation of the actual obstacles crippling effective area conservation and urban upgrading in Egypt and the Arab-Islamic region, and more precisely in Historic Cairo. This is because Historic Cairo exhibits many problems that interact and are developed in a sophisticated manner, which have given it a notorious reputation of being a chaotic urban phenomenon that can have no cure; a passive intellectual trend that raised cries for saving heritage without any previous attempts to diagnose the situation.

#### **Conclusion. 5. Future Research:**

Hence, it is proper to attribute the continuation of the deteriorated environmental phenomena plaguing great part of Historic Cairo to factors that caused the ineffectiveness of the current conservation planning paradigm. These factors are caused by unsustainable conservation projects, as well as their approaches that never equally consider the local communities' culture and benefits as much as they enthusiastically seek tourism dollars. In addition, the continuing conflicts, due to the absence of an organisational structure and a well-defined and structured value and priority system, have maintained this chaotic situation that contributes much to the ineffectiveness of all the conservation efforts in Historic Cairo and in Egypt in general.

Consequently, based on the above and according to the comments of the delegates representing the most influential governmental organisations involved in area conservation expressed in the post-test questionnaire forms, further research is needed in the issues addressed above that are proposed to be the actual reason behind the current environmental deterioration in Historic Cairo, i.e. the role of the individual and the local communities in the upgrading schemes in general. In addition further investigation are necessary to be directed to investigating the reason behind the absence of a national legislative and technical guidelines and administrative organisational charts that structure the responsibilities and the role of each organisation involved in area conservation, as well as

defining the value and priority systems that balance the claims of all the involved parties with rights to use, occupy and exploit historic areas.

Furthermore, the present inquiry and the above mentioned delegates also ensured the necessity to pursue further research in the obstacles that cripple comprehensive planning in general and adopting comprehensive and integrated approaches to area conservation. In addition, further research in each of the detailed planning processes discussed in criteria III, e.g. effective listing and classification system and detailed guidelines, are also requested to be pursued in the future. This is because this research only tackles, on a wide scope, many elements and factors that are necessary for comprehensive area conservation. Yet they have been discussed to encompass most of the factors for effective area conservation to assemble the sought assessment criteria. However such factors and conservation and planning processes are not discussed in details, which are recommended be probed in detail in the future.

## REFERENCES

## References

### References.1. Books and Journal Articles:

- Abdel-Jawad, Tawfic A. (1949), "Mashakil al-iskan fi Misr wa 'ilagaha (Housing Problems in Egypt and their Solutions)," *Al-Emara*, vols. 6-8, pp. 71-84.
- Abdel-Qader, Muhammad (2000), "Cairo Master Planning," a paper presented in the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference of the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO), 11-14 October.
- Abdel-Rahman, Osama (1993), "The Central Area of Alexandria, Egypt: Development Implications and Urban Conservation," *TWPR*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 37-54.
- Abdou, Ahmed; Kallmayer, Herbert; and Schulz, Klaus J. (1997), *Citizen's Participation in the Renovation of the Old Town*, Cairo, Goethe Institute Kairo Press.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet (1996) "Urbanization in the Arab World and the International System," in Gugler, Josef (ed.), *The Urban Transformation of the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, pp. 185-210.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet (1992), "The Planners' Dilemma: What to Do with an Historic Heritage," working paper no. 7 published in *Working Papers* series, Dourlwy-Ashabi, Elisabeth (ed.), Los Angeles, Von Grunebaum Center Publications, pp. 1-16.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. (1987), "The Islamic City-Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, And Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES)*, vol.19, no.2, May 1987, pp. 155-176.
- Akbar, Jamil (1992) *'Imarat al-ard fi al-Islam* (Urbanisation of Earth in Islam), Jeddah, Dar al-Qiblah lil thaqafah al-Islamiyya.
- Akbar, Jamil (1988), *Crisis of the Built Environment: the Case of the Muslim City*, NY, E.J. Brill.
- Ali, A. Abdel-Salam and Abu Zaid, A. Abdel-Hadi (1996), "Derasat nafsiyya liba'd al-mutaghayyirat al-shakhsiyyah wa al-qawmiyyah lil-'amilin al-'a'idin min al-'amal bil-kharig (Psychological Studies for Some Changes in Character and Qualities of the Returning Workers from Abroad)," *'Ilm al-Nafs*, no. 37 (January, February and March), Cairo, General Egyptian Book Authority, pp. 176-92.
- Aliboni, R; Dessouki, A.; Ibrahim, S.; Luciano, G.; and Padoan, P. (eds.) (1984) *Egypt's Economic Potential*, Croom Helm, Billing & Sons LTD, UK.
- Al-Kodmany, Kheir (1999), "Residential Visual Privacy: Traditional and Modern Architecture and Urban Design," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 283-311.
- Alsayyad, Nezar (ed.) (2001), *Hybrid Urbanism: on the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, Boston, Greenwood Press.
- Altham, Irwin and Rogoff, Babara (1987), "Worldviews in Psychology: Trait Interactional and Transactional Perspective," in Stokols, Daniel and Altham, Irwin (eds.), *Handbook of Environmental Psychology*, vol.1, New York, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 7-40.
- Amin, Ash and Graham, Stephen (1999), "Cities of Connection and Disconnection," in Allen, John; Massey, Doreen and Pryke, Michael (eds.), *Unsettling Cities*, New York, Routledge, pp. 7-47.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel (1995), "Globalization, Institutional 'Thickness' and the Local Economy," in Healey, Patsy and Cameron, Stuart et al. (eds.), *Managing Cities: the New Urban Context*, West Sussex, Wiley, pp. 91-108.

## References

- Amin, Galal (2001) *What happened to the Egyptians? The development of the Egyptian Society in half a century (1945-1995)* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., in Arabic, Cairo, Dar al-Hilal.
- Anderson, Kay and Gale, Fay (1992), *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, Melbourne, Longman Cheshire.
- Anson, Brian (1981) *I'll Fight You for it! Behind the Struggle for Covent Garden*, Bungay, Suffolk, the Chaucer Press.
- Arefi (1999), "Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 179-93.
- Arkoun, Mohammed (1990), "The Meaning of Cultural Conservation in Muslim Societies," in Imamuddin, Abu H. and Longeteig, Karen R. (eds.), *Architectural & Urban Conservation in the Islamic World*, vol. 1, the Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Singapore, pp. 25-33.
- Arkoun, Mohammed (1983), "Building and Meaning in the Islamic World," *MIMAR* no. 8: Architecture in Development, pp. 50-53.
- Asfour, Khaled (2000), "Learning from Mamluk Architectural Esthetics," *The Cairo Heritage*, Cairo, AUC Press, pp. 235-62.
- Ashworth, G. J. (1997), "Conservation as Preservation or as Heritage: Two Paradigms and Two Answers," *Built Environment*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 92-102.
- Assi, Eman (2002), "Community Involvement in a Housing Renewal Project in the Old City of Jerusalem," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 1, March, pp. 74-85.
- Assi, Eman (2000), "Searching for the Concept of Authenticity: Implementation Guidelines," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 60-9.
- Ayubi, N. (1991) *The State and Public Policies in Egypt since Sadat*, Political Studies of the Middle East Series, no. 29, Ithaca Press, Reading.
- Babbie, Earl (1995) *The Practice of Social Research*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., Belmont California, Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Ballo, Marcello (1993), "Urban Planning and the Fragmented City of Developing Countries," *TWPR*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 23-35.
- Banai, R. (1996), "A Theoretical Assessment of the 'Neo-traditional' Settlement Form be Dimensions of Performance," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Behavior*, vol. 23, pp. 177-90.
- Barrett, Heather (1993), "Investigating Townscape Change and Management in Urban Conservation Areas: the Importance of Detailed Monitoring of Planned Alterations," *TPR*, 64 (4), pp. 435-56.
- Barton, Hugh (1996), "Going Green by Design," *Urban Design*, no. 57, January, pp. 13-8.
- Batty, Michael and Densham, Paul J. (1996), "Decision Support, GIS and Urban Planning," Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis, University College London, [http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/%epdensham/sdss/s\\_t\\_paper.html](http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/%epdensham/sdss/s_t_paper.html).
- Baxter, Alan (2000), "The Future of Historic Cities," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 20-7.

## References

- Bejaoui, Faika (1997), "Le projet (Oukalas): Renaissance d'une Medina," *International Architectural Review*, 14<sup>th</sup> January, pp. 35-42.
- Bellini, Amedeo (1998), "From Restoration to Conservation: from Aesthetics to Ethics", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.3, Spring, pp. 55-61.
- Bennett, A.; Hansfeld, S.; Reeve, R.A., and Smith, J. (1978) *Workshops in Cognitive Processes*, London, Routledge et Kegan Paul.
- Bianca, Stefano (2000), *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- Borski, Willy (1947), "Islah al-ahya' al-muzdahimah fi al-madina (Reforming the Crowded Districts in the City)," *Al-Emara*, vol. 7, nos. 1-2, pp. 39-44.
- Brewer, J. and Hunter, A. (1989) *Multimethod Research: a Synthesis of Style*, California, SAGE Publication.
- Bruce, Lynn Dyson; Dixon, Piers; Hingley, Richard and Stevenson, Jack (1998), *Research Report: Historic Assessment: a Report of the Pilot Project (1996-1998)*, Edinburgh, Historic Scotland.
- Bryson, John M. (1988), *Strategic Planning for Public and Nonprofit Organizations: a Guide to Strengthening and Sustaining Organizational Achievements*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Cairo Governorate (2001), *Proceedings of the First Scientific Symposium no.1 for the Working Plan of Cairo Governorate and its Futuristic Vision*, Cairo Governorate Press.
- Cantacuzino, Sherban (1990), "Conservation in Local Context" in Imamuddin, Abu H. and Longeteig, Karen K. (eds.), *Architectural and Urban Conservation in the Islamic World*, vol. 1, Geneva, AKTC, pp. 55-67.
- Cantacuzino, Sherban (1987), "Blueprint for Conservation in the Third World," *Mimar*, vol. 24, June, pp. 19-25.
- Carmon, Naomi (1999), "Three Generations of Urban Policies: Analysis and Policy Implications," *Geoforum*, no. 30, pp. 145-58.
- Carmona, Matthew; De Magalhaes, Claudio and Edwards, Michael (2002a), "What value urban design?," *Urban Design International*, 7, pp. 63-81.
- Carmona, Matthew; De Magalhaes, Claudio and Edwards, Michael (2002b), "Stakeholders Views on Value and Urban Design," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 145- 169.
- Carmona, Matthew (1996), "The Local Plan Agenda," *Urban Design*, no. 57, January, pp. 18-23.
- Carter, Harold (1981), *The Study of Urban Geography*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London, Edward Arnold Ltd.
- Cassidy, T. (1997), *Environmental Psychology – Behavior and Experience in Context*, Sussex, Psychology Press.
- Chapman, David (1999), "Malta: Conservation in a Transitional System," *Built Environment*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 259-71.

## References

- Christenson, J. A. and Robinson, J. (1989), *Community Development in Perspective*, Iowa State University Press/Ames.
- Çelik, Zeyneb (1993), *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Cohen, Nahoum (1999), *Urban Conservation*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press.
- Coleman, Alice (1990) *Utopia on Trial*, London, Hilary Shipman Ltd.
- Costof, Spiro (1992) *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History*, London, Thames & Hudson Ltd.
- Coyle, Adrian (1995), "Discourse Analysis," in Breakwell, Glynis M.; Hammoud, Sean and Fife-Schaw, Chris (eds.), *Research Methods in Psychology*, London, SAGE publications, pp. 243-58.
- Cunningham, Michael C. and Savoie, Donald F. (1975), "Is the Piazza un-American? Its uses in Italian Urban History", *Ekistics* 232, March, pp. 172-6.
- Daher, Rami (1999), "Gentrification and the Politics of Power, Capital and Culture in an Emerging Jordanian Heritage Industry," *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environment*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 33-45.
- Daher, Rami (1996), "Conservation in Jordan: a Comprehensive Methodology for Historical and Cultural Resources", *Journal of Architectural Conservation* no.3, November, pp. 65-81.
- Davidson, Forbes (1996), "Planning for Performance: Requirements for Sustainable Development," *Habitat International*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 445-62.
- Delafons, John (1997a), *Politics and Preservation: a Policy History of the Built Heritage, 1882-1996*, London, E & Fn Spon.
- Delafons, John (1997b), "Sustainable Conservation," *Built Environment*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 111-20.
- Dennis Rodwell (2003), "Sustainability and the Holistic Approach to Conservation of Historic Cities", *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no.1, March, pp. 58-73.
- De Soto, Hernando (2002), *Secret of Capital*, translated by Kamal al-Said, Cairo, Al-Ahram Center for Translation and Publication.
- Dineen, Donald A. and Walsh, Mary (1999), "Cost Benefit Analysis of Tourism Projects: Some Considerations of the Key Issues Analyzed through a Case Study of a Unique Heritage Project in the West of Ireland," *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 129-46.
- Dix, Gerald (1996a), "Integrity and Integration: Evolution and Rehabilitation in the City – Part One," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 2, July, pp. 7-20.
- Dix, Gerald (1996b), "Integrity and Integration: Evolution and Rehabilitation in the City – Part Two," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 7-22.
- Dix, Gerald (1990), "Conservation and Change in the City," *TWPR*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 385-406.
- Doig, Barbara and Littlewood, Judith (1992), *Policy Evaluation: The Role of Social Research*, London, HMSO.

## References

- Dower, Michael (1975), "Tourism and Conservation in Europe," *Ekistics*, 232, March, pp. 192-8.
- Editing Board (2001), "When Should a Building Be Delisted?" *Heritage Review*, no. 4, Spring.
- El-Hassan, Rima (2000), "The Use of GIS to Support Conservation Area Appraisal in Urban Centres," *Forum*, vol. 3, issue 1, pp. 31-5.
- Eliot, T. (2001), *Notes on the Definition of Culture*, translated by Ayyad, Shukri, Cairo, General Egyptian Book Authority.
- Elliott, J. (1997) *Tourism: Politics and Public Sector Management*, Routledge.
- El-Naggar, Said (1963), "An Economic Analysis of the Metropolis," in Berger, Morroe (ed.), *The New Metropolis in the Arab World*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers.
- Ellis, Hugh (2000), "Planning and Public Empowerment: Third Party Rights in Development Control," *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 203-17.
- English Heritage (1996), *Conservation Area Appraisals: Defining the Special Architectural of Historic Interest of Conservation Areas*.
- Escher, Anton and Petermann, Sandra (2000), "Neo-colonialism of Gentrification in the Medina of Marrakesh," ISIM, Newsletter, Leaden University, no. 5, p. 34.
- Evans, Brian (1999), "Urban Design Strategies for Public Realm: Lessons from Glasgow and Newcastle," *Built Environment*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 344-55.
- Fainstein, Susan F. (1996), "The Changing World Economy and Urban Restructuring," in Fainstein, Susan F. and Campbell, Scott (eds.), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Malden, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers Inc., pp. 170- 186.
- Fairclough, Alexandra (2000), "Human Rights: the Constitution in the Balance: the Possible Implications of the Human Rights Act 1998 on Conservation of the Built Environment Are Considerable," *Context* (Institute of Historic Building Conservation), no. 66, June, pp. 27-9.
- Fathy, Hassan (1963), "Planning and Building in the Arab Tradition: The Village Experiment of Gourna," in Berger, Morroe (ed.), *The New Metropolis in the Arab World*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers.
- Feilden, Bernard and Jokiletho, J. (1993), *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, UNESCO.
- Feilden, Bernard (1990), "Civilizing our Cities," *TWPR*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 311-21.
- Feilden, Bernard M. (1985), "Architecture and Urban Conservation: a Review of the State of the Art," *Town Planning Review* (TPA), vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 197-221.
- Feilden, N. (1985), *Linking Data*, California, SAGE Publication.
- Fiedi, Joanna Ziad (2000), *Public Participation and Heritage Conservation: a Critical Approach*, unpublished M Sc. Thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Jordan, School of Architecture.
- Fischer, David Hackett (1970) *Historians' Fallacies Toward a Logic of Historic Thought*, NY, Harper & Row Publishers.



## References

- Gans, H. J. (1972), "Planning for People, not Buildings," in Stewart, Murray (ed.), *The City: Problems of Planning*, Penguin Book, Suffolk, pp. 363-84.
- Gans, H. J. (1969), "Planning for People, not Buildings," *Environment and Planning*, vol. 1, pp. 33-46.
- Gertrud, Jorgenson (1992), *Urban Uses and Identity of Place*, IAPS 12, vol.2, 247-51.
- Gharai, Fariba (1998), "The Value of Neighborhoods: a Cultural Approach to Urban Design," a www paper published at the site of the University of Sheffield, Department of Architectural Studies in December 1998, <http://www.shu.ac.uk/schools/cs/ead/work.gharai.pdf>.
- Girndle, M. S., and Thomas, J. W., (1989), *Policy Makers, Policy Choices and Policy Outcomes: The Political Economy of Reform in the Developing Countries*, Policy Sciences, 22.
- Godonou, Alain (1999), "At the School of Sustainable Development," *ICCROM Newsletter*, no. 25, July, pp. 7-9.
- Gohar, Amr (2000), "The Development of Fatimid Cairo", *Ahwal Misriyya Periodical*, 3ed year vol. 10, autumn, Al-Ahram Press, pp. 102-4.
- Goodall, Brian (1993), "Industrial Heritage and Tourism," *Built Environment*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 93-104.
- Gordon, Christopher and Mundy, Simon (2001), *European Perspectives on Cultural Policy*, Paris, UNESCO.
- Gorth, Annette (2000), "Sustainable tourism and the Environment," *Connect*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 1-2.
- Hahn, Ekhart and Simonis, Udo E. (1991), "Ecological Urban Restructuring," *Ekistics*, nos. 248 & 249, May/June & July/August, pp. 199-209.
- Hakim, Besim S. (2001), "Reviving the Rule System: An Approach for Revitalizing Traditional Towns in Maghrib," *Cities*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 87-92.
- Hall, C.M. (1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*, John Wiley & Sons.
- Hassaballah, Ahmed (2001), "A House Reconstructed: The Purchase Contract of Mustafa Ja'far", *Annales Islamologiques* 35, pp. 163-79.
- Hassan, Fekri (ed.) (2001), *Strategic Approach to Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, Cairo, UNDP, UNESCO and CULTNAT.
- Hathloul, Saleh (1996) *The Arab Muslim City: Tradition, Continuity, and Change in the Physical Environment*, Riyadh, Dar al-Salam.
- Heidegger, M. (1958), "An Ontological Consideration of Place," in *The Quest of Being*, New York, Twayne Publishers.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (1998), *Conservation Plans for Historic Places*, March 1998.
- Hewison, Robert (1987), *The Heritage Industry*, London, Methnen.
- Hindam, Gamal (1993), *Cairo*, Cairo, Dar al-Hilal.
- Historic Cairo (2002), *Historic Cairo*, Supreme Council of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture.

## References

- Historic Scotland (2000a), *Conservation Plans: A Guide to the Preparation of Conservation Plans*.
- Historic Scotland (2000b), *Nomination of New Landmarks for Inclusion in the World Heritage List*.
- Hoover, Kenneth R. (1988) *The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., NY, St. martin's Press.
- Hourani, A.H. (1970), "The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research," in Hourani, A.H. and Stern, S.M. (eds.), *Papers on Islamic History: The Islamic City, a Colloquium*, vol.1, Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, pp. 9-24.
- Howton, F. William (1969), "Cities, Slums and Acculturative Process in the Developing Countries," in Meadows, Paul and Mizruchi, Ephraim H. (eds.), *Urbanism, Urbanization and Change: Comparative Perspectives*, London, Addison-Wesley, pp. 431-47.
- Hubbard, Philip (1993), "The Value of Conservation: a Critical Review of Behavioral Research," *TPR*, vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 359-73.
- Hussein, M. (1973), *Class Conflict in Egypt 1945-1970*, Monthly Review Press, New York, The New York Press.
- Iacofano, Daniel S. (1985), "Participatory Decision Making: Some Directions for Evaluating Theory and Practice," in Klein, Stephan; Wener, Richard and Lehman, Sheila (eds.), *EDRA16 Conference Proceedings*, June 10-13, New York, pp. 257-66.
- Ian, Cullen (1984), *Applied Urban Analysis: a Critique and Synthesis*, New York, Methuen.
- Ibrahim, Saad al-Din (1984), "Al-Qahirah: nazrah igtima'iyyah (Cairo: a Social View)," *Conference Proceedings, Urban Expansion Challenges: Cairo as a Case Study*, 9<sup>th</sup> Symposium of the Architectural Changes in the Islamic World Series, 11-15 November, The Agha Khan Press, pp. 53-65.
- ICTC (International Cultural Tourism Charter) (1999), 8<sup>th</sup> Draft for Adoption by ICOMOS at the 12<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, Mexico, October (1999).
- Innes, Judith (2002), "Improving Policy Making with Information," *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 3, no. 1, April, pp. 102-4.
- Isaacs, Raymond (2000), "The Urban Picturesque: An Artistic Experience of Urban Pedestrian Places," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 145-180.
- Jo, Walker (1992), "Authenticity and the Attribution of Meaning in the Built Environment," in *IAPS 12 Conference Proceedings*, vol. 2, 278-81.
- Jokilehto, Jokka and Laenen, M. (1999), "Sustainable Development and Immaterial Heritage," *ICCROM Newsletter*, no. 25, July, pp. 2-3.
- Jokilehto, Jokka (1999a), *A History of Architecture Conservation*, Oxford, Butterworth Heinemann in association with ICCROM.
- Jokilehto, Jokka (1999b), "A Century of Heritage Conservation," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 14-33.
- Kafafi, Hassan (1990) *A Contemporary Vision of Egypt's Map and the Distribution of Population*, Cairo, the Egyptian Book Organisation.

## References

- Kalevi, Korpela (1992), "The Issue of Transformations (Metamorphoses) and Stability in Place-Identity," *IAPS 12*, vol.2, 240-6.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (2002), "Post-Colonialism Compared: Potentials and Limitations in the Middle East and Central Asia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*, vol. 34, pp. 279-97.
- Karim, Said (1952), "Al-Qahira ka madina: takhtituha, tatawwuruha, tawassu'uha (Cairo as a City: Its Planning, Development and Expansion)," a lecture given in Ewart Hall, the American University in Cairo on 26 February, *Al-Emara*, vol. 1-2, pp. 1-28.
- Karimi, Kayvan (1995), "An Analytical Approach to the Spatial Concepts in Iranian Historic Cities and their Transformation after Modernization; A Case Study of the Iranian City of Shiraz," in Ramalashmi, Cockburn (ed.), *Proceedings of Development through Conservation, Towards Ongoing World Cities*, University of York, United Kingdom, pp. 7-32.
- Khattab, Omar (1993), "Environmental Quality Assessment: An Attempt to Evaluate Government Housing Projects," *Open House International*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 41-7.
- Korten, David (1995), *When Corporation Rule the World*, San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Krueger, (1988) *Focus Groups*, California, SAGE Publication.
- Kubiak, Wladyslaw B. (1987) *Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development*, Cairo, AUC Press.
- Kurokawa, Kisho (1997), *Metabolism in Architecture*, London, Cassell & Collier Macmillan.
- Larkham, P. (2000), Residents' Attitudes to Conservation," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, vol. 6, no. 1, March, pp. 74-88.
- Larkham, P. (1999), "The Experience of Conservation Outside the Planning Systems of the Industrial West," *Built Environment*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 189-95.
- Larkham, P. and Lodge, Jacqueline (1998), "Testing UK Conservation in Practice: The Case of Chartist Villages in Gloucestershire", *Built Environment* vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 121-36.
- Larkham, Peter J. (1994), "Conservation Areas and Plan-led Planning: How far can we go?" *Journal of Planning and Environmental Law*, January , pp. 8-12.
- Lee, Sim Loo (1997), "The Conservation of Singapore's Chinatown," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 2, July, pp. 43-79.
- Leven, David (2000), "Conservation in Scotland's Planning Framework: Planning and Conservation Need to Evolve to Manage Change in the Historic Environment More Effectively," *Context*, no. 67, September, pp. 21-26.
- Lichfield, Nathaniel (1997), "Achieving the Benefits of Conservation," *Built Environment*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 103-9.
- Loughary, John W. and Hopson, Barrie (1979) *Producing Workshops, Seminars, and Short Courses: A Trainer's Handbook*, Chicago, Association Press.
- Lozano, Eduardo (1993), *Community Design and the Culture of Cities: the Crossroad and the Wall*, Cambridge University Press.

## References

- Lukemann, F. (1964), "Geography as a Formal Intellectual Discipline and the Way in which it Contributes to Human Knowledge," *Canadian Geographer*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 167-72.
- Lynch, K. (1984), *A Theory of Good City*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press.
- Magreean, Andrea (1998), "Urban Conservation Policy Development: Character Appraisal and Analysis," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 59-77.
- Maguire, Robert (1997), "Conservation and Diversity Philosophies," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 1, March, pp. 7-18.
- Malik, Ayub (1979), "The Muslim Urban Heritage: A Case for Care and Conservation," *Islamic Quarterly*, no. 23, pp. 186-94.
- Mansour, Sawsan Fayiez (1997), "The Phenomenon of Division of Large Damascian Mansions in al-Hamrawi Area," unpublished Diploma, Faculty of Engineering, Damascus University.
- Masahiru, Tamura (2000), "Heisei Restoration," *Look Japan*, vol. 46, no. 535, October, pp. 34-6.
- Matar, Eman (2000), "Crooking under the Name of the American AID," *Rose al-Youssef*, no. 3773, 30<sup>th</sup> September-6<sup>th</sup> October, pp. 24-5.
- Matthew, Robert; Reid, John and Lindsay, Maurice (eds.) (1972) *The Conservation of Georgian Edinburgh*, proceedings of the Conference on the Conservation of Georgian Edinburgh held in Edinburgh in 1970, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Mayfield, J. (1996) *Local Government in Egypt: Structure, Process, and the Challenges of Reform*, The American University in Cairo Press.
- McGuinness, Justin (1996a), "Political Context and Professional Ideologies: French Urban Conservation Planning Transferred to the Medina of Tunis," paper presented in the 11<sup>th</sup> Association of Europe Schools of Planning Congress, University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 22-31 May.
- Ministry of Awqaf (1999) *The Ministry of Awqaf : Past, Present and Future*, Cairo, Awqaf Press.
- Mitchel, W. J. T. (1994), *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press.
- Morton, David (1999), "Conservation Areas – Has Saturation Point Been Reached?" *The Planner*, vol. 77, no. 17 (Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute), 17<sup>th</sup> May, pp. 5-8.
- Mosa, Magdi and Metwali, Medhat (2002) "An Interview with the Minister of Culture Regarding Urban Development and the Civilised Management Law", *the Periodical of the Faculty of Fine Art*, no. 2 March, Alexandria University, pp. 4, 5.
- Moser, C. (1989), "Community participation in Urban Projects in the Third World," *Progress in Planning*, vol. 32, part 2.
- Moughtin, C. (1992) *Urban Design: Street and Square*, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.
- Mubarak, Ali (1969), *Al-khitat al-tawfiqiyya al-jadida li-Misr al-Qahira wa muduniha wa biladiha al-qadima wa 'l-shahira*, Cairo. General Egyptian Book Authority.
- Mugavin, Damien (1999), "A Philosophical Base for Urban Morphology," *Urban Morphology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 95-9.

## References

- Murdoch, J. (1998), "The Spaces of Actor Network Theory," *Geoforum*, no. 29, pp. 357-74.
- Mustafa, Mas'ud A. (1990), *Aqalim al-Dawla al-Islamiyya: Bayn al-Lamarkaziyyah al-Siyasiyyah wa al-Markaziyya al-Idariyya (The Regions of the Islamic State: between Political De-centrality and Administrative Centrality)*, Cairo, General Egyptian Book Authority.
- Nairn, Ian (1965), *The American Landscape*, New York, Random House.
- Noha, Nasser (2003), "Cultural Continuity and Meaning of Place: Sustaining Historic Cities of the Islamicate World", *Journal of Architectural Conservation* no.1, March, pp. 74-89.
- Norton, David and Ayers, John H. (1993), "Conservation Areas in an Era of Plan Led Planning," *Journal of Planning and Environment Law*, March, pp. 211-3.
- Nuttgens, Patrick (1972), "The Principles of Conservation" in Matthew, R.; Reid, J.; Lindsay, M. (eds.), *The Conservation of Georgian Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press, pp. 99-101.
- O'Brien, Colm (1997), "Form, Function and Sign: Signifying the Past in Urban Waterfront Regeneration," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 163-78.
- Orbaşli, Aylin (2000), "Is Tourism Governing Conservation in Historic Towns?," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 7-19.
- Owen, Roger (1969), "The Cairo Building Industry and the Building Boom of 1897 to 1907," in Assabgui, Andrea et al. (eds.), *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Egyptian Ministry of Culture, pp. 337-50.
- Pahl, Ray (1982), "Urban Managerialism Reconsidered," in Paris, Chris (ed.), *Critical Readings in Planning Theory*, Urban and Regional Planning Series, vol. 27, Oxford, Pergamon Press, pp. 47-67.
- Pahl, R. E. (1972), "Whose City?" in *The City: Problems of Planning*, Penguin Books, Suffolk, pp. 85-91.
- Pals, Daniel L. (1996), *Seven Theories of Religion*, Oxford University Press.
- Pendenbury, John and Townshend, Tim (1999), "The Conservation of Historic Areas and Public Participation," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no.2, July, pp. 72-87.
- Pickard, Robert (2002), "Area-based Protection Mechanism for Heritage Conservation: A European Comparison," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no.2, July, pp. 69- 88.
- Pickard, R. D. (1996), *Conservation in the Built Environment*, Essex, Longman.
- The Planning Function of City Development (1999), *The Grange Conservation Area: Character Appraisal*, The City of Edinburgh Council.
- Pryke, Michael (1999), "City Rhythms: Neo-liberalism and the Developing World," in Allen, John; Massey, Doreen and Pryke, Michael (eds.), *Unsettling Cities*, New York, Routledge, pp. 229-70.
- Qabil, Sanaa (2000) "An interview with the Minister of Localities", Rose El-Youssef, 6<sup>th</sup> October no. 3773, pp. 26,7.
- Qamha, A.N. and Minecy, A. (2000), " The intellectual Egyptians' approaches to the national development project," in Arabic, *Ahwal Misriyya* 3ed year, vol.10 Autumn, pp. 71-85.

## References

- Rachel, Sebba (1992), "The Three Faces of Cultural Change (The Reflection of Cultural Change in the Dwelling)," IAPS 12, vol.4, 209-15.
- Rapoport, Amos (2000), *The Writings of Amos Rapoport (1964- 2000)*, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Press.
- Rapoport, Amos (1995), "A Critical Look at the Concept of Home," in Benjamin, David N. (ed.) and Stea, David (Assistant ed.), *The Home: Words, Interpretations, Meanings and Environments*, Aldershot, England, Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 25-52.
- Rapoport, Amos (1990), "Environment Quality and Environmental Quality Profiles," in *Quality in the Built Environment*, Conference Proceedings, July 1989, Newcastle upon Tyne, Open House International Association, pp. 75-83.
- Rapoport, Amos (1982) *The Meaning of the Built Environment: a non-verbal communication approach*, Sage.
- Rapoport, Amos (1977), *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- Raymond, André (1980) "The Rab': a Type of Collective Housing in Cairo During the Ottoman period," in Katz, Jonathan G. (ed.), *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, The Agha Khan Award for Architecture, Geneva, pp.55-61.
- Rees, C. (1994), "The Ecologist's Approach to Sustainable Development," in Serageldin, I. et al. (eds.), *Making Development Sustainable: from Concepts to Action*, Washington, The World Bank, pp. 10-13.
- Reimer, Michael J. (1993), "Reorganizing Alexandria: The Origins and History of the Conseil de l'Oranto", *Journal of Urban History* 19, no. 3, May, pp. 55-83.
- Relph, E. (1986), *Place and Placelessness*, London, Pion Limited.
- Ribeiro, E. F. N. (1990), "The Existing and Emerging Framework for Heritage Conservation in India: The Legal Managerial and Training Aspect," *TWPR*, 12 (4), pp. 338-44.
- Rivlin, P.A. (1985) *The Dynamics of Economic Policy Making in Egypt*, Praeger.
- Robert, M. Hugh (1979), *An Urban Profile of the Middle East*, New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Rodwell, Dennis (2003) "Sustainability and Holistic Approach to Conservation of Historic Cities", *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no.1 March, pp. 58-73.
- Sakr, Tarek M. R. (1993) *Early Twentieth-Century Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, Cairo, AUC Press.
- Saliba, Robert (1999), "Imported or Exported Urbanism? A Seminar in Beirut, Lebanon, 20-22 December 1998," *Urban Morphology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 104-5.
- Sampaio, Julio C. R. (1997), "Development and Conservation in Rio de Janeiro," in Proceedings of the 14<sup>th</sup> Inter-schools Conference on Development, Titled "Global and Local Development: New Agendas, New Partnerships," Edinburgh, 24-25 March, pp. 1-5.
- Saxon, Richard (1986), *Atrium Building: Development and Design*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, Architecture Press.

## References

- Schumacher, E. F. (1989), *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (first printed 1973), London, Harper & Row Publishers.
- Scottish Executive (1999), *A Guide to Conservation Areas in Scotland*, Historic Scotland.
- Scottish Executive Development Department, Planning Services (1999), *Report of the Conservation Control Working Group*, January 1999.
- The Scottish Office Development Department (1999), *National Planning Policy Guidelines (NPPD18): Planning and the Historic Environment*, April 1999.
- Sedky, Ahmed (2001b) "Contextual Considerations of Urban Conservation in the Middle East," ISIM Newsletter, Leiden University, no.7, March 2001, Leiden University, the Netherlands, p.18. available on the internet at: [http://www.isim.nl/newsletter/7/regional issues](http://www.isim.nl/newsletter/7/regional%20issues)
- Serajaldin, Mona (1984), "Planning and Executive Institution for Urban Development," in *Challenges of Urban Expansions: Cairo as a Case Study*, The Proceedings of the series of Architectural Changes in the Islamic World, held in 11-15 November, Cairo, AKCT, pp. 163-74.
- Shenson, Howard L. (1990) *How to develop and Promote Successful Seminars and Workshops: The Definitive Guide to Creating and Marketing Seminars, Workshops, Classes, and Conferences*, NY., John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Shihata, Ibrahim (2001), *My will/ advice to my country*, in Arabic, Cairo, General Egyptian Book Authority.
- Silverman, David (1993) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk*, Text and Interaction, London, SAGE Publication.
- So, Frank S. (1984), "Strategic Planning: Reinventing the Wheel," *Planning* (Journal of the American Planning Association), February, pp. 16-21.
- SOLIDERE (1999), Annual Report, the Lebanese Company for the Development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District.
- Soukhanov, Anne and Ellis, Kaethe (eds.) (1984) "Gentrification" in *Webster's II: New Riverside University Dictionary*, The Riverside Publishing Company, p. 526.
- Squire, Gregory D. (1997), "Partnership and the Pursuit of Private City," in Fainstein, Susan and Campbell, Scott (eds.), *Reading in Urban Theory*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, pp. 266-90.
- Stanford, Caroline (2000), "On Preserving our Ruins," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 28-43.
- Sterling Townscape Heritage Initiative (STHI) (1999a), *Document 1: Managerial Information*, Sterling Council, January 1999.
- Sterling Townscape Heritage Initiative (STHI) (1999b), *Document 2: A Character Appraisal for Sterling Town Conservation Area*, Sterling Council, January 1999.
- Sterling Townscape Heritage Initiative (STHI) (1999c), *Document 3: Assessment of Need and Definition of Objectives*, Sterling Council, January 1999.
- Sterling Townscape Heritage Initiative (STHI) (1999d), *Document 4: A Management Plan for Sterling Conservation Area*, Sterling Council, January 1999.

## References

- Steward, Julian H. (1972), "The Concept and Method of Cultural Ecology," in English, Paul Ward and Mayfield, Robert (eds.) (1972), *Man, Space and Environment: Concepts in Contemporary Human Geography*, London, Oxford University Press, pp. 120-9.
- Stobart, Jon and Dunham, Phil (2001), "Telling Stories and Selling Place: Landscapes of Urban Industry," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Urban History Group, University of Glasgow, 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> March.
- Stovel, Herb (1999), "Sustainability and Management of the Built Heritage: Defining the Problem," *ICCROM Newsletter*, no. 25, July, pp. 4-6.
- Strange, Ian (1999), "Urban Sustainability, Globalization and the Pursuit of the Heritage Aesthetic," *Planning Practice and Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, 301-11.
- Strange, Ian (1997), "Planning for Change, Conserving the Past: Towards Sustainable Development Policy in Historic Cities," *Cities*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 227-33.
- Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) (2001) *Al Darb El Asfar: Documentation, Restoration, Conservation & Development Project*, Cairo, SCA Press.
- Tamraz, Nihal (1998), *Nineteenth-Century Cairene Houses and Palaces*, Cairo, AUC Press.
- Taylor, Charles (1991), *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press.
- Thakur, Nalini (1990), "A Holistic Framework for Architectural Conservation Education," *TWPR*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1990, pp. 344-9.
- Therond, Daniel (1999), "The Cultural Heritage of Tourism and Travel: an Asset for Development?," The Europe of Cultural Cooperation, <http://culture.coe.fr/postsummit/pat/en/epatourismart01.htm>, 28<sup>th</sup> April.
- Thrift, Nigel (1999), "Cities and Economic Change: Global Governance?" in Allen, John; Massey, Doreen and Pryke, Michael (eds.), *Unsettling Cities*, New York, Routledge, pp. 271-320.
- Torsello, B. Paolo (1998), "Hermeneutic Openings of Conservation", *The Journal of Architecture*, vol.3, Spring, pp. 49-55.
- Townshend, Tim and Pendlebury, John (1999), "Public Participation in the Conservation of Historic Area: Case-studies from North-east England," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 313-31.
- Trache, Hichem (2001), "Promoting Urban Design in Development Plans: Typo-morphological Approaches in Montreuil, France," *Urban Design International*, no. 6, pp. 157-72.
- Tuma, Elias (1988), "Institutionalized Obstacles to Development: the Case of Egypt," *World Development*, vol.16, no. 10, pp. 1185-93.
- UNDP Compendium (2001), "Comprehensive Approach to the Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo," Programme 4, pp. 55.
- UNDP (1997), *Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo*, Cairo, Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA).
- UNESCO (2000), *Change in Continuity: Concepts and Tools for a Cultural Approach to Development*, Vendome, Paris.



## References

- UNESCO (1983), "Recommendations Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (26 Nov., 1976)," in *Conventions and Recommendations of UNESCO Concerning the Protection of the Cultural Heritage*, Paris, pp. 191-208.
- Urbani, Leonardo (2002), "Introduction to the Programme," in the *Symposium of the Different Methods of Regeneration and Classification of the Historic Cores in the Mediterranean Cities: Cairo and Palermo as Cases of Study*, 30<sup>th</sup> June, Italian Cultural Institute in Cairo.
- Van Huyck, Alfred (1990), "The Economics of Conservation," in Khan, Hassanuddin; Cantacuzino, Sherbn and Zahiruddin, Shah Alam (eds.), *Architectural and Urban Conservation in the Islamic World*, Geneva, AKTC, pp. 47-54.
- Wahba, Raphail (1963), "Cairo," in Berger, Morroe (ed.), *The New Metropolis in the Arab World*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers.
- Wallace, Julia; Higgins, Marilyn and Raemaekers, Jeremy (1999), "Architectural Conservation and Environmental Sustainability: Conflict or Convergence?" *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 2, July, pp. 56-71.
- Wansborough, Matthew and Mageean, Andrea (2000), "The Role of Urban Design in Cultural Regeneration," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 181-97.
- Ward, Stephen V. (1994), *Planning and Urban Change*, London, P.C.P.
- Warner, S. B. Jr. (1987), *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- White, Alun; Alexander, Jon; Radford, Kevin; Gerrido, Manuel Diez; Jukkulla, Naveen and Henao, Alejandro (1999), *Burntisland Investigation and Analysis Report*, School of Architecture, Edinburgh College of Art, Heriot-Watt University, March 1999.
- Whysall, P. T. (1982), "Urban Conservation in the Netherlands," *Ekistics* 295, July-August, pp. 342-7.
- Willaims, Caroline (2002), "Transforming the Old: Cairo's New Medieval City," *Middle East Journal*, vol.56, no.3, Summer, pp. 457-75.
- Zaalouk, M. (1989) *Power, Class, and Foreign Capital in Egypt: The Rise of the New Bourgeoisie*, Zed Books.
- Zanchet, Silvio Mendes and Jokilehto, Jukka (1997), "Values and Urban Conservation Planning: Some Reflections," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 1, March, pp. 37-51.

### References. 2. Newspaper Articles:

- Al-Basil, Abdel-Azim (2002) "Depression of Localities", *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 6 April, p. 20.
- Al-Hatim, Mervat (2001), "Arba' hammamat sha'biyya sayyi'at al-sum'a (Four Notorious Public Bathes)," *Rose al-Youssef*, 2 March, pp. 42-3.
- El-Helo, Karam (2001), "The Absence of the 'Individual Citizen' from the Arab Modern Political Message", *Al-Hayat Newspaper*, 30 March, p.10.

## References

- Idoux, Guylaine (2001), "Le Caire: dans le secret des souks (The Souks of Cairo: a City within the City)," *Air France Magazine*, no. 47, March, pp. 89-103.
- Nagib, Hana' (2001), "Al-faqr gamil (Poverty is Beautiful)," *Nisf al-Dunia*, vol. 602, no. 26, Al-Ahram Publication, August, pp. 35-43.
- Said, Abdel Moniem (2003) "Capitalism and Democracy in Egypt", *Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper*, 21<sup>st</sup> July, p. 27.
- Sedky, Ahmed (2001c) "The Living Past," *Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper*, 1-7 November 2001, p.17.
- Yusuf, Nadiya (2002), "The Rehabilitation of al-Darb Al-Ahmar", *Al-Ahmar Daily Newspaper*, 29<sup>th</sup> December, p. 3.

### References. 3. Reports and Lectures:

- Aga Khan Culture Service-Egypt (AGCS-E) and Historic Preservation Program of the University of Pennsylvania (1999), *Conservation Planning in the Aslam Mosque Neighborhood*, HCSP Technical Brief no.2, Cairo, AKTC and AGCS-E.
- The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKCT) (1992), *The Historic Cities Support Programme* (Draft Version, 21<sup>st</sup> October), Geneva, AKCT Press.
- Al-Alili, Samih (2002), "The Importance of Regenerating Mediterranean Historic Centers," a presentation given in the *Symposium of the Different Methods of Regenerating and Classifying of the Historic Cores in the Mediterranean Cities: Cairo and Palermo as Cases of Study*, 30<sup>th</sup> June, Italian Cultural Institute in Cairo.
- Al-Sadiq, Mohamed Tahir (1997), 'The absence of the legislative commitments in the organizational relations among the planning, administrative, and development institutions in Egypt,' a paper presented in Arabic in the urban organization symposium, 10<sup>th</sup> April, the Egyptian Engineering Association, Cairo.
- Amin, Norhan (2001) "Contemporary Aspects of the Old Town in Damascus", conference proceedings of *the Symposium of Urban Heritage in the Arab Cities: between Conservation and Contemporality*, held in Homs 24-27 September, (CD Format) The Arab Institute for City Development.
- Arafat, Naseer (2002), "Conservation Philosophy and Sustainable Development," a paper given in the First International Conference on: Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Islamic World, 19-25 January, (Amman, Irbid, Salt), Jordan.
- Arce, Ignasio (2002), "The Conservation and Preservation to the Public of the Umayyad Medina and Palace at Amman Citadel," a paper given in the First International Conference on Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Islamic World, January 19-25, (Amman, Irbid, Salt), Jordan.
- Aslan, Zaki (2002), "Archaeological Sites in Historic Towns: Planning Issues and Management of Programmes for Conservation In-situ," a paper given in the First International Conference on Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Islamic World, January 19-25, (Amman, Irbid, Salt), Jordan.
- Attaguile, Francesco (2002), "Cultural, University and Contracting Cooperation Opportunity in the Mediterranean Region," in the *Symposium of the Different Methods of Regenerating and*

## References

*Classifying of the Historic Cores in the Mediterranean Cities: Cairo and Palermo as Cases of Study*, 30<sup>th</sup> June, Italian Cultural Institute in Cairo.

- Consultancy Unit, Ministry of Traffic and Transportation (1999), *A Study of Traffic on the Road Network Surrounding al-Azhar Tunnel and in the Downtown Area, Final Report*, July, Faculty of Engineering, Ein Shams University.
- El-Bain, Magid (2001), "Action Areas as one of the tool to revitalize historic cities: Bab Qansourin, Aleppo as a case study", conference proceedings of *the Symposium of Urban Heritage in the Arab Cities: between Conservation and Contemporality*, held in Homs 24-27 September, (CD Format) The Arab Institute for City Development, pp. 313-34.
- Farvacque, Catherine and McAuslan, Patrick (1992) *Reforming Urban Land Policies and Institutions in Developing Countries*, UNDP/ UNCHS/ World Bank (UMP4).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (June, 1993), *Improving and Developing the Deteriorated Neighbourhoods in Downtown Cairo: Magra al-Euon (the Aquaduct) Project, the Detailed Plan for Madabegh and Magzar Areas in Sayyida Zainab*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1993).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (May, 1991), *Revitalization of the Historic Neighbourhoods in Islamic Cairo: The Rehabilitation Project in al-Darb al-Asfar*, vols 1 & 2, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1991a).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (May, 1991), *Greater Cairo Region: Structural Plan: Evaluating the Implemented plans and Updating the Proposals*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1991b).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (May, 1990a), *Report of the Development of Historic Areas in Old Islamic Cairo: The Rehabilitation of Public Spaces Plan: Diagnosing Conditions and Map Analysis, Long-term Development Plan, Greater Cairo Zone*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1990a).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (May, 1990b), *Improving and Upgrading of Main Urban Centres in Cairo: North Gamaliyya Project, an Exemplary Project for the Recommended Policies for Downtown Cairo*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1990b).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (September, 1989), *Report of Policies of Urban Planning in the Old Islamic City, Long-term Development Plan, Greater Cairo Zone*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1989).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) (1988a), *Report of Urban Design Guidelines: Guidelines for the Deteriorated Areas in Cities*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1988a).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) (1988b), *Report of Urban Design Guidelines: Guidelines for Urban Upgrading Programmes*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1988b).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (November, 1988c), *Final Report:*

## References

- Implementation of the Homogeneous Sector Concept, Homogeneous Sector no. 1 (Cairo Center), Part A: Rehabilitation Strategy Plan*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1988c).
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Institute d'amenagement et d'urbanisme de la region d'Ile de France (IAURIF) (November, 1988d), *Final Report: Implementation of the Homogeneous Sector Concept, Homogeneous Sector no. 1 (Cairo Center), Part B: Action Projects*, Ministry of Housing. (GOPP, 1988d).
  - Glendinning, Miles (2000), "The rise of Conservation, from Conflict to Consensus," a paper presented in IHBC Annual School, 15-18 June, Strathclyde University, Glasgow.
  - GTZ (1998)*The Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo, The City of Aleppo, Syria*, Aleppo, GTZ and Aleppo Municipality press.
  - Hague, Cliff (1997), "Sustainable Planning," Sustainable Communities through Partnership: The Commonwealth Implements the Habitat Agenda, Pre-CHOGM Forum, Workshop B, 23rd October.
  - GTZ (1998)*The Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo, The City of Aleppo, Syria*, Aleppo, GTZ and Aleppo Municipality press.
  - Hague, Cliff (1997), "Sustainable Planning," Sustainable Communities through Partnership: The Commonwealth Implements the Habitat Agenda, Pre-CHOGM Forum, Workshop B, 23rd October.
  - Ibrahim, Abdelhalim (1997), *The Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo, a Demonstration Project for al-Darb al-Ahmar, an Agenda for Revitalization* (Final Report, August), Cairo, CDC and NEF.
  - Larkham, P. (2001), "Conserving the City in Protecting Past Urban Landscapes", a lecture organized through the Master Classes Programme, Conservation Department, Edinburgh College of Art, 1<sup>st</sup> March.
  - Leitmann, J. (1995), *Rapid Urban Environmental Assessment from Cities in the Developing World. Volume 1 Methodology and Preliminary Findings*, UNDP/ UNCHS/ World Bank (UMP14).
  - Mayer, Wolfgang (2002), "Conservation of Archaeological Sites: A Holistic Philosophy," a paper given in the First International Conference on Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Islamic World, January 19-25, (Amman, Irbid, Salt), Jordan.
  - Mcguinness, Justin (1996b), "Neighborhood Notes: Texture and Streetscape in the Medina of Tunis," paper presented in AIMS Conference, The Living Medina, Tangiers, May-June.
  - Moharram, Laila Ahmed (1988), "Al-maqabir fi medinat al-Qahira (Cemeteries in Cairo)," a study for the Housing, Building and Urban Design Center, submitted in July 1988, Egyptian Ministry of Housing.
  - Nadim, Asaad (1997) *Bayt al-Suhaymi: Documentation, Restoration, & Conservation Project* (May), Cairo, Mashrabeya Institute.
  - Nasser, Noha (2002) "Can Traditional Urban Design Principles be Reconciled with the Contemporary Needs for Sustainable Urban Registration?," a paper given in the First International Conference on: Conservation and Regeneration of Traditional Urban Centers in the Islamic World, 19-25 January, (Amman, Irbid, Salt), Jordan.
  - Pieterse, Edgar (2000), *Participation Urban Governance: Practical Approaches, Regional Trends and UMP Experiences*, Nairobi, UMP (Habitat).

## References

- Ramahmdani, Mohamed (2001), "The Loan of Residential Building Restoration Fund," conference proceedings of *the Symposium of Urban Heritage in the Arab Cities: between Conservation and Contemporality*, held in Homs 24-27 September, (CD Format) The Arab Institute for City Development, pp. 151-64.
- Salem, O. S. (1997), "Privatization of Infrasreucture Services: The Case of Water Supply in Sharm El-Sheikh City, South Sinai, Egypt", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London.
- Sedky, Ahmed (2001a) "Historical Quarters as Living Heritage: Cairo as a Case Study", a paper presented in the Urban History Group Conference, Glasgow University, 29-30 March 2001.
- Sedky, Ahmed (2000) "Contextual Considerations for Urban Conservation in the Middle East", a paper presented in the Seventh International DAVO Congress of Middle Eastern Studies, Institute of Geography, Mainz University, Germany, 12-14 October.
- Shikh Mohamed, M.A. (2001), "Developing the Waqf Framework: a model to develop urban heritage", conference proceedings of *the Symposium of Urban Heritage in the Arab Cities: between Conservation and Contemporality*, held in Homs 24-27 September, (CD Format) The Arab Institute for City Development, pp. 95-116.
- Shehayeb, Dina and Sedky, Ahmed (2002) "Heritage Conservation Against What? A Model to Explain Adverse Change in Historic Districts", a paper presented in the First International Conference of the UIA-WPAHR-V Work Programme: Architecture and Heritage, held in Biblotica Alexandrina, Alexandria, 14-16 March, (in press).
- World Bank and the Arab Bureau (1985) Upgrading and Rehabilitation of al-Gamaliyya Quarter: Final Report, July, Cairo, Arab Bureau, the Egyptian Ministry of Housing.
- Yassien, Alaa al-Din (2001), "Al-hiyaza fo al-manatiq al-tarikhiyyah wa ta'thiraha 'ala al-muhafaza wa al-taghiier (Ownership in Historical Areas and their Impact on Conservation and Change)," a paper presented in Mu'tamar ta'min al-higaza/ al-edara al-hadariyyah: mihwaran li tahqiq al-'adalah al-igtima'iyyah fi al-madina (Conference of Ownership/ Urban Management: Two Dimensions to Achieve Social Justice in the City), 21-24 April.

### **References. 4. Unpublished Theses:**

- Adas, Yasser Ahmed (2001), "Change in Identity of Saudis' Built Environment: the Case of Jeddah," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University.
- Attia, Amr (1999), "Planning for Sustainable Tourism Development: An Investigation into Implementing Tourism Policy in the North West Coast Region of Egypt," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Development Planning Unit, UCL, London, UK.
- El-Kassar, Nabil (2001), "The Concept of Ownership in the Formation of the Islamic City," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.
- Fahmy, Adham (1998), "Architectural Conservation beyond Cultural Politics: European Mission and Current Conservation Practice in Historic Cairo," Unpublished M Sc. Thesis in Conservation of Historic Towns and Buildings, Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit.
- Kaki, Waleed (2000), "The Structural Approach to City Image (Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah)," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.

## References

- Mihriz, Shahira (1972), "Al-Ghuri Complex in an Urban Context", unpublished MA thesis, the American University in Cairo.
- Nabih, Hatem M. Ezzat (1999), "Place Evaluation: A Transactional Adaptive Approach, the Case Study of Cairo's Waterfront," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.
- Nabih, Wael (1999), "System, Control and Sustainability: A Concept of Control in the Local Environment System," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.
- Salheen, Mohamed Abdel-Karim (2001), "A Comprehensive Analysis of Pedestrian Environments: The Case of Cairo City Centres," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.
- Sedky, Ahmed (1998), *The Modern Mosque in Egypt: the Work of Mario Rossi for the Awqaf*, unpublished MA thesis, The American University in Cairo.
- Shehayeb, Dina (1995), *Potential Functional Opportunities in Urban Streets: An Integrational Approach to the Evaluation and Design of Urban Streets*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Architecture, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA.
- Shoukry, Hanaa M. M. (2000), "Urban Development and Revitalization of Historic Quarters in Old Cities," Unpublished Ph.D., Cairo, Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Ain Shams University.
- Ujam, Faozi (1987), "Ecology, Culture and Cognition: a Text Book on the Principles of Environmental Design" , unpublished PhD thesis, School of Architecture, ECA, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK.

## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix One



**A1.1. Documents Analysis Method:****A1.1.1. Official Reports:**

It is meant to be a review of the reports produced by the governmental, non-governmental and different institutions involved officially in area conservation programmes in Cairo. Such reports are the sources that declare the official and current planning directions and guidelines for urban upgrading in Historic Cairo.

**A1.1.2. Press:**

Similar to the above, articles and reports published in newspapers are another important and valuable source for data. They are even more reliable especially when using reputable newspaper. Therefore, the present research counted mainly on Al-Ahram Publications (daily newspaper in Arabic, regular and international issues; Al-Ahram Weekly in English; Al-Ahram Hebdo in French; and Ahwal Misriyya a periodical in Arabic) and Al-Akhbar Publications daily newspaper in Arabic; Akhbar al-Yum a weekly newspaper in Arabic; Akhbar Al-Adab a weekly newspaper in Arabic). These publications are regarded as objective and official newspapers and publications in Egypt, so the information or reports about urban laws or regulations can be more reliable. I have thus tried to avoid using the opposition newspapers so I can avoid any biased data or analysis. In general this method is also important for the subjects who occupy high positions such as Ministers and Governors whom are difficult to interview. Their account and declarations in the newspapers about their policies can be the only source for their planning values and agenda for area conservation in Cairo.

**A1.2. Interview Method:**

The interview technique is a very effective one; generally, it decreases the number of “don’t know” and “no answer” responses because of the active presence of the interviewer. It is also important not to be so rigid with the interviewee. The interviewee can be left to ramble away from the question to express what interests him/ her, which reflects their core thinking (Measor, 1985, p.280). In addition, the interviewee should not be halted. Rather, it is recommended that the interviewer always tries to bring the comments back in the direction needed to respond to the unanswered question (Babbie, 1995, p.290). It is possible always to repeat any missed question or rephrase it in a way that the interviewee can understand it clearly.

Such flexibility was especially with the more sensitive subjects, upper and middle managerial planners and governmental officials<sup>1</sup> who are more conservative in their answers. Therefore, semi-structured discussions were selected as the main interview technique. With such a technique, interviews are conducted as an interaction between the interviewer (the author) and interviewee. It was thus important to get an idea, even a brief one, about the role of the interviewee and the projects they were involved in before conducting the interview. This was important to help the interviewer maintain flow of communication and understanding with the interviewee. It is also important to notice if the interviewee is manoeuvring and hiding some facets of the project or his/ her organisation's agenda, which can be recognised only if the interviewer has already prepared a good review, and studied the project that is the subject of discussion in the interview, which was possible through frequent visits and observations in the action areas in Historic Cairo. Negative responses from the interviewee could be confronted by asking or giving an evocative question or comment to stimulate the conversation flow to elicit further information. It is important however because of the less democratic model in Egypt to confirm to the interviewee that such information will not be published, being only limited to academic use through a PhD thesis. This is the ethical consideration any researcher should respect. The author was requested more than once by interviewees to keep some parts of their declared information away from the press or even academic publication, especially the interviewees from the middle managerial officials and planners and forgin missions in Cairo. It was thus a conversation in which the interviewer established a general direction of conversation and pursued specific topics; ideally the interviewee does most of the talking (Babbie, 1995, p.289).

The type of questions asked or the issues raised where to measure the above developed conceptions for area conservation; that is running into three main streams:

a- How the subject defines the historic area and what does it mean today and certainly what are its values and significances to protect.

b- What the subject regards as the most important environmental qualities to be achieved through an area conservation scheme and how it can be achieved.

c- The mechanisms followed by the subject's organisation in the planning and the implementations of area conservation projects.

---

<sup>1</sup> They represent most of the professionals and decision makers responsible for area conservation in Cairo.

Other questions, such as the degree of involvement and limits of responsibility of the subject and his/ her organisation in specific area conservation projects and in the area conservation planning paradigm in Historic Cairo in general, were also addressed.

Using tape recording was not recommended, especially when interviewing a governmental employee. It makes them feel uneasy, which would have affected their responses. It is also recommended to hold interviews in the normal setting (Silverman, 1993, p.27), where the planning process is implemented, for example, the governmental offices of officials and planners so they could be more comfortable and respond more positively to the flow of conversation.

A major drawback is the non-assured reliability of the data obtained in such interviews. Most of the governmental officials and professionals involved in area conservation turn such conversations into political speeches or promote their approach to conservation. Visiting many projects and areas under upgrading schemes has shown a paradoxical situation that contradicts with many accounts the author has gathered through many interviews. For example, Mr. Ahmed Shawqi, Conservation Department, Arab Contractor, Ministry of Housing who was responsible for the implementation of the urban upgrading project of Qasr al-Sham' Neighbourhood. I had also the same experience with Dr. Assad Nadim, the project manager of al-Darb al-Asfar Revitalisation Project. In both interviews, only the positive aspects of these area conservation projects were revealed, which has everything to do with the physical environment at the expense of many other environmental aspects, as the case in Qasr al-Sham' Area and al-Darb al-Asfar Area as pointed out in Chapter Six. Therefore, other research methods are needed to double-check this data.

Another drawback is when the interviewee is too conservative, revealing almost no relevant or specific information. The author faced this with the head of the Urban Development Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture, Dr. Galal Abada. Dr. Abada refused to give details about the work of his division that is responsible for major work and many projects along the Northern Walls and in the Al-Azhar Area. Therefore, I had to count on another investigation technique to obtain such information; in this case, open meetings.

### **A1.3. Workshop Method:**

Because of the above-mentioned paradox that reflects the contradiction between the account of many planners and officials during their interviews and what is really in the field (the areas where they applied area conservation schemes) further investigation was needed. The need was for testing the actual way and the basic values and qualities of those planners, especially those who are really responsible for producing project proposals (senior architects and middle managerial level). And since observing them while they are working in their offices is almost an impossible task, the answer was a synthesised planning atmosphere where those planners can act as they do while they design for a real area conservation problem - a workshop.

Workshops are classified as experimental mode of scientific observation as they are not conducted in the natural context of the studied phenomenon. Any experiment is conducted through a certain process: taking an action (exposing the subject to a case study) then observing the consequences of that action. The classical experiment consists of independent variables and dependent variables. The first is the stimulus (the case studies and its problems in our case), while the second is the responses of the experimental group (the subjects of the workshop).

In such an experiment a two-way information flow occurs through the brain storming and stimulus discussions by the subjects while solving the problems of an assigned case study. In such a session participants produce as many ideas as they can in a short time, saying anything they like (Loughary and Hopson 1979).

During such an experiment the researcher observes how the subjects organise themselves and deal with the problem (Babbie, 1995). This is through measuring the subjects' information, behaviour and attitude during each session. Thus the subjects become a problem-solving group, which is defined by Loughary and Hopson (1979) as a group that is assigned a specific problem to diagnose and/ or to solve. The problem is introduced through a case study, which is regarded as a detailed description of a situation or problem related to the objectives of the present research.

There were two case studies presented. The first was Qasr al-Sham' Neighbourhood, a small example that exhibited obvious problems of area conservation. There were no reports to learn about this area or any evaluation for the project—normally there are no evaluation studies available for such projects in Egypt because area conservation is relatively a new urban planning practice. Therefore, I conducted some field

observations, interviews with some community members, mainly occupants of the area. I organised also a role-play session with members from Qasr al-Sham' Neighbourhood. This investigation focused on Qasr al-Sham' gave enough information and grasped the actual status of the area to be presented as the first case study during the workshop. However, Qasr al-Sham' was not meant to be the main case study of the whole experiment, yet it was presented to stimulate the subjects' thinking and to activate them to be more prepared to take the main case study.

The second case study, the principal experiment, was the Darb Shughlan Neighbourhood, an area I was familiar with because of field visits and available area conservation reports produced by the revitalisation agency, the Aga Khan Trust.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Dr. Mikawi, the head of the Aga Khan Culture Service-Egypt, responsible for the revitalisation project of al-Darb al-Ahmar Area, I was able to receive many details and work materials for the subjects during the workshop (survey and drawings of the physical condition, land use, urban fabric etc), while requesting that each subject respond through drawing or comments on the right approach to deal with such problems.<sup>3</sup>

In general to achieve a successful workshop sufficient planning and well-defined objectives are needed. The first is a matter of effort, while the second can be met through answering the following questions (David 1989, p.19):

- a-Why do we need to held the workshop?
- b-What do we want to achieve?
- c-Who should attend?
- d-When should it be held?
- e-Where should it be held?

#### A1.3.1.a. Why:

---

<sup>2</sup> The author is indebted to Dr. Dina Shuhayyeb, the head of the social and environmental behaviour research team at the Aga Khan who was responsible for producing the guidelines and the upgrading interventions to be introduced to Darb Shughlan Neighbourhood, which is also regarded by the Aga Khan Agency as the action area/ pilot urban revitalisation project for the wider district, al-Darb al-Ahmar.

<sup>3</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. Karim and Mr. Seif al-Rashidi for their valuable assistance during the workshop giving presentations that introduced the physical and social context of the neighbourhood and its problems.

Case Studies and discussions are effective ways of acquiring factual knowledge (Seekings 1989, p.59). And since what we need is to measure the information, behaviour and attitude of the professionals and officials involved in area conservation in Cairo to interpret its deficiencies (the subjects), it is certainly more recommended to measure their responses while having the problem (case study) in front of the subjects (Bennett *et al* 1978), which was achieved through measuring their responses to two case studies mentioned above. This leads to more valid results, as compared to any other techniques such as interviews or questionnaires. As the latter necessitates hypothetical questions, this will not be backed up with some contextual base (a case study that presents an actual problem and can serve as the subject's blank canvas) for the subject to reflect his/her responses more responsively. Personal choices and invalid responses are thus inevitable (Cullen 1984).

Another advantage of the workshop method, and the experimental method in general, lies in the isolation of the experimental subjects from any outlets having them only exposed to the experiment stimulus (the case study) (Babbie 1995). Furthermore, Kruger (1988, p.47) points out the advantages of the workshop as an observational method as follows: the technique is a socially-oriented research method capturing real-life data in a social environment; it has flexibility; it has high face validity; it has speedy results; and it is low in cost.

Nevertheless, Kruger (1988, Pp. 44-45) points out some disadvantages. For example subjects afford the researcher less control than individual interviews, data is difficult to analyse, moderators require especial skills, difference between groups can be troublesome, groups are difficult to assemble, and the discussion must be in a conducive environment.

This was overcome through applying a case study and having a problem-solving atmosphere session to get the subjects into the closest planning environment he/ she used to have using first a simpler case study, Qasr al-Sham' Neighbourhood. The first case study prepares the subjects for the principle experiment, the second case study, Darb Shughlan Neighbourhood.

Being the moderator, the author was keen to secure the best chances and give the necessary direction or changes needed to evoke the answers or the cues I was after from the subjects to get them to express their planning information, behaviour, and attitude in a more open manner. Adopting an exploratory mood the author wanted a wide variety of

observations to the subjects, as a group and for each as individuals. Therefore, videotaping was made to widen author's scope of observation (Seekings 1989), and also to grasp the responses until to be measured and analysed against the filters specified above.

In addition, a warm-up session preceded the workshop to secure a friendlier atmosphere. This was to give people time before joining the first session as part of the ice breaking (Loughary and Hopson, 1979, p. 102). During that time the registration for the programme took place. Furthermore, a pre-test questionnaire was handed in with the application form during the registration period. This questionnaire was meant to be an integral data-collection method with the workshop, as well as a double checking method for the results obtained from the workshop for more reliable results. Moreover, the participants were selected to be as homogeneous as possible for they are all planners involved in area conservation in Cairo. Most of them I had already interviewed before the workshop or at least had myself known to them.

#### A1.3.2.b. What:

This question is to set objectives and decide how these objectives can be met. Here there had to be a dual nature of the experiment objectives. For myself as the researcher conducting such an experiment, I was trying to capture the natural responses and the planning process during their making phase. I had, however, to design the workshop to meet some of the participants' expectations as an intellectual programme, permitting open discussions and giving a chance for professionals in the field to meet in such an event, which hardly exists in Cairo.

Making the experiment goals specific through defining initially what the researcher needed to get from this experiment. Loughary and Hopson (1979, Pp.73-75) suggest that this could be achieved when distinguishing between three kinds of outcomes:

- i- Information: facts and concepts, those the subjects already have and those they lack.
- ii- Behaviour: skills and competencies, those the subjects already have and those they lack.
- iii- Attitudes: values and beliefs, those the subjects already have and those they lack.

These three units of analysis are the main objectives and findings the experiment is made for.<sup>4</sup> They present a practical and realistic record of the planning decision-making process and reveal the actual ruling values of the subjects that control their planning and design decisions. This is very important to define so it can help assemble the filters for assessment illustrated in Chapter Five (figs. 5.3, 5.4) and to capture the actual status and planning paradigm of area conservation in Cairo.

#### A1.3.3. c. Who:

This question is about who should be among the subjects in the workshop. Answering this question is a contribution to the workshop goals (outcomes). Therefore, more specific questions are necessarily to be aroused, e.g., do all the organisations involved in area conservation in Cairo need to be present at the workshop? And what level of representation should it be? Is it possible to have high-level-management members among the subjects of the workshop? If not, who replaces them? Could the results (outcomes) be valid and reliable in this case? If the high level managements participate, should they be separated in an especial workshop, while having another one for the senior planners? If not, what are the precautions we are going to take in order not to permit high-level-management members to influence the discourse of the experiment (the workshop)?<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the middle managerial level, those who are the actual producers of any urban upgrading scheme (normally senior planners, ranging from senior architects to general managers of the planning departments in their organisations with an average age of 30-45) were the main subjects in the workshop. The subjects of the workshops represented almost all the institutions effectively involved in area conservation planning and implementation.

Generally, it is necessary that the attending subjects are volunteers and not forced by their seniors, as this can cause a potential failure for the whole event (Loughary and Hopson 1979, p. 84). Therefore, the workshop was designed to be a day before the weekend so it could be a pleasant chance for any participant to spend an untraditional working day with beverages and appetisers through a recognised programme with a

---

<sup>4</sup> These three units of analysis employed in the investigation conducted in Chapter Six to measure and define the knowledge, competence and the values of each interviewed or targeted subjects and organisation through the document analysis, interviews as well as the workshop as in section 6.4.

<sup>5</sup> The presence of high-managerial level might affect the freedom of the middle-managerial-level subjects to express their thoughts; therefore, it is recommended that if we can separate them into two workshops or even to conduct this investigation with the high managerial levels through interviews, Prof. Peter Aspinall meeting on January 29<sup>th</sup> 2001, ECA. Edinburgh.



symposium on the following day, and was held at a recognised research centre. The participants were also awarded a stamped certificate of attendance at the end of the programme. Participants were delegated from their governmental departments and institutions without any salary deduction.<sup>6</sup>

#### A1.3.4. d. When:

The most important factor in stating a date for the event (that includes the workshop) is the key dates, holidays or especial dates for the participating subjects, e.g., deadlines of a projects or other work obligations (Seekings 1989). In general for such an event it is preferable to have it held during a working-day immediately after or before the weekend (Seekings 1989, p.26)—in the case of the Egyptian governmental institutions the weekend is Thursday and Friday. The workshop was held on Wednesday, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

#### A1.3.5.e. Where:

The most important factor in (Where) is to be a place where I can run the workshop in a conducive atmosphere, a quality stressed by Krueger (1988, p.250), as well as being a suitable venue for the other activities included in the whole programme: a workshop, a symposium.<sup>7</sup>

Some logistical issues were also addressed, e.g., the number of subjects on the same table the way they are seated and the duration of each session. According to

---

<sup>6</sup> The author is indebted to Dr Maria Casini, the head of the Italian Institute of Archaeology who offered her centre as a venue for the event and the letterheads, with the centre's official stamp for the logistics and the formal invitations addressed to the different governmental departments and institutions involved in area conservation in Cairo. I am grateful to her also for the certificates of attendance she signed as they gave more credibility to the event and met some expectations of the participants. I was keen to have to make sure that the participant would benefit from the event as I (the researcher) benefited from his/ her participation.

<sup>7</sup> 'Where' may also contain a political problem as notified by Dr. Galal Abada, a high level management of the Rehabilitation of Islamic Cairo Project, Ministry of Culture, in an interview in Cairo, January 2001. To Abada, the place of the event is a kind of accreditation to the institution that manages and owns the place. And since the first proposed venue was Mubarak Public Library-- for it is a successful example of the adaptive reuse and its well-equipped conference room as well as being in a central location close to the downtown and most of the participating institutions—which belongs to the Ministry of Culture, it might be a bit sensitive for the other organisations that are also involved in Area Conservation projects and that do not belong to the Ministry of Culture, e.g., the GOPP, Ministry of Housing and Cairo Governorate to participate in that event. Therefore, the Italian Archaeological Centre was a perfect neutral venue for such an event. It is also located in the downtown a perfect geographical location among the headquarters of different governmental institutions.

Seekings (1989, p.58), Laughary and Hopson (1979, p.94) and Aspinall<sup>8</sup> the optimum average number of subjects on the same table would be 5-10 subjects, while Babbie (1995, p.249) suggest an average of 12-15 subjects. However, the number of the subjects in the workshop was 14. They were assembled on the same table, for a more flexible and effective performance and interaction. The cameraman however took a good position to grasp a wider angle so he did not distract them while recording most of their responses.

About the time permitted for the work session, while each one is devoted to one case study, Seekings (1989, p.62) suggests about 2 hours (1 for brainstorming and another for discussion). Yet for the sake of flexibility and to avoid cutting the session while some subjects are revealing some hints or giving important remarks, a margin of time was added or deducted to the already prepared time programme. The subjects were also able to decide tentatively when to have a break. The workshop was designed as part of a programme entitled: Area Conservation Approaches and Mechanisms in Cairo. It was held on Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2001.

#### **A1.4. Questionnaire Method:**

Generally, the questionnaires used in the present research were designed for the workshop. There were two questionnaires used. The first was a pre-experiment questionnaire, a form submitted to the subjects before the first session of the workshop. The main objective of such a questionnaire was to check the experience, professional status, the values and concepts of area conservation of each participating subject before conducting the workshop. The questions were short and precise, however, explicit in a sense that encourage the respondent to give an elaborated answer. The questionnaire was limited to seven questions, all open ended with much space for the respondent to write as much as preferred. The questions asked are:

- i- Have you previously participated in any of are conservation/ urban upgrading projects in areas with especial urban nature (historic)? What was your role in each project? (Please mention the accomplished and the on-going projects. Please also mention the starting and finishing dates of the accomplished ones)

---

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Peter Aspinell meeting on January 29<sup>th</sup> 2001, ECA. Edinburgh.

- ii- How do you define the area with especial type<sup>9</sup> (what is your conception of, for example, Fatimid Cairo)?
- iii- What are the main problems that are confronting these areas?
- iv- Based on your understanding of areas of especial type/ historic, what are the approaches and mechanisms that should be adapted when upgrading these areas and confronting their problems?
- v- What are the obstacles crippling the upgrading work in historic areas?
- vi- What do you expect from this workshop? What do you think should be discussed and dealt with in this workshop?
- vii- Who are the organisations or individuals who should participate in this workshop? Why?

The second was a post-experiment questionnaire, designed as an evaluation questionnaire for the subjects to evaluate the workshop through defining the degree it contributed to the subject's conceptions of area conservation. This questionnaire is important to clarify any research limitations as reflected from the subjects of the workshop and which I may not be aware of. This questionnaire was submitted after the workshop and was collected on the following day during the symposium indicated above. The questions asked are:

- i- What were you expecting to be discussed and dealt with in this workshop? Was it dealt with?
- ii- To what extent do you think you had been aware of the different aspects (approaches and mechanisms) of area conservation **before** you participated in this workshop?<sup>10</sup>
- iii- To what extent do you think yourself aware of the different aspects (approaches and mechanisms) of area conservation after you participated in this workshop?
- iv- What is the least important element in this workshop? And what should you have been seen different or changed?
- v- What do you see as most important in this workshop? Why?

---

<sup>9</sup> 'Especial Type' is the common term used in governmental reports to describe historic areas.

<sup>10</sup> This question and the following one were given a numerical scale (0-10): excellent knowledge (10-9-8), somehow (5-6-7), not much (2-3-4) and nothing at all (0-1).

- vi- Do you recommend repeating this workshop in the future? Why? How would you like to see it organised and designed in the future?
- vii- What is your general evaluation to this workshop? Do you have any suggestions?
- viii- How do you define Fatimid Cairo?

### **A1.5. Open Meeting Method:**

A series of presentations of keynote speakers (a symposium) was presented on Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> September. This was conducted as another activity within the same programme (Area Conservation Approaches and Mechanisms in Cairo) to increase its attractiveness to convince the heads of the targeted organisations to delegate some members of their departments (the targeted subjects needed for the workshop) and even to participate themselves (the heads) with presentations as keynote speakers. This series of presentations (symposium) was placed a day after the workshop so the presentations given did not affect the subjects or their responses during the workshop.

These presentations were meant also to be a chance to invite some speakers of a high managerial level to present their department's agenda and approaches to area conservation through projects conducted or proposals to be applied in Cairo. Relatively, duration of discussion was intentionally given after each presentation. Motivated by the type of data necessary for this research the author was more interested in the discussions after each presentation. The arguments revealed some degree of conflicts among some governmental organisations or even individuals. Such a kind of information is not possibly available through report review or interview techniques. For example, Dr. Abada (head of the Urban Development Division, Historic Cairo) revealed much information during the discussions made after his presentations, thanks to the provocative comments he received from other participants and representatives of other governmental organisations, compared to the information he revealed to me in an interview at the Historic Cairo Headquarter on 1<sup>st</sup> September 2001.

I was also interested in some of the presentations for they acted as report reviews of some organisations and expanded my survey to many other urban upgrading projects in Cairo that are beyond the scope of the present research, such as the current urban upgrading schemes in Colonial Cairo conducted as partnership between the GOPP and

Cairo University. Therefore, the presentations and discussion sessions were videotaped for further analysis.

#### **A1.6. Role Play Method:**

The role play session is an experiment where participants are playing a role that is not theirs in life. For example in the two role play sessions conducted with some community members from Qasr al-Sham Area, the author requested each member to act as a planner and to express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the area conservation scheme applied in their neighbourhood. The first was held in Qasr al-Sham Area on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2001 with 5 community members starting first as an in-depth interview then inviting those community members to act as planners to learn from them what should have had been done instead of what they described as refused urban upgrading. The second session was held at the Social Research Centre, The American University in Cairo on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2001. This session was more organised and applied as a role-play from the beginning. Some community members from al-Darb al-Ahmar Area were also invited to this session because they are more experienced, thanks to the Aga Khan Agency working in development in this area so they enriched the quality of that role play session. It was very difficult to get the community participants to respond on papers or drawings so the experiment was conducted as a conversation using and applying their notes on drawings as much as possible.

Conducting such experiments was important to give a chance to encounter community members and learn how they think and what they value and how this can be applied to any proposed intervention. It was also important to learn more details about the case of Qasr al-Sham' Neighbourhood which was presented as the first case study in the workshop as explained above.

## Appendix Two

Name	Party	Address	Remarks
Mr. J. H. [Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]
[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]	[Faint]

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

Name	Group	Affiliations	The Venue where the information and data revealed
<b>Cairo Governorate:</b> Mrs. Hayam Aref	N	Head of the Planning and Housing Department, Cairo Governorate. Member in the executive committee (also known as the technical committee) headed by the Governor of Cairo	Interview/ Workshop/ open Meeting.
General Mahmoud Yassin	N	Governor Deputy of the Western Cairo (includes Historic Cairo districts), and the co-ordinator of the Executive Committee, headed by the Governor of Cairo which is initiated to implement the strategies of the Ministerial Committee.	Interview.
-----			
<b>Ministry of Housing:</b> Mr. Said Mustafa Abu al-Ela	N	General Manager of the Research and Urban Studies Department, Ministry of Housing.	Interview.
<b>GOPP:</b> Mrs. Huda Edward	N	Head of the Greater Cairo Region Planning Division, General Organisation of Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing.	Interview/ Open Meeting.
Mrs. Mona Mustafa	N	General Manager, Greater Cairo Region Planning Division, Organisation of Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing.	Workshop.
Ms. Amani El-Dawakhli	N	Senior Planner, Greater Cairo Region Planning Division, Organisation of Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing.	Workshop.
Mr. Ahmed Yasser Arafa	N/ C	Senior Planner, General Organisation of Physical Planning (N). Consultant and planner, FEDA (C).	Workshop/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Amr Mansour	N	General Organisation of Physical Planning.	Interview.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

<b>Organisation for the Fatimid Cairo Committee</b> Mr. Abdel-Hamid Mohamed el-Touidi	N	The ex-head of the Organisation for the Development of Fatimid Cairo, Ministry of Housing	Interview.
<b>The Arab Contractors:</b> Mr. Emad Yusuf Amr	N	Head of the Restoration Section, The General Department for Engineering Consultations and Technical Services, al-Muqawlan al-Arab (the Arab Contractors) Contracting Company, Ministry of Housing.	Interview.
Mr. Nasr al-Din Mahmoud Hassaballah	N	The Head of the construction development techniques section, the General Department for Engineering Consultations and Technical Services, al-Muqawlan al-Arab Contracting Company, Ministry of Housing.	Interview.
Mr. Ahmed Shawqi	N	Project Manager responsible for the work of al-Muqawlan al-Arab, consultation and contracting in Qasr al-Sham Area and the Religion Complex Area, as well as the studies for the development of Bab al-Nasr Area.	Interview/ Workshop/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Tarek al-Murri	N/ Nc	Ex-Project Manager of the restoration and historic areas studies, al-Muqawlan al-Arab Contracting Company, Ministry of Housing (N). Currently a consultant for Mr. Ayman Abdel Moniem, Historic Cairo and Consultant for the Supreme Council of Antiquity to re-structure the ICOMOS Egypt, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
<b>The Arab Bureau:</b> Prof. Yahya al-Zini	N/ Nc	Ex-Chairman of the Arab Bureau, Ministry of Housing. The Co-ordinator of the Ministerial Committee for the development of Historic Cairo, reporting to the prime-minister. Selected to be the co-ordinator of the public spaces beautification, initially	Interview.



N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

		reporting to the Minister of Culture.	
Mr. Said Abdel-Moniem Ramadan	Nc	Senior Planner, Engineering Consultation, the Arab Bureau, Ministry of Housing.	Workshop/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Abdel-Rahman al-Adawi	Nc	Senior Planner, Engineering Consultation, the Arab Bureau, Ministry of Housing.	Workshop/ Open Meeting.
<b>Housing Institute:</b> Mr. Claudio Acioly	Nc	HIS, Housing, representative in Egypt in collaboration with Urban Training and Studies Institute (UTI, the Dutch Project), Housing Institute, Ministry of Housing.	Interview.
Dr. Tarek al-Shikh	Nc	Urban Training and Studies Institute (UTI, the Dutch Project), Housing Institute, Ministry of Housing.	Interview.
-----			
<b>Ministry of Culture:</b> <b>Historic Cairo Organisation:</b> Mr. Ayman Abdel-Moniem	N	Head of the Information Centre, Historic Cairo, and the Secretary of the Minister of Culture for the architectural restoration and heritage management, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
Prof. Salah Zaki	N	Head of the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
Dr. Galal Abada	N	The Executive Manager of the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Interview/ Open Meeting.
Dr. Husam al-Mahdi	N	Consultant, the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Interview/ Open Meeting
Mr. Ziad Ahmed Amir	N	Senior Planner, the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Interview/ Workshop.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

Mr. Waleed Abdel-Moniem Khalifa	N	Senior Planner, the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Workshop.
Nisreen Laham	N	Senior Planner, the Urban Development Studies Division, Historic Cairo, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
<b>Project Department:</b> Mr. Gamal Amir	Nc	Architectural Consultant, Project Department (Edarat al-Mashroat), Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
<b>SCA:</b> Dr. Gaballah Ali Gaballah	N	General Secretary of the Supreme Council of Antiquity, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
Mr. Abdel-Khaliq Mukhtar	N	Head of the Southern Sector, Cairo Region, Supreme Council of Antiquity, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
Mr. Adel Abdel-Sattar	N	Deputy General Manager, Cairo Region, Supreme Council of Antiquity, Ministry of Culture.	Interview.
Mr. Abdu Abdellah Omran al-Dali	N	Archaeologist and the director of the restoration department of the monuments of Suhag, Qina and al-Bahr al-Ahmar Region, Supreme Council of Antiquity, Ministry of Culture.	Workshop/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Abdu Abdellah Omran.	N	Head of the Restoration of the Historical Monuments in Suhag, Qina and the Red Sea Governorates.	Workshop/ Open Meeting.
----- <b>Ministry of Tourism:</b> Dr. Mona Zakariya	----- Nc	----- Architectural and Urban Consultant, Project Department (Edarat al-Mashroat), Ministry of Tourism.	----- Interview/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Magdi Latif Shinoda	Nc	Senior Architect, Dr. Zakariya Team.	Interview.
-----	-----	-----	-----

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

<b>Ministry of Awqaf:</b> Dr. Mahmoud Zaquq	N	Minister of the Awqaf	Interview.
<b>Legislation:</b> Mr. Al-Said al-Hussaini	N	The head of the technical office, the General Organisation for Legal Consultations and Legislations, the National Supreme Court.	Interview.
<b>Cultnat:</b> Prof. Fathi Salih	Nc/ W	Director of the Cultnat, the heritage national documentation centre for the Egyptian national, tangible and intangible heritage, initially, the Ministry of IT and Communication and currently part of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (international Library of Alexandria) (Nc), co-ordinating with the Ministry of Culture. The Ex-Egyptian representative in UNESCO, co-ordinating with the UNESCO on personal basis (W).	Interview.
Dr. Reem Bahgat	Nc	IT consultant for heritage documentation.	Interview.
Mrs. Malak Wahba	Nc	Senior Architect, responsible for the documentation of the colonial Cairo Project, Cultnat.	Interview.
<b>Cairo University:</b> <b>ECAE:</b> Prof. Taha Abdallah	N/ Nc/ W	Director of the Engineering Centre for Archaeological & Environment, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University (ECAE). The consultant of Cairo Governorate (N) and the Ministry of Culture for the area conservation of the Aqueduct (Magra al-Euon) Area and the restoration of individual historical buildings. A member in the Executive Committee headed by the Governor of Cairo (Nc). The representative of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO (W).	Interview.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

<b>ADSC:</b> Dr. Sahar Attia	Nc/ W	The Director of the Architectural Design Support Centre (ADSC), Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University, consultant of the General Organisation of the Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing. Consultant of the IRD (Institute de Research pour les Developpement, French Forgin Aid for the upgrading of the colonial part in Cairo and Aleppo.	Interview/ Open Meeting.
Dr. Shahdan Shabaka	Nc	Senior Planning Consultant, the Architectural Design Support Centre, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University, consultant of the General Organisation of the Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing.	Open Meeting.
Mr. Sami Mohamed Nazir	Nc	Planner, the Architectural Design Support Centre, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University.	Workshop.
Ms. Niveen Ahmed Hamza	Nc	Planner, the Architectural Design Support Centre, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University.	Workshop.
Dr. Dalila al-Kirdani	Nc/ C	Senior Planning Consultant, the Architectural Design Support Centre, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University, consultant of the General Organisation of the Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing (N). Director of Gamal al-Bakri Consultancy Group and Partners (C).	Open Meeting.
-----			
<b>Non Governmental Area Conservation Consultancies:</b>			
<b>Bakri:</b> Ms. Alya Samih Okasha	C	Gamal al-Bakri Consultancy Group and Partners.	Workshop.
<b>Mashrabiyya:</b> Dr. Assad Nadim	C	Director of the Mashrabiyya Institute and the consultant and the project manager of the restoration of al-Suhimi Mansion and	Interview.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

Dr. Milad Hannah	C	the area conservation of al-Suhimi Harrah. Co-Director of the Friends of Environment and Development Association (FEDA, NGO). Consultant of the Tumbakshiya Area Conservation Project.	Interview, through a phone call.
<b>ARCE:</b> Dr. Robert Vincent	C	Project Manager, the American Research Centre in Egypt (ARCE), responsible for the restoration projects of individual buildings in Bab Zuwila Area.	Interview.
<b>German Institute:</b> Prof. Gunter Mayer	C	Consultant of the management of the archaeological sites and excavations, the German Institute in Cairo.	Interview.
<b>AUC:</b> Prof. Bernard O'Kane	C	Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture, the American University in Cairo (AUC). Consultant for the documentation of the Islamic Calligraphy and the updating of the Islamic monuments map in Cairo for the American Research Centre.	Interview.
Prof. George Scanlon	C	The Head of the Arabic Studies and the Islamic Art and Architecture Department, the American University in Cairo. The archaeologist of the Islamic site of al-Fustat	Interview.
Dr. Shahinda Karim	U	Art Historian, the American University in Cairo.	Interview.
Mrs. Jihan Reda	U	Art Historian, the American University in Cairo.	Interview.
Mr. Nicholas Warner	C	Consultant for the Restoration of al-Kritliyya Historical Mansion, a project funded by the Barakat International Trust and al-Tajir Foundation.	Interview.
<b>AKCS-E:</b> Dr. Mohamed Madbouli	C	The head of the Aga Khan Cultural	Interview.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

		Service-Egypt, project Manager of the Park and the upgrading of al-Darb al-Ahmar District Projects.	
Dr. Dina Shehayeb	C	Consultant for the Social and Behavioural implications on physical intervention for al-Darb al-Ahmar, freelancing consultant commissioned by the Aga Khan Cultural Service- Egypt.	Interview.
Dr. Ashraf Butrus	C	Senior planner, the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Egypt. Project Manager of the upgrading of Suq al-Tablita Market.	Interview.
Mr. Karim Ibrahim	C	Senior Architect, Revitalisation of Darb Shughlan Neighbourhood, the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Egypt.	Interview/ Open Meeting.
Mr. Seif al-Rashidi	C	Co-editor of the Report of the, Revitalisation of Darb Shughlan Neighbourhood, the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Egypt.	Interview.
Mr. Mohamed Said	C	Senior architectural restorer, the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Egypt.	Interview.
-----			
<b>Community Based Organisations (NGOs) and Community Members:</b>			
Al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Ltd.:			
Mr. Khalid Kamal	U	Responsible for the Social Fund and Development in al-Darb al-Ahmar, Al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited, co-ordinating with the Aga Khan Cultural Services-Egypt and the Near East Foundation.	Interview.
Mr. Ahmed Abdu	U	Responsible for the Recruitment and Capacity Building Davison, al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited, co-ordinating with the Aga Khan Cultural	Interview/ Role Play Session.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

		Services-Egypt and the Near East Foundation.	
Mr. Ali Abdel-Al Said	U	Community leader, al-Darb al-Ahmar, Development Limited.	Role Play Session.
Mr. Mohamed Said	U	Community leader, al-Darb al-Ahmar, Development Limited.	Role Play Session.
<b>Qasr al-Sham Area:</b> Mr. Medhat Sabri	U	A resident in Qasr al-Sham Community.	Interview/ Role Play Session.
Mr. Mohamed Taha	U	A resident in Qasr al-Sham Community.	Role Play Session.
Mr. Abu Khalid	U	A resident in Qasr al-Sham Community.	Interview/ Role Play Session.
Mr. Taha Yaqub	U	A resident in Qasr al-Sham Community.	Role Play Session.
Mr. Ibrahim Abdel Aziz Ibrahim	U	A resident in Qasr al-Sham Community.	Role Play Session.
<b>Al-Darb al-Asfar Area:</b> Mr. Yusuf	U	A resident in Atfat al-Darb al-Asfar.	Interview.
Mr. Samir Sharawi	U	An owner of a workshop and aluminium utensils shop in al-Darb al-Asfar	Interview.
Mr. Abdul Moniem	U	A grocery shop owner in al-Darb al-Asfar	Interview.
<b>Al-Tumbakshiyya Area:</b> Mr. Darwish	U	An owner of a metal sheets shop in Harrat al-Tumbakshiyya.	Interview.
Mr. Mohamed Fuad	U	An owner of a flour mill in Harrat al-Tumbakshiyya.	Interview.
<b>NEF:</b> Mr. Mohamed Abdel Hafiz	W/ U	The head of the Near East Foundation (NEF) is an international agency (W), the	Interview.

N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

<p><b>FCDA:</b> Dr. Nawal Hassan</p>	U	<p>office in Cairo is an NGO, co-ordinating with the al-Darb al-Ahmar Development Limited and the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Egypt.</p> <p>The Development of the Fatimid Cairo Association, FCA (NGO). Ex-member in the Executive Committee, Cairo Governorate.</p>	Interview.
<p><b>ACA:</b> Mr. Magid</p>	U	<p>The Anglican Coptic Association, ACA (NGO) working in southern Cairo, Religion Complex and Qasr al-Sham Area.</p>	Workshop.
-----			
<p><b>Press:</b> Ms. Nada al-Hagrasi</p>	U	<p>A reporter in Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper and al-Ahram Hebdo.</p>	Interview.
<p>Ms. Doaa El-Hami</p>	U	<p>A reporter in Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper and al-Ahram Hebdo.</p>	Interview/ Workshop/ Open Meeting.
<p>Mrs. Sikina Fuad</p>	U	<p>A writer in Al-Ahram Daily Newspaper.</p>	Interview.
-----			
<b>International Organisations:</b>			
<b>UNESCO:</b>			
<p>Dr. Mizuko Ugo</p>	W	<p>The head of the Cultural Department, UNESCO-Egypt until December 2002.</p>	Interview.
<p>Prof. Salah Lami</p>	W/C	<p>The ex-head of the ICOMOS EGYPT for nine years. The Ministry of Housing Consultant for the restoration of al-Azhar Mosque Project. A member in the Executive Committee. Owns a private consultancy for conservation.</p>	Interview
<p><b>JICA:</b> Mr. Shoukichi Sakata</p>	W	<p>Deputy Resident Representative, Japan International Co-operation (JICA, Forgin Aid)</p>	Interview.



N: national institutions, Nc: consultants for the national institutions; C: private consultancy but still under the N group; W: international organizations; U: community groups, local residents and NGOs or other groups or individuals with concern and interest in the historic areas in Cairo who are not commissioned by the government at any upgrading project.

<b>Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs:</b> Mr. Fabrizio Ago	W	The head of the Cultural Heritage Department, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department for Development Co-operation, Cairo Office.	Interview.
<b>GTZ :</b> Mrs. Monika el-Shourbaji	W	GTZ co-ordinator of Ezbit al-Nakhal (spontaneous area) regeneration project	Interview.

## Appendix Three

A Theoretical Model of the Conflict between the Professionals and Local  
Communities in the Historic Areas<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract**

*The meaning or “character” of a place is defined not only by its built form, but also by the living context within and around it. This paper presents a model through which we explain how the weakening of local character, the blurring of our heritage, is occurring in historic parts of Cairo, Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo in Syria. We assume that the meaning of a place corresponds to the latent function of that place; and can be measured by assessing the perceived value of the place to various users. The weakening of meaning is occurring through vandalism by the users and vandalism by the professionals. This is because each party is interested in a different set of perceived values. Everyday users of the place are interested in maximising those values that are significant to their daily life, namely, social, economic, psychological, and cultural values. Using inappropriate means at hand, they often minimise the aesthetic and historic value of the place; two values where they lack in awareness. Planners and designers on the other hand, focus exclusively on the aesthetic and historic values of the place. In the effort to maximise those two values they ban the other sets of values regarding them as encroachments and acts of vandalism, and thus diminishing the meaning of the place, the heritage. By realising that any intervention, use, or perception, can either contribute to, or detract from, the “heritage” of a place, and that the meaning of a place encompasses more than just the aesthetic and historic values, we should rethink our attempts at preserving or rather sustaining this “living heritage”.*

-----

The discussed phenomenon pertains to the contemporary Arab-Islamic city, surviving today as historic districts within the giant fabric of the modern metropolis. These districts are not just archaeological or tourist attraction spots. They still contribute and integrate as part of the overall city system. They are, definitely, not playing the same role they had a century or two before when they formed a complete independent city. Instead they have become the home for certain patterns of living, and activities. The historic districts in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, from which we draw many examples, have a resilient character (the heritage we would like to preserve) that is mainly responsible for the survival of these areas. However, this living heritage is subject to an unprecedented rate of change, which jeopardises this character. In this paper we present

<sup>1</sup> This is the text of a paper that is cited in this research as (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002).

a model through which we explain factors that contribute to the weakening of this local character, or heritage.

The character of these places lies in a sophisticated system of settings (Rapoport, 1990b) and corresponding meanings that can only be decoded by those who interact with them and understand the decoded messages (Rapoport 1982). It is therefore through those occupants, or users, those outsiders can read such environments. Such a character is the representation of "...cultural ideas [that] are objectively present in artefacts as much as they are subjectively present in minds" (Hillier *et al* 1987: 363). This continuing presence in mind is termed by Hillier as the "social logic of space" (Hillier *et al* 1987). It is the only means to discern how such areas are still able to communicate and elicit meanings and serve functions and activities until today. They serve latent functions that are perceived only by those who live in them (Shehayeb, 2000).

In short, a place is a space with varied meanings for those who use it, view it, or appreciate it. Furthermore, the meaning of a place is defined not only by its built form but by the living context within and around it as well. And since one reason for maintaining architectural heritage is to use it for the transmission of meanings comprising the local culture to future generations, therefore, the elimination of some of those meanings would depreciate its heritage value. This devaluation of the heritage, is partially caused by changes introduced by the residents or users of those historic areas, as well as by the professionals and the officials either through designed interventions, or lack of intervention.

The hypothesis is that each party is interested in a different set of perceived values. Everyday users of the place; mostly people who live and work there, are interested in maximising those values that are significant to their daily life, including social, economic, psychological, and spiritual or cultural values. The users, however, have a low health awareness and lack awareness to the historic and aesthetic value

altogether. As a consequence, they often minimise these values, by using inappropriate

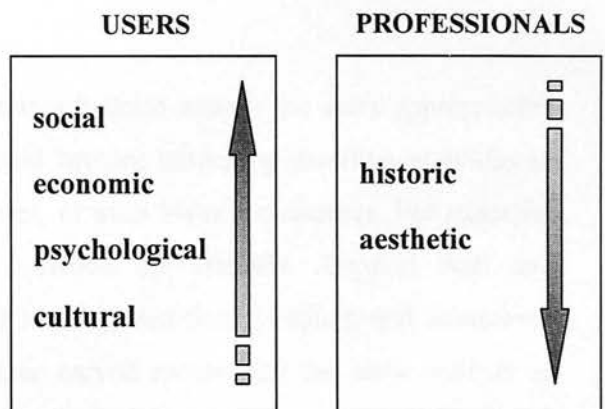


Figure (A3.1) Model explaining users as vandals where attempts to maximise social, economic, psychological, and cultural values may be at the expense of historic and aesthetic values.

means at hand, in their attempt to maximise the life-values mentioned above, see (fig. A3.1).

Planners and designers, on the other hand, focus exclusively on the aesthetic and historic values of the place. The concern of city officials may also include national security, but this is often an unrevealed aim of historic preservation schemes. In the effort to maximise those values, they minimise and abolish any other set of values regarding their manifestations as encroachments and acts

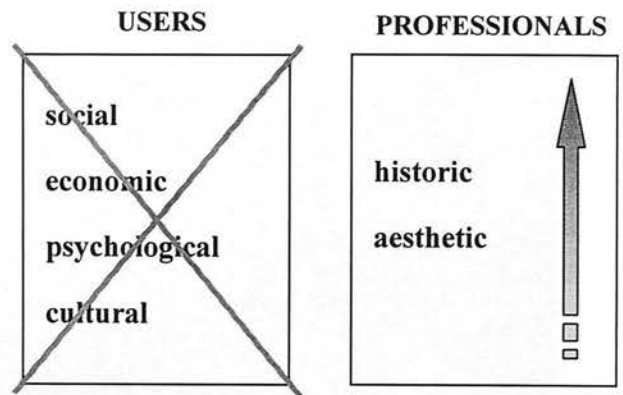


Figure (A3.2) Model explaining professionals as vandals where attempts to maximise historic and aesthetic values are accompanied by a ban of social, economic, psychological, and cultural values.

of vandalism, and thus diminishing the meaning of the place, see (fig. A3.2). Worse still, some misguided designers often enhance the aesthetic value at the expense of the historic integrity of the place (Sedky, 2000).

In the following section the changes brought about by the occupants, or users, and the nation and the professionals it consults (planners, urban designers and architects), are categorised into domains of influence.

## **USERS AS VANDALS<sup>2</sup>**

### **One) Appropriation of public property:**

One form of user vandalism witnessed in historic areas is the users' appropriation of public property for private uses. It could involve extending dwelling activities or workshop activities onto public thoroughfares, or even historic structures. For example, some residents in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar overrode the Historic Ayyubid wall and appropriated it as a roof top to hang their laundry, sun their bedding, and sometimes even sit to admire the sunset<sup>3</sup>. Others have carved rooms into the same wall as an

<sup>2</sup>We adopt the term "vandalism" to refer to the blurring of the local character of such places, or the weakening of their meaning and heritage, as it has been often used to accusingly describe the actions of residents and users of historic areas.

<sup>3</sup>The term "use-value" or rather "valeur d'usage" was used by French historic preservation Professor Xavier Malverti to denote the potential of a building to accommodate different activities or uses without disruption to structural form. Lecture on Historic Preservation Methodologies as part of the HERCOMANE project inaugural Seminar, 11-13 September 2000.

expansion to their dwelling space. Dead-end, cul-de-sacs are often appropriated by surrounding residents as animal-raising areas. It is also common to see workshop activities spill out onto the public right-of-way, see (ill. A3.1).

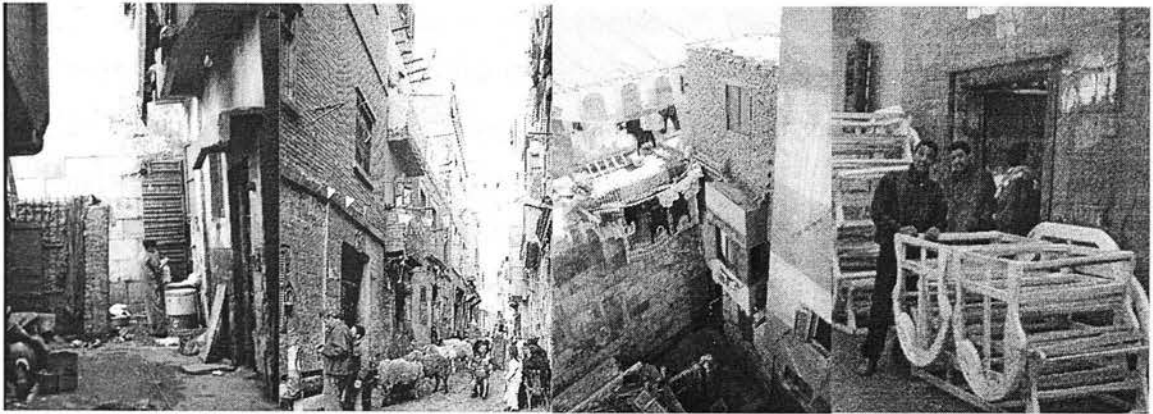


Illustration (A3.1) The appropriation of public spaces in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar.

These are all cases where the users have perceived “use-value” in the built environment; in the thickness of the historic wall, the privacy of the cul-de-sac, and the traffic calmness of the winding roads. However, one should not overlook the “psychological” and “social” gains of such territorial behaviour. Whether these acts of appropriation should be considered vandalism is questionable in the first place, since they are traditional means to exercise control over the public space immediately outside one's private domain (Rapoport, 1977). This social control serves several latent functions; it helps enhance the feeling of safety, of belonging to the place, and sometimes it is a means to communicate status to others in the community (Taylor & Brower, 1985). Such cases of vandalism, if they are considered so, are cases where users maximise “Psychological” and “Social” values while unintentionally lowering the “Aesthetic” value as perceived by outsiders.

## Two) Unsuitable activities:

Al-Harrika is an area located within the walls of the old city behind the citadel of Damascus where a fire had destroyed the original fabric and it was rebuilt as a commercial (whole sale) and manufacturing area around the 1920s. As a result commercial uses have been infiltrating the residential area within the walled historic city of Damascus; converting mansions into workshops that threaten the last remaining authentic historical fabric in the city. In Cairo, unsuitable activities jeopardising the physical condition of historic buildings and the community's health in general, are quite

common in areas such as Gammaleyya, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, and Bab Al-Wazir areas. These activities include metal melting and welding, carpentry, marble cutting, tanneries and other workshops (Mousa, 2000). Such cases of vandalism, come about when users maximise “Economic” value at the expense of the “Historic,” “Aesthetic,” and sometimes “Health” values of the historic area. The problem lies in the process and materials used in these workshops. Recently, several projects have looked into improving environmental and health conditions in some of these workshops so that they could remain in the area. Only those workshops where adverse effects could not be contained, will have to be banned from the historic area. This is because the continuation of these workshops in those areas is vital, as well as historically valid, as they represent the economic base of the residing community.

### Three) Inappropriate improvements:

Contrary to the perception that residents of historic areas are unwilling to invest in improving their residential environments, recent research findings have shown that residents of such areas do invest in home improvements. However, it is in the *quality* of those improvements that the problem lies (Shehayeb, 2000). Home improvements in the form of applying new plastering on façade exteriors, or replacing the deteriorating wooden window frames and lattice panels with (better performing) designs of wood or aluminium, see (ill. A3.2). Home interiors are continuously maintained by residents, either by the re-plastering and re-painting of walls, the re-tiling of floors, or the replacement of plumbing in parts of the building.



Illustration (A3.2) Cases from al-Darb al-Ahmar, Cairo where improvements undertaken by the users using available materials, designs and know-how violate the historic integrity of the historic buildings.

Unfortunately these attempts of maintenance and improvement have more of an adverse effect, rather than a contribution, to the preservation of the built heritage. One reason behind this problem is the lack of trained craftsmen with the appropriate know-how. For long, the government, or any other organisation, has not supported or encouraged the application and development of traditional building techniques, or construction materials. As a result it is not a widely needed skill, but rather a specialisation available only to the major restoration projects. This is, mainly, the case in Cairo where a gap has occurred between the local craftsmen and the traditional construction techniques because of the relatively longer existence of the colonial stylistic and technical influences. It is not however, as drastic in Syria, where the techniques are still alive. Yet, following an authentic construction or restoration process is still expensive<sup>4</sup>, therefore, it is almost impossible to ideally restore an already inhabited building of traditional value (i.e. unregistered one) especially when the inhabitants are of limited financial resources, which is mostly the case.

In addition to maximising values such as “Convenience,” and “Aesthetics,” another motive that initiates improvements rises from the spiritual or cultural value often associated with historic areas. In Cairo, for example, a resident who wants to repent his erroneous deeds, or fulfil a pledge to God, would spend money on improvements carried out to spiritually significant religious monuments. In one such case, the penitent had inside of the *mihrab* (prayer niche) of a shrine and mosque covered with modern ceramic tiles of the best quality available in the market (Shehayeb, 2000). This aspect of user vandalism is one where users maximise “Convenience,” “Aesthetic,” and “Cultural” values as they perceive them, with whatever materials, techniques, craftsmanship available to them.

### PROFESSIONALS AS VANDALS

#### **One) Vague regulations and slack implementation:**

The regulations that apply to new construction in historic areas still fall short in rigor and articulation. This problem is compounded by slack enforcement of these regulations. Such conditions have resulted in the introduction of modern buildings such as public housing schemes and the prototypical educational buildings to parts of

---

<sup>4</sup> Emmad Al-Aqqad, civil engineer who is responsible for many refurbishment projects that require restoration of some 300- year-old mansions in al-Qimariyya, Old Damascus, an interview conducted by Ahmed Sedky, Damascus, August 2000.



historical Cairo, such as Bab al-Wazir, al-Darb al-Ahmar in Cairo, and similarly to areas Old Damascus.

Another face to this problem is insecurity of tenure. In Cairo, the struggle between the Ministry of the *Awqaf* (Ministry of the Religious Endowments) and the Ministry of Culture and the ambiguity of the property renting laws, has left many historic buildings in a no-ones-property stance. The most serious result is the insecurity felt by the tenants occupying units in such old buildings. In Cairo, for example, owners and residents of properties in the vicinity of historically significant buildings are in constant fear of removal as is the case of tens of houses along the newly excavated Historic Ayyubid Wall in al-Darb al-Ahmar (Mekheimer & Shehayeb, 2001). Also, for more than a decade now a plan exists in the Governorate of Cairo that delineates a ten meter wide street along this wall as well as a widening of a neighbouring alley that runs parallel to the wall. Residents in the area have been in suspense all this time expecting, any minute, the implementation of that plan, while non-residing owners have lost all interest to maintain their properties since their values are doomed. Other tenants who have moved out hang on to their deserted units believing they may earn the right to a subsidised apartment as compensation when actual removal takes place, if ever.

On one hand, the fact that property value in the area remains unknown due to unimplemented plans, and conflicting regulations has resulted in many deserted buildings, and undeveloped lots has accelerated the physical decay and deterioration of many historic districts. On the other hand, the insecurity that residents of historic areas experience endlessly is an ongoing source of psychological stress that affects their well-being.

A related issue is the lack of articulate guidelines to safeguard our heritage. Attempts at defining the meaning of heritage have so far done so in a very general manner (e.g. OICC, 1997). Such ambiguity has led to the absence of any concept of value estimation, which is needed to decide the architectural value of the building. One consequence was the long confrontation between the Cairo Government and the Ministry of Culture which was the topic in the media because of the 1936 al-Azhar Administrative Building. Also the lack of historic preservation guidelines resulted in the idea of a piazza in the heart of the Islamic Cairo. A design that was debated in the newspapers (Ali 1998 and Othman and Afifi 1999), and was completely rejected by some, on the basis that it was altering drastically the traditional physical character of the most important node in Islamic Cairo (Burra Charter 1979).

## Two) Modernisation, “giving it a civilised look”:

On an urban level and under the banner of modernity and a civilised look, one major negative change was the dissection of the traditional urban fabric in old cities to introduce wide modern streets. This can be illustrated in the old walled city of Damascus, where some streets perpendicular to the ancient thoroughfare and around the citadel were widened, see (ill. A3.3). Fortunately, when Ecoshar, the French planner, in his 1960s scheme, wanted to emphasise the citadel creating vistas and passages around it at the expense of Suq al-Hammidiyya, the idea was not implemented, thus saving one of the social and cultural landmarks widely known among the Arab People and tourists, not only the Damascians<sup>5</sup>



Illustration (A3.3) widening streets around the citadel in old Damascus

In Aleppo the old city suffered similar dissection. Historical districts were separated to enhance motorways and a complete part of the old city; Bab al-Farag was lost under the flag of modernity<sup>6</sup>

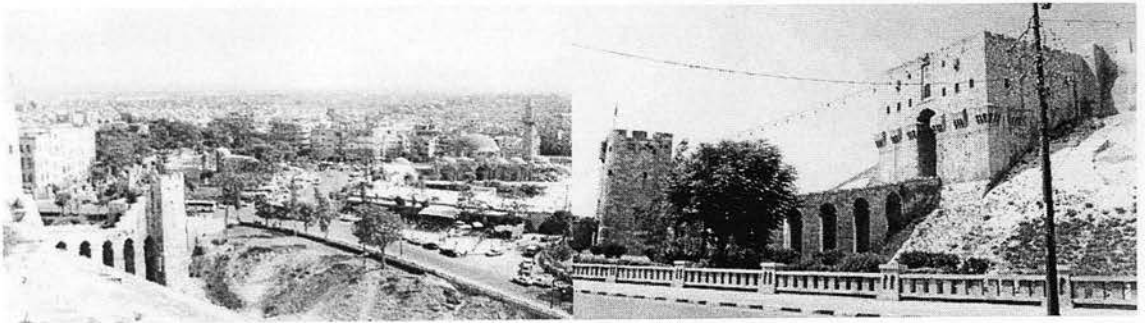


Illustration (A 3.4), Wide streets around the Castle in Aleppo, Syria to convey a modernised look

This is also the case in the upgrading or improvement of traditional *Suqs* (markets and popular commercial areas) and shopping areas. The hustle and bustle,

<sup>5</sup>This plan received governmental support for the reputation value of the French planners; fortunately it was not executed for some amendments suggested by Dr. Abdel Qader Al-Rihawi, then Department of Antiquities consultant. Interview conducted by Ahmed Sedky with Dr. Abdel Qader al-Rihawi, Damascus, August 2000.

<sup>6</sup>Based on the interview conducted by Ahmed Sedky with Mr. Omar Abdel-Aziz Halaj, the Main Consultant of the Revitalisation of Old Aleppo Project, Aleppo, August 2000.

sounds and smells, intertwining cars and pedestrian movement in Khan al-Khalili, or al-Sagha in Cairo has been criticised equally by some professional and city officials as being unseemly, backward, and uncivilised. There have been recurring attempts to modernise, to sanitise, the place. One such scheme even suggested the construction of an indoor mall. There is hardly any thought of just improving the leaking infra structure networks, and improving garbage collection with local tax-payers money if the area were a Designated Historic District.

### Three) Beautification / Museumification:

Planners and designers often confuse preservation of historic buildings with beautification of the building and its surroundings. Their schemes usually include the elimination of other non-physical qualities of the historic areas that are responsible for their current meaning; activities that may be equally valuable heritage as the buildings themselves. Such interventions can endanger the authenticity of historic areas. For example, in Cairo, the scheme introduced to al-Ghoureyya dictated the removal of the textile shops from the area surrounding the al-Ghourī Religious Complex in order to protect the historical complex. It threatens the livelihood, the whole ambiance of this area, see (ill. A3.5). It is becoming “museumified.”



Illustration (A3.5) Textile merchants at the foot of the Ghouri Complex in 1999 (left) and in David Robert's 1800s etchings (right).

In fact this really pulls out the real spirit of the place. The area in its location close to the main mosque in Fatimid Cairo followed the traditional urban planning and guild division mainly consisting of shops and *Wekalas* for textile. Those textile merchants, together with the perfume shops and book sellers, had surrounded al-Azhar mosque since the tenth century; over four centuries before the Ghourī Complex itself was built as

stated by the revered Cairene city biographer, al-Maqrizi in the fourteenth century (Mehrez, 1972), and Ali Mubarak in the nineteenth century (Mubarak, 1306 Hijjri).

Another example of insensitive beautification can be seen in the amphitheatre added as part of the urban upgrading scheme for Qasr al-Sham' Area that does not integrate with the socio-physical urban context. The amphitheatre as form and function has little meaning to the community around, see (ill. A3.6). They could have benefited more from a multi-purpose area, shaded with a few trees maybe, where the children could play, or the elderly could enjoy a game of backgammon. Instead, it is now a rather meaningless barren space whose landscape elements serve as garbage collection nooks. This is a case where the professionals' intent to beautify has more of an adverse effect on the character of the historic areas, endangering its very integrity.

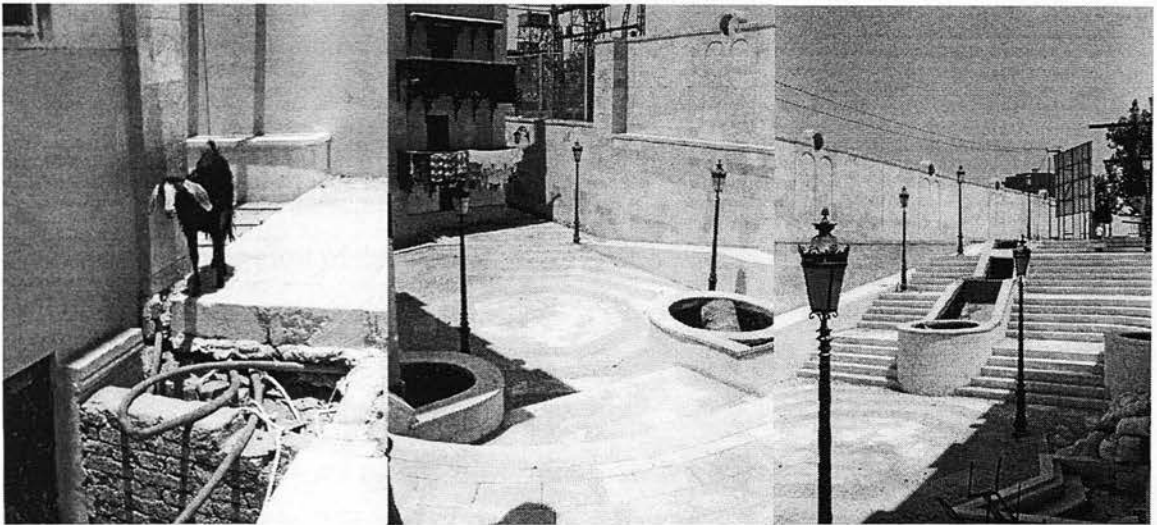


Illustration (A3.6) The amphitheatre introduced on a collapsed building site in the area of Qasr al-Sham', in Old Cairo (close to the Mar Guerges religious area) as part of a historic preservation/revitalisation project conducted by the Ministry of Culture.

Such cases of professional vandalism, occur when planners and designers maximise the "Aesthetic" value, as they perceive it, while banning all activities that often have "life-values" to the surrounding community. In some cases, as in the latter example, actions to beautify may actually negatively affect the "Historic" value of the area. Such attempts are likely to be motivated by unrevealed aspirations of economic gain, probably through tourist attraction.

#### Four) Cultural exploitation:

Another domain of adverse changes can be seen in the economic exploitation of historic areas for tourism. Historic areas are considered assets by nations; resources to be taken advantage of, thus, development for tourism is prioritised- if not beautification and museumification of



Illustration (A3.7) Beit al-Gabri in Damascus. The mansion transformed into a restaurant suffers adaptations such as AC condensers drilled into its eighteenth Century walls.

places, then by adaptive reuse. Adaptive reuse; a concept that could save, or destroy, historic treasures. For instance, in Damascus the consents issued by Anbar office (the official institution responsible for the rehabilitation and the revival of Old Damascus) for any adaptive reuse project that can secure the restoration requirements, is mainly for tourism, see (ill. A3.7). When such a strategy is exclusive of other (non-touristic) uses and extends over areas at large, it is a form of cultural exploitation that threatens to change the whole character of the area. This is happening in the Bab Toma area in Damascus where most of the old houses are converted into restaurants and coffee shops, and may happen in Jedaideh in Aleppo.

The above examples reflect the planners' and the nations' tendency to focus mainly on what pays off preservation costs. Such a trend may lead to gentrification; resulting in a "kitschy," instead of the authentic, or "real," ambiance that we still feel in the alleys of Old Cairo, and Damascus despite of their apparent physical deterioration. The way to manage historic areas may be to allow more choices and a variety of uses; to allow monitored change so they continue to be a 'living heritage' rather than historic artefacts (Sedky, 2000).

### CONCLUSION

By realising that any intervention, use, or latent function, can either contribute to, or detract from, the heritage value of a place, and that the meaning of a place encompasses more than just the aesthetic and historic values, we should rethink our attempts at preserving this heritage. The meaning or latent function of a place can be

measured by assessing the perceived values of the place for different user groups, and complementing that to the values perceived by us professionals in the field, and by the nation's decision makers. The key is to balance out the disparity in the models illustrated in (fig. A3.1) and (fig. A3.2). Once planners and government officials realise the reasons behind the unintended vandalism caused by the users, they could work on several venues to minimise such phenomena. On the one hand, the awareness and sensitivity of the people; the local users and visitors, should be raised through basic education in schools, media highlights, and community events. On the other hand, the government could support the development of materials and building technologies that are more appropriate to the nature of the physical environment in historic areas, and the trained labour to implement it. At a more abstract level, it is eminent that professionals rethink the very meaning of the term "heritage." We need to develop a more comprehensive, yet operational definition of the term in order to guide the development of criteria to assess the value of, not only buildings, but of traditional settings, or areas, as a whole. Participatory design may be one of the means for a two-way exchange of perceived values between insiders (users) and outsiders (planners, designers and government officials).

In conclusion, regarding historic areas there is a balance of interests that should be recognised and respected by all parties; the World has the right to see it, the Nation has the right to benefit from it, and the Users have the right to live in it. Such venues as outlined briefly in this paper may be the first step to the reconciliation of value systems to the benefit of preserving, or should one say, "sustaining" our "living heritage."

## References

---

- Ali, Saiyyed (1998). "In the Fatimid Cairo: A New Start for the Beautiful History," *Al-Ahram Newspaper* 19 March: 3, Cairo, Egypt.
- The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance 1979.
- Attia, Amr (1999). "Planning for Sustainable Tourism Development: An Investigation Into Implementing Tourism in the North West Coast in Egypt," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University College of London.
- Hillier, Bill *et al* (1987). "Ideas Are Things: An Application of the Space Syntax Method to Discovering House Genotypes," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, vol.14: 363-385.

- Mekheimer, Shahinaz & Shehayeb, Dina (2001). Affordable healthy housing. *Open House International* Vol. 26 No. 2. Special Issue: Health, Housing, and Urban Environments: 43-54.
- Mosa, Moshira (2000). "Violations and Carpentry Workshops Threatening the Islamic and Historical Monuments in Cairo!," *Al-Ahram Newspaper* 18 September: 3, Cairo, Egypt.
- Organisation of Islamic Capitals & Cities (OICC) Charters, Iran, 1997.
- Othman, Amal and Afifi, Islam (1999), "A Crime in the Heart of Historic Cairo: an Architectural Giant (Monster) Threatening Al-Azhar Mosque and Al-Hussein Sancturay," *Akhbar Al-Youm Newspaper* 27 November: 16, 17, Cairo, Egypt.
- Rapoport, Amos (1977). *Human Aspects in Urban Form*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Rapoport, Amos (1982). *The Meaning of the Built Environment*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Rapoport, A. (1990a). Levels of meaning and types of environments. In Y. Yoshitake, R. Bechtel, T. Takahashi, & M. Asai (Eds.) *Current Issues in Environment Behavior Research*, Japan: University of Tokyo.
- Rapoport, A. (1990b). Systems of activities and systems of settings. In Susan Kent (Ed.) *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.
- Sedky, Ahmed (2000). Contextual Considerations of Urban Conservation in the Middle East, a Presentation in 7<sup>th</sup> International DAVO Conference, Mainz October 12-14, 2000.
- Shehayeb, Dina (2000). Sustainable Housing Rehabilitation: Utilizing E-B Studies in a Historic Conservation Project, a Presentation in IAPS Conference, Paris July 4-7, 2000.
- Taylor. R. B. & Brower, S. 5. (1985). Home and near-home territories. In I. Altman & C. Werner (Eds.) *Home Environments*. New York: Plenum Press.

## Appendix Four



## Superficial Approach to Area Conservation in the Middle East<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract:

*The urban fabric of historic towns is the container of a great heritage, as well as social values that are practiced within this characteristic environment. Yet, globalisation and other causes of radical change have severely affected these traditional urban phenomena. Area conservation has thus become an imperative, surpassing the typical limited concern with restoration and the preservation of historical buildings in historic towns around the Mediterranean. Therefore, several projects have been conducted to confront the swift deterioration of such an environment. The question now is: how to conduct Area conservation within such a context? Is it a synchronic approach that should be adopted to preserve the past?*

*Investigating these questions, the present inquiry intends to define one of the most common approaches to area conservation in the Middle East, focusing on Eastern Mediterranean Region. This was accomplished through a survey of accomplished and ongoing projects in Turkey, Fertile Crescent (Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) and Egypt. This investigation has been conducted through field observations and interviews with national professionals involved in the urban conservation schemes pursued in the countries covered in this survey. This is part of the fieldwork conducted by the author for a PhD research focusing on the quality of urban conservation in the Middle East.*

---

Once a city name is mentioned an image flickers in mind. Usually it is an indicative cue of the city's style, culture, predominant lifestyle, and it is in many cases something historical, iconographic and nostalgic. The historic quarter of any city is always the reservoir of such elements, whether architectural or otherwise.

The historic quarter in each city, therefore, acts as its character backbone for it exhibits the accumulation of the successive epochs and events in that city (Arkoun, 1990). Thus they are regarded as the nation's living memory of different qualities and values that reflect the city's legacy. This is why the nation has a strong claim to this heritage in urban form.

Therefore, extensive conservation work is taking place in many of the historical quarters all over the world. It is a growing active movement currently in the Middle East as well, especially with the introduced cultural pressures of globalisation and the call for a more unified world system, an inevitable companion to the international businesses and partnerships that are highly encouraged by regional governments as an answer to the growing economic pressures and depressions (Korten, 1995).

Thus, urban conservation has become imperative, surpassing the typical, limited concern with restoration and the preservation of historical buildings in the region. Conservation today is meant to be for complete quarters. Several projects, therefore, have been conducted in the region to confront the swift deterioration of such an environment. The crucial question now is: how and what is urban conservation within the sought context. Is it a kind of wide restoration that covers buildings and streets? Should it follow a synchronic approach to preserve the past to be effective? And if not, and if we involve people (the occupants as well as other interest groups) in the urban conservation process, which will be one of urban regeneration, how far can we allow interventions, and according to what criteria should we evaluate them?

---

<sup>1</sup> The contents of this appendix are collected from papers cited in this research as (Sedky, 2001b and 2000).

This paper traces a certain approach to urban conservation common in the Middle East Region and more precisely in the Eastern Mediterranean zone. This approach is a superficial one, because it is concerned mainly with the beautification of the built environment. The notion of area conservation here is complemented through the upgrading of every physical element in the historic quarters, an overall scheme that covers the historical and regular buildings and streetscape. Such schemes, however, lack any social considerations and are oriented towards the investment of the physical cultural resources (the built environment rather than its occupants) of the area under implementation. These projects aim at facial improvement targeting the enhancement of the tourism industry. They are sponsored by institutions (governmental organisations) or activist bodies (NGOs, mostly envisaging heritage, solely, in its pure physical form) or individuals (investors).

The institutionally sponsored projects are the most common in Egypt, Turkey and Syria. In Turkey and Syria the role of municipalities is very substantial. For example, in Istanbul, municipalities play a major role in the implementation of the area conservation projects in the historic quarters. This is best illustrated in Sultan Ahmed Mosque Area, the most famous tourist-attraction spot in Istanbul. The municipality of Sultan Ahmed Area conducts a very enthusiastic urban upgrading scheme. The high quality of the finishing materials and streetscape cannot be missed by any pedestrian following the typical tourist route within the old quarter. The main agenda of the current scheme was to develop this historic area for tourism. For example, residential activity diminished; apartment buildings have been refurbished and converted into hotels and guesthouses. Complete blocks were converted into restaurants and coffee shops. Consequently the area is almost dead after 7 pm (fig.1). And the original mixed-use character of any medieval urban fabric has retreated drastically to the less fortunate lanes that are off the main tourist traditional routes (tourist hot spots) between and around Hajia Sofia Museum and Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Despite exhibiting some significant Ottoman buildings these areas are neglected, thus deteriorating (fig.2). In this paper the terms 'mission' and 'commission' are used to describe this facial approach.



Left: adjacent to Sultan Ahmed Mosque, complete streets of guest houses and hotels, as well as other services for tourism (fig.1).

Right: few metres off Sultan Ahmed Area, a historical mosque built by the famous Ottoman architect Sinan, and a deteriorated neighbourhood are left to negligence (fig.2).

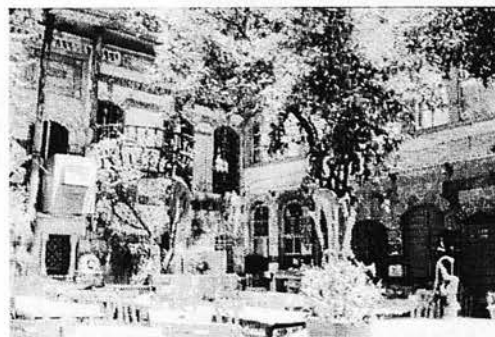
The 'mission' is the task of conservation itself and what to be conserved. Based on other observational walks, it is always the same in Istanbul and even in the walled old cities in Anatolia that any urban conservation project aims at creating beautiful facades of the old

districts. This is achieved through selecting certain routes, those full of tourists, to be beautified and almost neglecting the rest of the urban fabric, as well as other routes that are not as commonly incorporated in the regular trails of tourist companies' programmes.

For the 'commission', which is how the mission is accomplished, it is a synchronic approach that aims at preserving the architectural character of the conserved area. This overlooks the fact that the physical character develops from the lifestyle and other social aspects that have brought into being the traditional artefacts in the form we see them today (Orbaşlı, 2000). Nevertheless, the situation now is nothing more than dressing the new buildings in *pseudo* traditional façades that are not even following the traditional proportions or fenestration systems; e.g., the *Gumba* (the traditional Turkish bay window and a very characteristic feature in the Anatolian domestic architecture) is absent in the newly built houses (Çelik, 1993).

Such a synchronic approach, yet not as severe as the case above, is also followed in the Old Damascus. Old Damascus, as a historical fabric, is relatively fortunate. Thanks to the old city walls, Old Damascus has been always able to maintain its urban character—except the Hariqa Area that was completely demolished during the French Mandatory Period in the 1920s--as a traditional urban fabric with two major spines, Suq al-Hamidiyya and Midhat Pasha. Yet this is only applicable to the walled City of Damascus. Some areas that were as rich as the Old Damascus, such as Saruja and al-Salihiyya could not preserve their original fabric and are fraying almost completely under the heavy foot of the construction development that have erupted since the 1950s.

However, it is very important to study the Revitalisation of Old Damascus Project that is conducted by Anbar Office (fig.3), an especial municipal body that is reporting directly to the governor of Damascus and the Syrian Prime Minister. Although it is still early to evaluate this project, it is obvious that the main concern of Anbar Office is the preservation of the old fabric. Social development is not part of any suggested schemes. Restoration of major architectural examples, such as the headquarters of the Anbar Office (an eighteenth-century Ottoman House,) is the major activity of the office. Moreover, supervising the restoration and the refurbishment work in the private properties in Old Damascus is also another major role that is to protect the overall traditional appearance of the Old City. According to some local professionals this might be very impractical without enough awareness and training for local craftsmen who are much needed to guarantee the quality of masonry work and other types of work especially for historical buildings, which is not sufficiently provided by Anbar Office.



Left: the headquarter of Anbar Office, Old Damascus (fig.3).

Right: Al-Jabri House, built in the eighteenth century, converted into a restaurant with musical performance in a residential area, Al-Qimariyyah, Old Damascus (fig.4).

Despite the limited budget allowed for this project the work conducted is effective, especially in al-Qimariyya Area around the Umaiyyad Mosque, the main tourist-attraction. This significant area contains some of the best remaining historical houses in Damascus. Many of them have already passed to the real estate stock as it has become very fashionable among the Damascene Bourgeois to have a second residence in the heart of the very traditional fabric. Certainly, the new occupants can secure the right restoration and this is regarded as a way to maintain the quality of the historic urban fabric. Furthermore, some investment for tourism has been permitted, such as converting some traditional houses into restaurants (fig.4), which has also become a trend in Old Damascus especially in al-Qimariyya Area, the tourist hot spot in the old city.

It might be speculative and too early to comment on the above; yet, the absence of any social schemes in the plans of Anbar Office, concentrating mainly on the technical aspects of the conservation process and prioritising the investment for tourism might jeopardise the authentic character of the area. Gentrification and drastic social alteration, which may cause widespread change, are very much expected if the social dimension remains neglected.<sup>2</sup> In addition, unstudied decisions regarding the ownership problems may lead to a drastic end as the case of Saruja Area outside the walled city, where owners and occupants (current tenures) have been turned into share-holders rather than owners with clear ownership and claim to their properties which made it unrewarding for them to invest in the maintenance or restoration of such properties; consequently the Saruja urban fabric suffered swift deterioration (figs.5, 6). This seems to be the inevitable future of al-Hamrawwy Area behind Al-Azm Palace in the heart of the Old City (Mansour, 1997).



Right: Al-Nasr Road, cutting Saruja area as a result of less sensitive planning in the 1950s when the area started to suffer deterioration under the heavy foot of modernisation (fig.5).

Left: the eroded urban fabric of Saruja Area, outside the walled city. (fig.6).

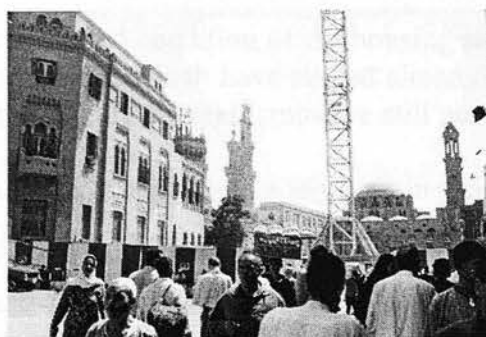
<sup>2</sup> This can be attributed to the conflict in value and priority systems of the officials and planners responsible for area conservation in one side and the occupants of historic areas on the other (Shehayeb and Sedky, 2002).

In Cairo, the major problem is mainly in who-is-who and whose responsibility to define, monitor and implement urban conservation schemes, i.e., unclear defined job descriptions assignments of the different involved institutional bodies (Al-Sadiq, 1997), as well as dwarfing or even neglecting the local communities' role. For example, in the major Project of the Revitalisation of Fatimid Cairo, the Ministry of Culture, Cairo Governorate and the General Organisation of Physical Planning (Ministry of Housing), as well as some foreign research centres are involved in research and studies. However, the decision-making has been limited to the Ministry of Culture and Cairo Governorate. Permitting almost no private development within the historical fabric (rejecting the adaptive reuse of any historical building), together with neglecting the undefined ownership of many others—the common struggle between the Ministry of Awqaf and the Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Culture—have led to a severe loss of many historical buildings that were demolished or burnt. For example, the Musafirkhana Palace, built in late eighteenth century, was burnt in 1999 because of negligence. In addition, many historic areas in Cairo have already lost their distinctive urban character.

The lack of real co-ordination between the Ministry of Culture and the Cairo Governorate has reached its peak since the struggle about al-Azhar Square Regeneration Scheme. This was expressed in the press and reflected complete conflicts and contradictions between the Minister and the Governor of Cairo. In fact, going deeply into the reasons of these conflicts is not the main goal of the present paper, yet it is essential to reflect two major points. The first is that Cairo Governorate has no defined contextual principles of urban conservation (Cairo Governorate, 2001). That has been illustrated in the scheme suggested and enthusiastically supported by the Governor of Cairo and the Ministry of Housing to create a huge piazza which alters the traditional cohesion of the Azhar Square removing all the structures in between Al-Azhar and Al-Hussain Mosques, aiming at achieving a scheme similar to that of the Louver area in Paris, as revealed in the press, which reflects the governmental organisations' lack of awareness of the contextual significance of Historic Cairo that demands especial treatment and not merely coping what is followed or aimed at in Paris.

The answer of the traffic problem was a huge tunnel that necessitated a ventilation building in the heart of the Azhar Square that was questioned by many professionals and urban designers in the architectural institutes. The Ministry of Culture, on the other side, has no defined criteria for urban conservation that can support its antagonising suggestions. There is a strong need in Cairo for a conceptual framework for urban conservation that defines the role of each participant in that revitalisation process and controls the huge cultural resources of such a large historic city (fig.7).

Right: the location of the air condition plant of the tunnel at the core of Al-Azhar Square (fig.7).





Right: Al-Darb rig: Al-Darb Al-Asfar Lane, western part where the historic houses are located (fig.8).  
 Left: a restored façade of an unregistered house in Al-Darb Al-Asfar that is left in its deteriorated conditions from inside (fig.9).

Another case that illustrates the superficial approach to urban conservation is al-Darb al-Asfar in Gamaliyya, starting as a pilot restoration project of al-Suhimi, Khurazati and Mustafa Gafar Houses. No doubt that these houses are rare surviving examples of Ottoman domestic architecture in Islamic Cairo, which date back to the seventeenth century (fig.8). Yet the area contained some activities and a deteriorated housing stock that required a comprehensive urban conservation scheme. However, during some interviews with some of al-Darb al-Asfar's residents, they expressed their disappointment, as the project did not improve the deteriorated condition of their houses. The project team painted the façades of the houses with a monotonous beige colour and fixed the main sewerage system on the street mainly to prevent any leakage of water from infiltration to the restored historical houses and to secure the good appearance of the area so that it is not annoying for the anticipated prominent visitors and tourists heading to the historical houses in the area (fig.9).

Regarding social development, the project team, together with some community members established al-Darb al-Asfar NGO for the protection of the real estate in the area. This NGO that was formed to develop the community did not last for more than a year, during which the restored monuments were inaugurated and the annual renting contract of the NGO headquarter expired.

The new wall paint does not conceal the deteriorated condition of the housing stock. The inner walls still suffer from buckling, cracks and dampness, which have started already to affect the beautification work on the exteriors. Many of the nostalgic street lamps are still not working as well.

The pedestrianisation (applied as a by-default urban upgrading at any spot in Cairo) of al-Darb al-Asfar is harshly criticised by the shopkeepers because it affects the area economically, segregating it from its wider economic context. Yet the project team convinced them that they could change their activities, selling souvenirs and tourist services. That is not likely to be achieved because the number of the wandering tourists and visitors in this spot is not that huge as any other tourist hot spot like, for example, Khan al-Khalili in Cairo. The question now is: is it a must that every shop accommodating a certain craft or selling any kind of goods for the

indigenous communities in historic areas should change its activity to selling souvenir or soft drinks to cope with the revitalisation attempts in historic Cairo (Sedky, 2001c)?

Conservation schemes led by investors, on the other hand, do not show much difference. In Beirut, for example, the major districts with the colonial heritage which previously served as the city CBD (City Business District) before the civil war has been subjected to ambitious conservation and redevelopment schemes. This could be seen in the Suq Barghut Area (fig.10). The high quality of the finishing materials and the best restoration techniques were employed to regain the original image of the area during late 1920s and 1930s. The project is impressive in all physical aspects; yet, the original owners have become share-holders or sold their units, thus leading to social alteration.



Left: a restored block of buildings from the 1920s, Suq Barghut, Beirut (fig.10).

The goal has been always to create luxurious international centres, according to the author's interviews, not for Lebanese as much as for those who can afford being in such area. The slogan of the investing firm is to recreate the metropolitan centre in the heart of what used to be prosperous Beirut (SOLIDERE, 1999). However, this part of Beirut had given the torch to al-Hamrah Street and al-Ashrafiyyah to become the new CBD of Beirut replacing Suq Barghut since 1950s and 60s, while the last had shifted to be a middle class district before the Civil War. The actual agenda of the investors was to create a commercial centre with international extremely luxurious standards, overlooking the Mediterranean Sea in the commercially active Beirut. This was encouraged by the successive governments because of the lack of an institutional body to control and manage the city cultural resources. The problem was in the absence of the parameters that can control the interventions of the investors and that could help compromise between their financial interests and the need to preserve the authenticity of the city's cultural heritage as a cultural centre for all the citizens of Beirut, who certainly develop an out-of-place feeling whenever they visit the Area of Suq Barghut.<sup>3</sup>

The problem has been also the same in Jordan where the department of Antiquities is within the Ministry of Tourism and not the Ministry of Culture. Thus, it is prioritising investment in the tourism industry. Furthermore, there is a lack of more effective conservation legislations, for only what is before 1700s is to be preserved and what is after is neglected. Ottoman heritage, therefore, is completely jeopardised. Heritage itself has become trendy and many Ottoman villages were evacuated from their occupants for the sake of archaeological excavations to enrich the tourist programmes or to establish tourist villages, e.g., Taibat Zaman and Um Qais (Daher, 1999).

This conservation approach concentrates very much on the physical aspects of the historic built environment, overlooking the occupants' role and rights as part of the overall equilibrium of the historic city phenomenon, which contradicts with the more comprehensive calls for area conservation that complement the local community's demands and culture that are

<sup>3</sup> See Saliba (1999) for further arguments.

essential for successful results (Delafons, 1997; Hubbard, 1993). Therefore, it has been noticed that it does not effectively integrate the occupants as a major actor in their conservation schemes. This leads to assert that Urban Conservation as a concept, especially in its comprehensive sense, is absent in these projects according to the methods and instruments section of the ICOMOS charter of conservation of historic town, Washington (1987).

In fact, it is essential to discuss further the policies and approaches followed now in the ongoing urban conservation projects in historic towns (Arab-Islamic) in the Eastern Mediterranean because what is affected now are not merely walls but people/ families that have woven socio-cultural and economic ties with their areas. Even if the occupants are moved out from some areas, is it feasible to move out all the residents of the historic towns, for example, the Fatimid Cairo or even al-Gamaliyya District alone? Therefore, it is a very critical matter that is based on pure qualitative measures that need to be determined first before any intervention is introduced to the historic area. Moreover, it is essential to understand that conservation is a tool not an end.

It is also necessary to build up a comprehensive framework which helps develop skills and the ability of evaluation needed for the regeneration of each phenomenon (case) with its different social, cultural, economic, political and other physical givens (Cantacuzino, 1987; Sedky, 2001b). Certainly, this means that there should be a conceptual framework and approaches of thinking to guide the planning and implementation of urban conservation projects. This is to understand each area undergoing conservation scheme and to respect its significances and distinctive characteristic features, whether physical or non physical, through introducing suitable interventions for this area that are meant to contribute positively to the area's future transformation.

## References:

Al-Sadiq, Mohamed Tahir (1997), 'The absence of the legislative commitments in the organisational relations among the planning, administrative, and development institutions in Egypt,' a paper presented in Arabic in the urban organisation symposium, 10<sup>th</sup> April, the Egyptian Engineering Association, Cairo.

Amin, Norhan (2001) "Contemporary Aspects of the Old Town in Damascus", conference proceedings of a symposium titled, Urban Heritage in the Arab Cities: Conservation versus Contemporary, held in Homs, 24-27 September, The Arab Institute for City Development.

Arkoun, Mohammed (1990), "The Meaning of Cultural Conservation in Muslim Societies," in Imamuddin, Abu H. and Longeteig, Karen R. (eds.), *Architectural & Urban Conservation in the Islamic World*, vol. 1, the Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Singapore, pp. 25-33.

Cairo Governorate (2001), *Proceedings of the First Scientific Symposium no.1 for the Working Plan of Cairo Governorate and its Futuristic Vision*, Cairo Governorate Press.

Cantacuzino, Sherban (1987), "Blueprint for Conservation in the Third World," *Mimar*, vol. 24, June, pp. 19-25.

Çelik, Zeyneb (1993), *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press.



Daher, Rami (1999), "Gentrification and the Politics of Power, Capital and Culture in an Emerging Jordanian Heritage Industry," *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environment*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 33-45.

Delafons, John (1997), "Sustainable Conservation," *Built Environment*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 111-20.

Hubbard, Philip (1993), "The Value of Conservation: a Critical Review of Behavioural Research," *TPR*, vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 359-73.

Isaacs, Raymond (2000), "The Urban Picturesque: An Artistic Experience of Urban Pedestrian Places," *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 145-180.

Korten, David (1995), *When Corporation Rule the World*, San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Mansour, Sawsan Fayiez (1997), "The Phenomenon of Division of Large Damascian Mansions in al-Hamrawi Area," unpublished Diploma, Faculty of Engineering, Damascus University.

Nadim, Asaad (1997) *Bayt al-Suhaymi: Documentation, Restoration, & Conservation Project* (May), Cairo, Mashrabeya Institute.

Orbaşlı, Aylin (2000), "Is Tourism Governing Conservation in Historic Towns?," *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, no. 3, November, pp. 7-19.

Saliba, Robert (1999), "Imported or Exported Urbanism? A Seminar in Beirut, Lebanon, 20-22 December 1998," *Urban Morphology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 104-5.

Sedky, Ahmed (2001a) "Historical Quarters as Living Heritage: Cairo as a Case Study", a paper presented in the Urban History Group Conference, Glasgow University, 29-30 March 2001.

Sedky, Ahmed (2001b) "Contextual Considerations of Urban Conservation in the Middle East," ISIM Newsletter, no.7, March 2001, Leiden University, the Netherlands, p.18. available on the internet at: [http://www.isim.nl/newsletter/7/regional issues](http://www.isim.nl/newsletter/7/regional%20issues)

Sedky, Ahmed (2001c) "The Living Past," an article published in Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper, Cairo, 1-7 November 2001, p.17.

Sedky, Ahmed (2000) "Contextual Considerations for Urban Conservation in the Middle East", a paper presented in the Seventh International DAVO Congress of Middle Eastern Studies, Institute of Geography, Mainz University, Germany, 12-14 October

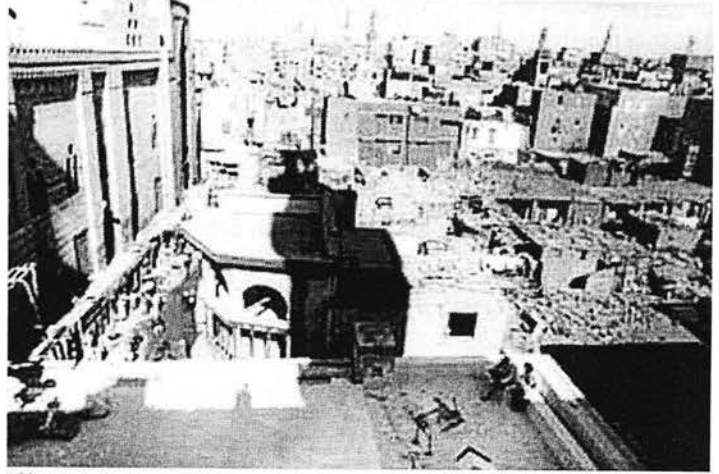
Shehayeb, Dina and Sedky, Ahmed (2002) "Heritage Conservation Against What? A Model to Explain Adverse Change in Historic Districts", a paper presented in the First International Conference of the UIA-WPAHR-V Work Programme: Architecture and Heritage, held in The International Library of Alexandria, 14-16 March, (in press).

SOLIDERE (1999), Annual Report, the Lebanese Company for the Development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District.

## Appendix Five

A Critic of Area Conservation in Cairo<sup>1</sup>

A nation without a past can have no future. But is it only the past that we should protect when seeking a better future? Is it only the symbols of a lost glory that we should emphasise, while overlooking the existing cultural and social matrix?



Critics charge that the current revitalisation projects aimed at upgrading Cairo's

Ill. A5.1: Restoring monuments without taking into account their cultural and social context will deprive the area of its significance *photo: Randa Shaath*

historical areas do not address the above questions, and therefore fail to engage with important debates. Enthusiastic attempts to conserve the historical areas erupted in the mid-1990s. Since then, the conservation machine has moved swiftly: the numerous billboards bearing the names of construction industry giants are sufficient indication of the frenzy of activity. Any Egyptian would recognise these names as those of huge contractors, usually responsible for building bridges, housing projects or highways. Their profile in conservation work, especially on historical areas and the restoration of Islamic monuments, is not quite as high.

This begs the question: have these contractors sufficient awareness of the meaning of restoration? Have they read the international charters on restoration and conservation? Do we not need a local charter for restoration, adapted to the Cairene context?

The debate introduced several years ago by *Al-Ahram Weekly* has focused on the appropriateness of restoration projects in Islamic Cairo. It has also examined urban conservation as a whole -- the wider approach that covers complete areas through the restoration of the monuments, as well as the development of the local communities.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is cited in the present research as (Sedky, 2001c).

Before actually undertaking conservation work, we need to ask: what do we conserve, and why? The purpose of conservation, as stated in the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) New Zealand Charter of 1992, is to care for places with value for the cultural heritage -- their structures, materials, and meaning.

The importance of cultural meaning, however, is often overlooked by urban conservation projects in Cairo. Culture cannot be reduced to historical remains, and cannot be protected only by the restoration of monuments or the streetscape. The ICOMOS Washington Charter (1987) for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas emphasises this point, stating that the conservation of historic towns should be an integral part of a "coherent policy of economic and social development and urban and regional planning." Superficial beautification, obviously, is not enough. We may call it revitalisation, but it is merely museumisation; and this is a grave threat to Cairo's historical areas, which still pulsate with the activities of everyday life.

We do no good to historical areas by restoring their monuments and evacuating the inhabitants. al-Ghuriya is unimaginable without the textile trade, which has been there since the fourteenth century, when Al-Maqrizi mentioned it. Textile merchants have worked in this area since before al-Ghuri complex was built. Even today, many families from Cairo (but also from the rural areas) come to al-Ghuri to buy bridal trousseaus and household fabrics. Such a vibrant tradition, which is an integral part of our non-physical heritage, will be erased if the textile shops are removed from the area. Only the restored wall will remain; the essence of the area will have vanished.

This brings us to our second question: why do we conserve? The obvious answer is, to safeguard the heritage. Well, just what is the heritage? According to the Krakow Charter (2000), one can only define the way in which the heritage may be identified. Social plurality entails a great diversity in the way the community understands the concept. An idea like that of patrimony cannot be defined and classified by officials and planners. Here, the problem is that we lack a system of values and definitions that could guide urban conservation projects. That is the conclusion reached by a symposium and workshop titled "Approaches and Mechanisms of Urban Conservation Projects in Historic Cairo," held at the Italian cultural centre in September. Along with the lack of guidelines, the symposium

deplored the absence of appropriate community involvement -- an essential element of comprehensive conservation, as stressed in all international conservation charters.

This is evident in Mar Girgis (the Religion Complex Area in Misr al-Qadima District, southern Historic Cairo), where no appropriate studies were carried out before heavy construction machinery was brought in. Subsequent interventions do not seem to have taken the local community into account: wooden screens do not offer the inhabitants enough privacy, and an amphitheatre is being used as a playground for goats, while trash is dumped in the flower boxes. Dangerous cracks have appeared on the walls of the houses as a result of one of the revitalisation projects implemented in the area.

In Gamaliya's al-Darb al-Asfar (at the north of Historic Cairo), a pilot restoration project focused on three rare surviving examples of domestic architecture: the houses of al-Seheimi, Khurazati and Mustafa Gaafar. The area would have required a comprehensive urban conservation scheme, but the project did not address the degradation of other houses. The façades were painted beige and the main sewage system was overhauled to prevent infiltration. The project team and some residents established an NGO to develop the community, but its activities came to an end a little over a year later. The street was made into a pedestrian zone -- a measure taken automatically as part of any urban upgrading activities in Cairo -- but, while families surely welcome the step, workshop owners and shopkeepers have complained that it segregates their work from its wider economic context. Nor are these people willing to change their activities, becoming sellers of souvenirs and providers of tourist services. Tourists do not visit al-Darb al-Asfar as often as they do Sultan Hassan or Khan al-Khalili; and now, when the flow of foreign visitors has all but dried up, there is less incentive than ever to reconvert.

It is important to remember that conservation projects affect not merely walls but also people who have close socio-cultural and economic ties with the areas they inhabit. It is not realistic to contemplate evacuating all the residents of Fatimid Cairo, or even the Gamaliya area alone. Conservation, after all, is a tool -- not an end in itself.