

URBAN

REGENERATION

PROJECT

FOR

HISTORIC

CAIRO

COMMUNITY-ORIENTED ACTIVITY PATTERNS

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Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo

Sector Study: COMMUNITY-ORIENTED ACTIVITY PATTERNS

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United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
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منظمة الأمم المتحدة
للتربية والعلم والثقافة



Historic Cairo

inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979

القاهرة التاريخية

موقع مدرج في قائمة التراث العالمي عام ١٩٧٩

The study identifies the community-oriented activity patterns and indicates the spatial localization points of the most relevant patterns. It analyses the different types and modalities of appropriation and use of public space: revealing existing and possible conflicts and constraints on one hand, as well as practices and potentials for sustainable and participatory place management on the other. Finally it outlines the critical issues and identifies the potential for revitalization.

تحدد الدراسة أنماط النشاط الموجه نحو المجتمع. وتشير إلى نقاط توطن الأنماط ذات الصلة. تحلل الدراسة الأنواع المختلفة وطرق استغلال واستخدام الفراغ العام: كاشفة عن الصراعات والمعوقات الموجودة والمحتملة من ناحية، وكذلك الممارسات والامكانات لإدارة مستدامة وتشاركية من ناحية أخرى. وأخيراً تحدد القضايا الحرجة وإمكانية إعادة الإحياء.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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CONTENTS

1. Documentation and Bibliography	4
2. Community-oriented Activity Patterns	10
2. a. Understanding Community-oriented Activity Patterns	10
Qualifiers of an activity pattern	10
List of patterns	11
Field visits	13
Analysis of activity pattern	15
2. b. Concentration of Activity Patterns in Historic Cairo	102
3. Use of Public Space	112
3. a. Modalities of Appropriation of Public Space	112
Key Factors	112
Analysis of Case Studies	115
Typology of Public Space according to modality of appropriation	138
3. b. Current Conflicts and Gains	140
3. c. Assessment of Threats and Potentials	143
4. Critical Issues and Potential for Revitalization	146
5. Conclusion: Future Research and Outcomes	147
Bibliography	148

FORWARD

Community-oriented Activity Patterns

Within the framework of the programme Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage in Egypt, in close consultation with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, responsible national authorities and project team of “Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo” (URHC project), the Consultant shall carry out a preliminary study on “Community-oriented Activity Patterns in Historic Cairo”. In particular, the study shall:

1. Identify and collect the available documentation from different sources (planning studies, statistical data, recent publications and research reports, etc.), punctuating existing knowledge with selective field visits to verify and update practices;
2. Identify and provide the characterization of non-residential community-oriented activity patterns (commercial, handicraft, services, production and wholesale, local markets, religious and cultural activities and events etc.) and indicate the spatial localisation points of the most relevant patterns, possibly termed “community cores”;
3. Analyse the different types and modalities of appropriation and use of public space: revealing existing and possible conflicts and constraints on one hand, as well as practices and potentials for sustainable and participatory place management on the other;
4. Outline the critical issues and identify the potential for revitalisation, with reference to the socio-economic trends in the neighbourhoods, the socio-cultural activity settings and the spatial/typological characteristics (“systems of activity settings”) of the urban fabric, as a background reference for the preparation of the Historic Cairo World Heritage (WH) site Management Plan.

1. Documentation and Bibliography

The aim of this step is to identify and collect the available documentation from different sources (planning studies, statistical data, recent publications and research reports, etc.) to complement and update existing knowledge. To achieve this, the strategy undertaken was to Pool Resources. It was agreed that URHC office team with the UN-ESCO office support to set up a platform upon which to upload resources to be shared among the entire project team including the other consultants (leaders of the other sector studies). Since this step did not have enough time to be implemented, the consultant forwarded to the URHC team reports, studies and recent publications that are not as readily available whether they cover all of, or part of, the delimited Core Area of Historic Cairo (HC). Many of these studies cover the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) project in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar (ADAA).

Attempts were made at reviewing literature that is in Arabic on the markets and traditional crafts of HC to compliment the English language Bibliography that URHC has achieved. The scarce literature found focussing on the local crafts characteristic of Historic Cairo hardly discussed the physical environment where they take place. Most would explain the production process and the types of raw materials without addressing how those materials are brought to the workshops. In some references there was information about the locations (districts in general) that were famous for these crafts, in others, they even mention the names of the well-known artisan families in each craft. Hardly any describe the workshop setting or the concentration of workshops that together work like an assembly line for the production of a comprehensive product.

Quite valuable to the study were the documents and reports pertaining to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture Project in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. Of great interest, are the currently implemented programs, such as the CELP program, that target economic revitalization of local businesses by giving the needed support to the handicraft manufacturing and sales businesses, both traditional and contemporary. Reviewing the different strategies for economic revitalization attempted by the AKTC project over the 12 years of engagement in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar is a valuable source of lessons for the rest of Historic Cairo; successes and failures in vocational training, micro-finance programs, and product marketing can be analysed to give direction to future interventions in similar districts.

Also, of value are the Social Surveys and a Lifestyle Assessment Study conducted to serve the Housing Rehabilitation Program that reveal the patterns of use and appropriation of public space by different age groups in the community. The Baseline Survey (BLS) of 2003 included a quantitative study on a sample of business owners and employees but the credibility of this portion of the BLS was not high. The Post-Implementation-Survey that followed in 2009 only focused on the residential community exploring change in livelihood and quality of life. In 2010 a large scale quantitative BLS was conducted targeting households and business owners. A qualitative study was recently finalized to complement the quantitative one to bench-mark the current situation and guide future direction of the project programs. The findings cover the current situation, challenges as well as needs and priorities of the workshop owners. It discusses findings around the following domains:

1. **Business Profile:** Profile of people running retail or manufacture businesses.
2. **Business Infrastructure:** Condition of establishments, access to basic services such as water, solid waste disposal, non-product output recycling, electricity, security and hazards.
3. **Business Development:** Human Resources and policies for human resources (gender sensitive policies), Marketing and Production, outsourcing, incomes and assets, expenditures, loans and debts.
4. **Education and Training:** Children at risk, formal and informal training for employees, needs for training.
5. **Community Life and Overall Quality of Life.**

Much of what applies to the production or manufacturing businesses in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar applies to many of the other areas of HC. According to the handicraft business owners **raw materials** are an important factor that affects production; their availability, quality. In the focus group interviews business owners from different specialities complained about the limitations in raw material sources. They claim that for many specialities, such as brass and glass products, there is no diversity and that individual importers are free to monopolize the market and set their price without any competition, or interference from the authorities. This uncontrolled increase in the price of raw materials was perceived by many workshop owners as impeding production of items at a competitive price. Woodwork workshop owners as well stated that the government should have a larger role in providing policies, infrastructures (such as means of transportation) as well as research and development to provide access alternative raw materials.

Besides the numbers produced, **product design** and quality are a critical aspect of production. There are those workshops who believe in maintaining high quality standards to sustain the high paying client's trust in the product. There are still those workshop owners in HC who have a long lasting experience; who use the best materials and components and follow the classic tradition of how the handicraft is properly made.



In a desperate attempt to achieve reasonable sales, some traditional craftsmen and business owners are seeking novelty. A few tent-makers and arabesque manufacturing workshops started to transform classic designs haphazardly in the name of innovation. Other saw that innovation is needed, but that it also had to be explored in parallel to maintaining the strict inherited tradition of production process and design. Especially third and fourth generation craftsmen see the importance of the preservation of classic traditional designs through sustaining quality production and documentation of inherited know how. This does not exclude the need for innovative design development of products, in both traditional and non traditional handicrafts.

Some workshop owners stated their keenness to continuously attain uniqueness and distinction; they see what is in the market and they produce different designs. One of the bag manufacturing business owner; a craftsman himself, says he makes the tour of retail stores downtown, produces new design prototypes and then offers it to those retail business owners to get orders. Orders are the main basis for production for many workshops in HC. One scenario is “orders by the consumer”, or by an intermediary client as in the case of the interior designer in the furniture industry. The other scenario is “orders by retailers” or merchants. In the latter case, the manufacturing business sales depend on the sales by the retailers; their clients, their markets. Another major complication of working “by order” is the intermittence production which consequently relates to the availability of, and capacity to sustain **skilled labour**. Without a continuous flow of orders, many workshops cannot sustain their skilled employees, inversely affecting the workshop's capacity for future production.



Good product design, quality raw materials, skilled craftsmanship produces a high quality product at a high price. The problem explained above of markets and unaware clients have negative impact on production and sales. This on its turn affects the new generation **willingness to learn** the trade and join the craft. According to the traditional handicraft master craftsmen, there are two reasons that would motivate a person to choose to become a skilled craftsman: pride and passion for the craft itself, and making a decent income. The problem with the first is that the value of the handmade product is not recognized in the Egyptian society. It is not prestigious to become a craftsman and therefore it does not fulfil the youth's, especially male youths, aspiration to achieve high status in society. 'Pride and passion for the craft' can be restored among younger generation craftsmen by raising awareness among workers and clients to the value of the heritage; the value of handmade products.

As for 'income', many youth perceive that the income made as a craftsman, although not low, is not worth the effort put into the work. Working in a mobile shop, installing satellite dishes, or even working as a security guard can earn him the same amount of money for less effort. Another problem of depending on being a craftsman for livelihood is the intermittent nature of production "by order" especially for those crafts that need high skills and are too expensive for the current market to guarantee a steady flow of production. Many workshop owners recruit their skilled labourers who hold other jobs when an order becomes available. This strategy is not always successful as sometimes the skilled labourers cannot be available for work at the right time, which leads to losing the order.

Secondary to reasons explained above are issues related to **technical education and training**. Solutions by some business owners proposed opening new horizons through learning communication skills utilizing new mediums such as the internet, learning English, AutoCad, improving skills in pricing and packaging and better marketing, but did not know where to start.

The above were all factors related directly to production, however business owners keep pointing out the much needed **government role** in each of the above discussed factors. They stressed that the government is not doing its role to support traditional handicrafts through **policies, research** or the **institutional organization** that is much needed to facilitate collective action.



In addition to the factors mentioned above, there is another group of factors related to **sales, clients** and **marketing** methods that indirectly affect the handicraft heritage of HC. Following tradition, households buy new items (shoes and bags) or make due renovations in their homes. However, the usual demand that comes from hotels renovating their furnishings at the beginning of each summer season declined due to the negative impact of the political situation in Egypt on tourism. This affected both manufacturing as well as sales-related businesses such as tent-makers, fabric, upholstery and woodwork. Furthermore since the 1990s, sales of handicraft products have been suffering a steady decline due to **competition**. Locally, alternative producers in rural governorates such as Menoufeya or Fayoum invade the Cairene market, including the Khan Al-Khalili bazaar, with merchandise lower in price and lower in quality. Also, the nearby informal area, Mansheyet Nasser, is a growing competitor to ADAA in domains such as shoe making. This may be explained by the fact that this informal area is the natural spill-over of the populations of Al-Gammaleya and ADAA, the two districts where concentration of handicraft production is the highest in Cairo (65% of the population in Mansheyet Nasser originally come from Historic Cairo, namely Al-Gammaleya, ADAA and Al-Khalifa). International competition is mainly from imports of Far East, especially China. The materials are of less value, for example non-leather handbags and shoes, and in most cases they are industrially produced not handmade, but the lower prices are attractive to the impoverished lower and middle income groups of Egyptians. Most retail merchants in the traditional markets of Historic Cairo and in Downtown prefer these products because the clientele in these areas has shifted from the paying upper income Egyptians to the lower income groups.

This is part of the problem of **clients**; clients who cannot afford high quality handicraft products, clients who do not value them, and clients who do not know these products still exist.

Local clients: As explained above and with the polarization and suburbanization of Cairo over the past 20 years, the Egyptian shopper in Historic Cairo has shifted towards lower income groups with less buying power. Results of the Quantitative BLS show even a shift among this income group towards clients from ADAA. This is not necessarily good, since it indicates the shrinkage of the traditionally regional and city-scale markets to become local markets. The upper income Egyptians have long shifted to other markets in other locations in the metropolis. Furthermore, with the growing distance between upper income clients and traditional handicrafts, the appreciation and demand for these products decreased. Already, a century ago, the cultural shift among the Egyptian elite had directed them toward more occidental tastes in interior design of their homes. Since the 1990s, there is a revival of interest among upper income groups in heritage conservation including traditional handicrafts, however, due to the lack of modern marketing practices among the traditional handicraft business owners, many potential upper income clients do not even know that certain workmanship and products of high quality are still feasible.

Tourists: Same with the tourist industry. Besides the interruption in the number of tourists who come to Egypt caused by the internal political turbulence and occasional resulting violence, the policies followed by the Egyptian government in tourism affected the very type of tourists. Encouraging whole-sale package tourism which is easier to control and supposedly protect, the government has actually settled for the lowest income groups among tourists; those who have very little cultural knowledge and appreciation for the high quality traditional handicrafts of Historic Cairo. This type of tourist has such a low interest in Historic Cairo compared to Luxor and the Red Sea coasts that many organized tours to Egypt hardly spend any time in Cairo beyond the day to the Pyramids and the Egyptian museum. Manufacturers of traditional handicrafts interviewed in the qualitative study have pointed out this change and said that this is reflected in significant decrease in sales in the Khan Al-Khalili bazaar. An earlier market study conducted for AKCS-E in 2001 explained that the larger retailers make their profit mainly from their branches in the newer city centers of Cairo such as Nasr City, Mohandeseen and Maadi selling to upper income Egyptian clients. Some of them sustain their businesses in the bazaar just for nostalgic reasons.

Clients abroad (the Arab Gulf): since the 1980s there was an export of Egyptian craftsmen to oil-producing Arab Countries, mainly in the Gulf area. Egyptian handicrafts became known and valued and eventually, there was a market for much of ADAA's products there especially those associated to interior design of private homes. This was especially true for the traditional handicraft industries such as Arabesque woodwork and traditional brass and silver work. Several such business owners explain that the increase in prices and scarcity of raw materials and skilled labour made them chose a strategy that eventually led to losing this market. With skilled labour travelling to work and live in the Arab Gulf seeking higher income, and with the government not doing its role in controlling the raw material markets, the cost of production of high quality traditional crafts went up. Not to lose their clients, business owners thought of reducing the cost by reducing quality. Some business owners argue that 'greed' was more reason. With the reduction of quality at the same price, Egyptian manufacturers lost the trust of the Arab client. On the other hand, they see that granted such support, business owners have the responsibility to regain the trust of the Arab client in Egyptian products and avoid the short-sighted greedy attitude towards profit-making. One of the proposed ways to improve the client situation involved raising the awareness of the upper income Egyptian client as to the value of those traditional handicrafts. Television programs that spread knowledge and history of those crafts were mentioned as a promising awareness raising tool while the internet is a medium they admitted was completely untapped.

On the other hand, they see that granted such support, business owners have the responsibility to regain the trust of the Arab client in Egyptian products and avoid the short-sighted greedy attitude towards profit-making. One of the proposed ways to improve the client situation involved raising the awareness of the upper income Egyptian client as to the value of those traditional handicrafts. They mentioned television programs as a means to spread knowledge and history of those crafts, while the internet is a medium, they admitted was completely untapped.

What the business owners perceived necessary is strategies to raise the awareness of all client categories to overcome the inability to distinguish between high quality handmade and poor quality handmade or machine made... Such a campaign was deemed necessary and should involve both government and civil society until this "ignorance" is overcome. They saw that this as part of a national and international campaign towards the "re-valuation of our cultural heritage". The other issue is the missing role of the government in accessing new markets.

The traditional way of marketing still practiced in Egypt depends on the word of mouth. It is no different for businesses in ADAA. However, due to the change in clients explained above, much of the local client sector who has the buying power moves in social circles far from those manufacturers. **Exhibitions** are a relatively a new method of marketing utilized by many (37% of the sample depend on exhibitions). However, the location and calibre of such exhibitions are still not those who would establish contact with the upper income groups of Egypt. Prestigious exhibitions such as “Le Marche” are beyond the financial means of most ADAA manufacturing businesses. The current quality and design of products produced may not even guarantee sales in this market. Furthermore, production targeting contribution in an exhibition is a financial burden that most workshop owners cannot afford.

As for seeking **new markets and export** opportunities, participating in exhibitions abroad was also the main method of marketing. Several business owners had participated in exhibitions in Arab Countries during the 1980s and 1990s. One business owner in tent-making was explaining how he had participated in an exhibition in Paris. He was satisfied with the amount of sales, but his profit was such that it barely covered his travel expenses, exhibition participation fees and product manufacturing costs. After his return to Egypt there was no extended impact or follow up benefits from that exposure. There is not much knowledge among business owners of how to make better use of these events beyond the opportunity to sell during the event. Another woodwork workshop owner had travelled to the Far East competitive producers to explore whether they can partner them in their markets in Egypt, but the terms and conditions could not be met by the small and medium-size industries of ADAA; one carpenter was explaining that the Chinese exporter was asking for a large number of furniture items to be manufactured and shipped to China at the expense of the Egyptian party and payment would only be made when the merchandise is sold.

In both above scenarios business owners recognize that what is lacking is collective action and supporting services such as finding out about exhibitions on time, planning for the event, managing the logistics and administrative work, all this through an office that would be financed by a group of workshops in a co-operative structure. The same office could offer web development and web management services for several workshops. There was much talk after the revolution among business owners of establishing networks or associations where handicraft business owners come together to provide needed services, capacity building, and changes in the factors that influence their livelihood. Some talked about stretching this networking effort beyond Cairo to include even those in Upper Egypt and the Nile Delta.

The following chart summarizes what the business owners themselves perceive as the domains where intervention is needed.



RAW MATERIALS	PRODUCTION	MARKETING
Policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government policies that ensure access to affordable raw materials needed for handicrafts. 	Motive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pride and passion for the craft: Restored among younger generation craftsmen by raising awareness among workers and clients to the value of heritage; and handmade products. Income from being a craftsman should fulfil a decent livelihood to be worth the effort. 	Competition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distinction and market safeguarding from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Industrial product. Imported (Chinese) products. Cheaper quality handmade product. Menoufeya "mother of pearl" Upper Egypt "tent-making" Mansheyet Nasser "shoes"
Scientific research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scientific research on national potentials and alternatives to minimize dependence on imported raw material. 	Skilled employees <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vocational school education needed for certain crafts such as metal and wood work. Apprenticeship is best between 12 and 18 years of age depending on craft. Talent encouragement and discovery. Ways to sustain skilled labour. 	Client <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Raise awareness to overcome the inability to distinguish between high quality handmade and poor quality or machine made... "ignorance" Raise awareness to appreciate good quality "traditional" products... "reevaluation of cultural heritage" Affordability... inability to pay the cost / worth of good quality products (applies to Egyptians and tourists)
Industry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incentives to encourage industries that process raw materials to desirable state in preparation for production such as: glass-manufacturing, tempering and staining - drying wood for furniture. 	Product Design and Quality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Return to high quality standards to restore client trust in product. Preservation of classic traditional designs through sustaining quality production and documentation. Innovative design development to continuously attain uniqueness and distinction. 	Packaging & Pricing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentation of "traditional" product design, history and quality. Advertisement – using internet possibilities Bazaars – Exhibitions Exploring market demand for "new" and "traditional" products Creating 'new' markets
Transportation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Road infrastructure and safety to ease transportation. Explore alternative means of transportation . 	Budget <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To sustain skilled employees. Prevent losing their talents to working as a security guard, a taxi driver or a shop attendant. To finance production of items for show. To market via multiple mediums and venues including money to enter exhibitions, national and international. 	
Price control <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enforce controls to avoid monopoly of raw materials, both production and/or importing, by one or a few. 	Business Administration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Book keeping and accounting. Legalization to expand market. Developing a "Business Plan" for current and future growth. 	

GOVERNMENT ROLE		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Providing the conditions and infrastructure for ALL OF THE ABOVE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incentive tax exemptions to traditional crafts. Benefits to traditional craftsmen. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Providing the conditions and infrastructure for ALL OF THE ABOVE

2. Community-oriented Activity Patterns

2. a. Understanding community-oriented Activity Patterns

The aim is to identify the activity patterns that characterize non-residential uses in Historic Cairo (commercial, handicraft, services, production and wholesale, local markets, religious and cultural activities and events ...). These activity patterns involve the local communities in one way or another; either as clients or as providers of the activity, or as principal actors defining the activity pattern and how it is performed based on their lifestyle and shared socio-cultural norms. For that reason these activity patterns are regarded as “community-oriented” activity patterns versus, for example, the activity pattern around the Security Directorate of Cairo Governorate which is located within the boundaries of Historic Cairo but is not considered a community-oriented activity pattern.

Community-oriented activity patterns are analyzed mainly; one, because they themselves may be contributing to the historic value of the place (intangible heritage), and two, because they usually have an impact, whether positive or negative, on some measure of historic value in the physical domain and revealing those impacts is significant to the strategies adopted to safeguard this value.

Mostly based on secondary analysis of existing data available to the consultant, this deliverable required the fulfilment of the following steps:

- Determine the theoretical qualifiers of an activity pattern
- Compile a list of activity patterns that exist in HC
- Conduct punctuation field visits to complete missing documentation, photos...etc. of key patterns
- Describe one or two cases for each community-oriented activity pattern

Qualifiers of an activity pattern

Most of these patterns have historic roots. A pattern of activity has both physical and non-physical characteristics that work together to form the minimum requirements for this pattern to appear or exist. These essential characteristics will be referred to as qualifiers of an activity pattern.

Each pattern manifests itself in a “setting” or a “system of settings”. For example, an activity pattern may be found to always include two complimentary settings. However, in each case, these two settings may exist in different physical spaces depending on the affordances of the physical space to support each setting. The setting is therefore a unit of analysis of the urban morphology in its socio-physical totality.

In addition to activity settings, and to better understand an activity pattern, a few contextual factors are also included in the analysis. Together, these variables represent the minimum ‘qualifiers’ needed to define an activity pattern. In conclusion, for the purpose of this study the qualifiers of each community oriented activity pattern will include the following:

1. History:

A brief history of the pattern sheds light on the permanency of the pattern; what changed over time and what did not, transformations in activity, product, equipment, clientele and/or the supporting physical environment.

2. Activity setting(s):

The “setting” is the main component of can be indoor or outdoor. It is a unit of the environment in its socio-physical totality that lends itself well to the understanding of an activity pattern while maintaining the association between the activity and the physical environment that supports it (Barker, 1969). Another useful conceptualization of the environment which also maintains the relation between social and physical components of an activity pattern is to analyse each setting in terms of fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed feature elements differentiating between the different elements of a setting in terms of its permanency, or rate of change over time (Rapoport, 1986).

- **Fixed feature elements:** Those physical elements that change slowly over time. At the urban scale these would include elements such as street pattern, plot subdivision, and building design characteristics such as building lines, spaces-in-between, fenestration....etc..
- **Semi-Fixed feature elements:** Those physical elements that change moderately over time. At the urban scale these would include all elements pertaining to landscape and street furniture (canopies – street vendor stalls – kiosks – signs – benches... etc.) as well as garbage collection points, building façade colors, and store front design and signage.
- **Non-Fixed feature elements:** Those physical elements that change constantly. At the urban scale these would include:
 - o **Activities:** description of molecular activities explaining what happens when and how.
 - o **Actors:** who performs these activities:
 - Role: who are the main actors in the setting (Residents – Work-personal – Clientele – Passersby)?
 - Geographic range: where do the passersby or clientele come from (city – surrounding districts – within the district – immediate locale)? The territorial domain that an activity pattern serves is one of the main measures of the degree of “publicness” of that activity pattern.

- o **Rules:** formal regulations such as traffic directions or informal / communal rules such as socio-cultural norms that govern the behaviour of people in a particular setting. It also includes a layout of “territorial claim”; who controls what and to what degree.

3. Relation to surroundings:

Each activity pattern existing in a certain location is associated to both physical and non-physical characteristics of the surrounding environment and these include:

- **Connectivity:** The physical and spatial connectivity of any activity pattern to the surrounding elements of the urban fabric plays many roles. It is an indicator of the accessibility of the activity pattern from major mobility routes. It helps estimate the **number of people** who potentially may take part in the activity pattern, and the geographic range from which they come from (city – surrounding districts – within the district – immediate locale); in other words their diversity. Consequently connectivity influences the degree of “**publicness**” of adjacent public spaces.
- **Needs and Potentials:** Activity patterns are also affected by the surrounding resident and working population needs and characteristics. This population may be associated to the activity pattern in two ways: 1) by representing the ‘demand’ for this activity pattern; 2) or by providing the principal actors in the activity pattern where the characteristics of the population becomes the utilized potential that defines the activity pattern and how it takes place. Irrespective of whether this activity pattern involves the manufacturing and selling of goods, or the setting up of cafes, or the celebration of a religious event in a particular manner.
- **Historic Value Components:** The relation of each activity pattern to components of Historic Value, such as historic buildings, historic fabric ensembles, or historic practices will be explored to pave the way for further analysis of impact, both negative and positive of each activity pattern on the value of HC.

4. Modality of appropriation of public space (where applicable):

The modality of appropriation of public space is one of the qualifiers of any activity pattern that includes one or more of its settings in public space such as markets. Section 3.a. is dedicated particularly to this aspect and therefore it is only briefly stated here. The differences in the modality of appropriation of public space are found to be influenced by the following factors:

- Right of Way – RoW (numbers, diversity, mode, demarcation...etc..)
- Space
- Affordances / Anchor(s)
- Need (from the surrounding area)
- Rules (who? controls what?)

List of patterns

Community-oriented activity patterns are not just those patterns of activities associated with large numbers of users such as thematic markets which evidently are a strong characteristic of Historic Cairo. They also include activity patterns that concern small numbers of users in less public settings. These patterns could also include resident-related activities performed in the vicinity of home; one, because they have a communal dimension and two, because they usually have an impact, whether positive or negative, on some measures of the historic value. Revealing those impacts is significant to the strategies adopted to safeguard the value of the historic city. The following is list of the most seminal community-oriented activity patterns that are known to exist within the limits of the delineated HC:

Core Area – Archaeological Sites / Monumental Cemeteries

1. ‘Toraby’ organization:

This family of activity patterns is related to the profession of the ‘Toraby’ which is quite unique to Historic Cairo; the “Toraby” being the person officially responsible for everything that happens the cemetery; from constructing, maintaining and guarding the graves, managing burials and visitation, to protecting the funerary monuments within it. There are several activity patterns related to the ‘Toraby’s’ role and presence in the cemetery.

- a. Toraby Office
- b. Toraby and staff Residence
- c. Burial
- d. Visitation
- e. Relation to Monuments

2. Living in the Cemetery:

Living in the cemetery is not as new feature and is quite unique to Historic Cairo dating back to the 9th Century. Although historically there were different patterns of residence, in modern times these have boiled down to only two:

those who live in a family graveyard known as 'hosh', and those who live at the periphery of the cemetery or around intervention areas where cemetery function was displaced over history to make way for a different land use or a route (vehicular road, railroad track, or highway). The disruptions to the cemetery fabric created transition areas around them where informal housing and other different uses mushroomed over the years. 'Hosh' residents are of three categories as shown below.

- a. Informal housing
- b. Hosh residents
 - i. Members of Toraby organization ("saby", temporary workers)
 - ii. Tenant of the Toraby
 - iii. Hosh-owner related (live-in guard or charity case)

3. Working in the Cemetery:

Those who live in the cemetery related to the Toraby organization usually also work in the cemetery, not only in the profession but to earn extra income, they may set up workshops in related production such as marble carving that can capitalize on the abundance of open space afforded by the fabric.

4. Leisure in the Cemetery:

The cemetery as physical fabric affords vast open space, freedom and refuge; qualities that are a rare commodity in the highly dense urban fabric characteristic to HC. Historically-rooted traditions such as visiting the dead, pilgrimage to shrines of revered religious figures, and distribution of alms gave way to other more leisure oriented activity patterns:

- a. Leisure for visitors (picnics...)
- b. Leisure for residents (playing around monuments – sitting up at night....)

Core Area – Human Settlements

1. Socio-Cultural Patterns:

This group of community-oriented activity patterns are in close association with the resident communities of HC; with their daily life needs and livelihood and are at the same time historically rooted in the area so that they become part of the heritage value of the city. Some activity patterns involve outsiders as well as residents such as seasonal celebrations of the Moulid. Some have declined in social importance and have almost disappeared, such as the 'hammam' or the public bath. And some have taken different physical expression but still date long back such as the refrigerated water dispenser as 'sabeel'.

- a. Dwelling activities spill-out (traditional to popular Egyptian lifestyle)
 - Case: Darb Al-Assal (1987)
- b. Dwelling – Workshop proximity (traditional to Historic Cairo)
 - Case: Darb Al-Assal (2011)
 - Case: Haret Al-Gambari
- c. Neighbourhood Commercial Street/Node
 - Case: Aslam Square (Node)
 - Case: Bab Al-Bahr Street (Street)
- d. Hammam
 - Case: Hammam Bab Al-Bahr / Hammam Al-Talat
- e. Sidewalk Café "Quahwa"
 - Case: Set Fatma Al-Nabaweya
- f. 'Sabeel' or drinking fountain
- g. Community Mosque "Masjed Game"
 - Case: Al-Maridani Mosque
- h. Moulid celebrations
 - Case: Moulid Products - Bab Al-She'reya
 - Case: Moulid Performances – Tablita Market
 - Case: Moulid street celebrations – Aslam Square

2. Socio-Economic Patterns:

Thematic markets are again one of the historic patterns that characterise HC. Specialized markets are situated along almost all main mobility routes, some selling to customers directly and others selling wholesale to other retailers. These markets represent the main economic base of HC. Most merchandise sold in them was also manufactured in the historic city. Many of the manufacturing-related businesses in HC are involved in both production and sales. They sell mostly to merchants in the markets nearby and some sell to customers and other retailers outside HC; all usually by order. Until a few decades ago, business owners and employees in both economic activities were exclusively residents of HC and mostly in the immediate vicinity of the activity pattern.

a. Thematic Markets:

Thematic Markets: Cases	Permanent	Periodic	Range of Clients				Traditional	Contemporary
			1	2	3	4		
<u>Wholesale:</u> • Packaged Food • Raw Materials	○					○		○
<u>Fresh Food:</u> • Bab Al-Bahr (linear) • Tablita (aerial)	○				○ ○			○
<u>Retail:</u> • Bab Al-Bahr (Moulid)		○				○	○	
<u>Weekly:</u> • Suq Al-Hamam		○						

b. Handicraft Production:

Production Activity Pattern	Traditional Product	Contemporary Product	Retailer	Consumer
Self-contained: One workshop produces complete product	Al-Khiyameyya			
Complementary: Several workshops contribute in producing one product usually organized in a linear spatial distribution		Haret Al-Gambari		
Clustered (horizontally): Several non-related workshops occupying one large plot; usually occupying the ruins of large historic monuments.				Qassabet Radwan
Clustered (vertically): Related workshops occupying one multi-storey building.		Darb Al-Assal		
Small Factory: One medium-sized business producing complete product usually housed in a multi-storey building.		Haret Al-Gambari		
Branching: Production having residential extensions; i.e. certain parts of the product are manufactured in homes - HBE				Al-Ghoureyya

Field visits

After determining the activity patterns to be included in the final report, six field visits were conducted by the consultant to verify and update the data available of each pattern and collect new data for missing patterns. These visits were mainly in Bab Al-She'reya, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, and the Cemetery area near Sayyeda Aisha bridge known as Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti. These punctuation visits involved photographic surveying, as well as behavioural mapping of several case studies previously selected to represent different community-oriented activity patterns.

ANALYSIS OF CASES

SEMINAL COMMUNITY ORIENTED ACTIVITY PATTERNS IN

HISTORIC CAIRO



SOCIO-ECONOMIC PATTERNS

Thematic Markets: Fresh Food

History of Tablita Market

The Tablita market is one of the major vegetable markets in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar between Al-Azhar Mosque and the well frequented Al-Ghoureyya market. It draws its clients from both Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Al-Gammaleya districts and serves as the main provider of vegetable and fruit supply to several surrounding restaurants. Originally the land belonged to a family from the district. When the building collapsed, vendors appropriated this land and established a market, informally, with this owner's consent. In 1985, the government legalized the market obliging the vendors to construct the current roof structure at their own expense and started to charge them a nominal monthly rent. The vendors perceive the structure as their collective property, but they are unclear about the land ownership; some vendors, are convinced the government had never paid for this land, but that it had claimed it in the absence of heirs to claim their property.

The Tablita market in its historical setting represents different values to different parties. Neighbourhood residents appreciate the close provision of fresh vegetable and fruits and see that the existence of the market adds livelihood to the public domain; this, in their view, contributes to the feeling of safety and security in the neighbourhood. Residents in general have long-standing social ties with the vendors. Moreover, some of the vendors and their extended families, including that of the Market "Sheikh", reside in several buildings around the market.

Although the vendors do not own the market legally, they perceive the market as their own. A vendor was seen shaving his beard in the market so he explains that "the market here is like home."



Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Tablita Market

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Covered vegetable market known as Al-Tablita Market.

Setting (b): Street vending – vegetables.

Setting (c): Street vending – fruits.

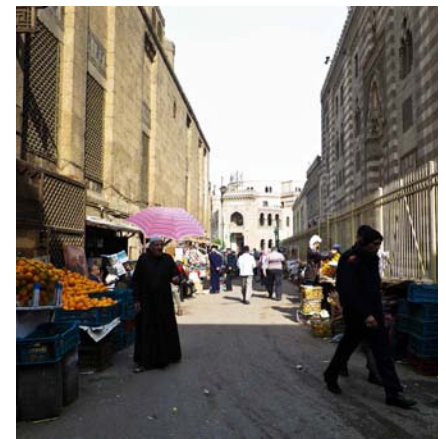
Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Tablita Market itself can be considered an appropriation of space since it started with street vendors stationing their carts on a vacant private piece of land. The need for fresh food in the surrounding areas encouraged the development of the market in this location. Mohamed Abdu Street channels pedestrian traffic to and from the main spine, the Azhar Mosque and the northern shiakhas of the district giving the location high exposure to a relatively large number of pedestrians who avoid walking the noisy and busy Azhar Street. After establishing itself as a formal market, Tablita attracts street vendors who appropriate the edges of the street along the solid walls of the market boundary and the monument across; “Tekkayet Abu Al-Dahab” (**anchor**).



Relation to Surroundings

The Tablita Market lies at the corner of Hammam Al-Masbagha Street and Mohamed Abdu Street in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar near Al-Azhar Mosque. Mohamed Abdu Street houses many bookstores specialized in religious books and well frequented by Al-Azhar University scholars. This street connects the northern shiakhas of the district; Al-Ghoureyya and Al-Batneya to the main spine, Al-Mu’izz Street, known in this segment for its famous Al-Ghoureyya Market. In the streets around the market are a few complementary shops selling spices, groceries and fast food such as “feteer” and “ful and falafel”. Fruit vendors also flank the side of the Market boundary wall. Tablita Market draws its clients from both Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Al-Gammaleya district to the North. The closest vegetable markets are in Bab Al-She’reya and Megharbeleen in the Southern part of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar.



RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
.			.

Thematic Markets: Fresh Food

Activity Setting (a)

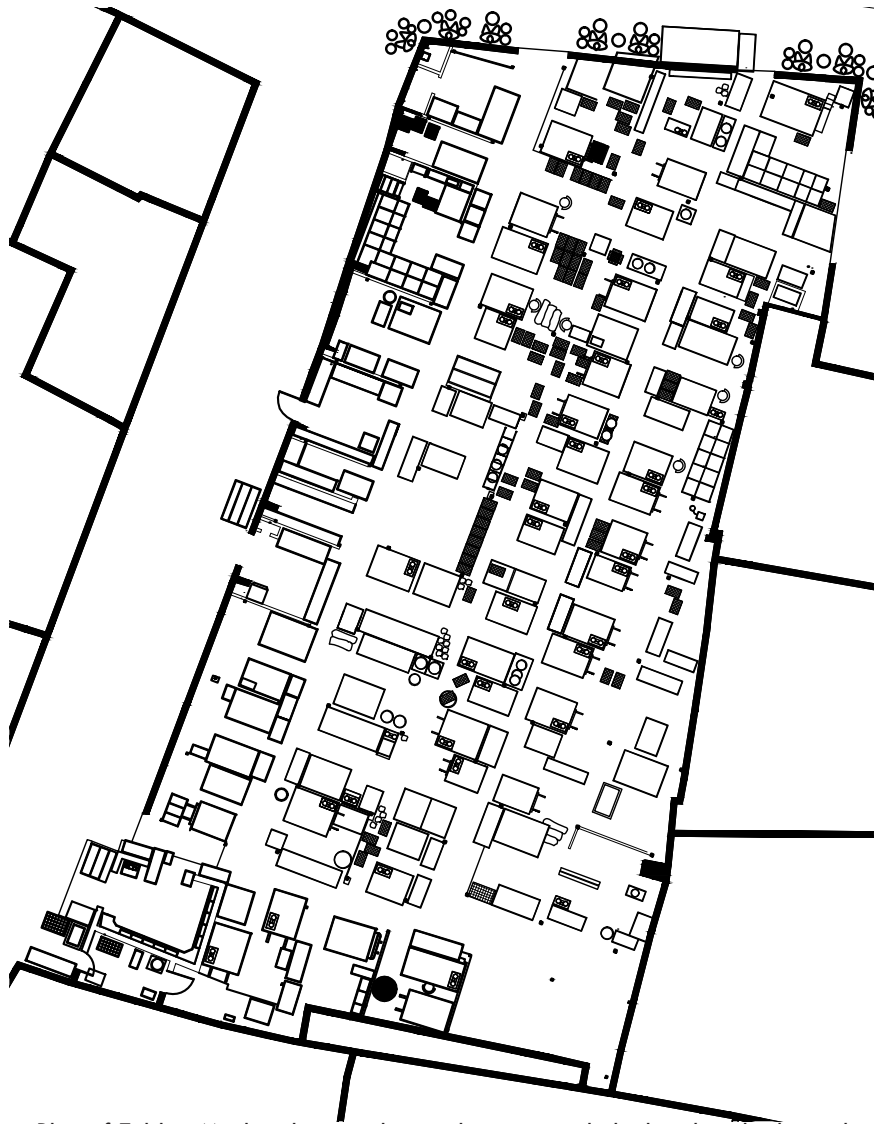
Covered vegetable market – Tablita Market

FIXED feature elements :

780m² of partially enclosed and roofed space containing 96 modular vending units (1.8 x 3.0 m. on average) distributed to form two vaguely defined access aisles with two entry points in the periphery wall. The structural system is mainly made of steel columns distributed evenly every 2 vending units. The roof is made of plastic and asbestos corrugated sheets. The floor used to be tiled with a gutter in the middle but is now covered by a thick layer of dirt (earth dust from the vegetables). There are no physical barriers built between the different units.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

In each unit, a hand-pushed wooden cart is parked leaving space around it for the vendor to stand and sort his vegetables. This cart affords the vending surface upon which the vegetables are displayed. On the floor, the vendor places the bags or crates of vegetables. The structural columns help demarcate the boundaries of each unit. Some vendors, like the Market “Sheikh” and his nephew would rent more than one unit and spread the merchandise across. One unit is rented by a coffee and tea maker to serve the vendors and their guests, and another two units are rented by a live-poultry vendor; these are the only units where water is connected inside the market. The deepest-most units in the market are used as a multi-purpose space. Partially shielded by a plastic sheet, this space is used by vendors to eat or nap and as a resting place for boys who work on the delivery trucks from Obour wholesale vegetable market.



Plan of Tablita Market showing the vending units with the hand-pushed wooden carts, bags and crates of vegetables



Case Study: Tablita Market



NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Vendors: The market “Sheikh” is the most influential vendor; he is elected to represent the vendors and is the main channel of communication between them and the authorities. Many of the vendors are also residents of the district. There are two power tiers among market vendors: the powerful vendors in accord with the “Sheikh” and those who hardly have any say; herb and lemon vendors, women, or anyone who sells inexpensive items.

Clientele: Shoppers from Al-Darb Al-Ahmar northern Shiakhas and nearby Al-Gammaleya coming in several waves, between 12:00 noon and 3:00 pm to buy ingredients to cook lunch, and later starting 6:00 pm to prepare dinner. The market operates till almost midnight. Shoppers are mostly women.

RULES :

Vendors depend on exposure to sell and therefore there are certain rules observed such as units along the periphery of the market boundary should not sell directly to clients on the street; this would lessen the opportunity of clients entering the market and, thereby, affect the vendors inside negatively.

However, another shared cultural norm is that “provision is God’s alone”. This belief has several manifestations:

- The traditional way of grouping vendors selling the same item close together is considered a strength not competition.
- Unit location with respect to market entrances is undermined by vendors as long as merchandise in all units is visible once the customer is inside the market.
- Unit partitions should allow one vendor to sell for the benefit of a neighbouring unit, if its vendor is absent and the customer decides to stand there instead of come to his/her unit.

Internal organization of the market is such that it allows the vendors to communicate among each other, fill-in and sell for each other, and transform the market space into a stage for performances during the Moulid celebrations (see Moulid Pattern). Another form of collaboration between vendors is car pooling to bring merchandise from the wholesale market in Al-Obour City. Disposing of waste material is not coordinated; some is kept inside the units till the private garbage collector passes and removes it for a fee, or piled outside the market for the city collection service truck that passes every other day.



Thematic Markets: Fresh Food

Activity Setting (b)

Street vending – vegetables

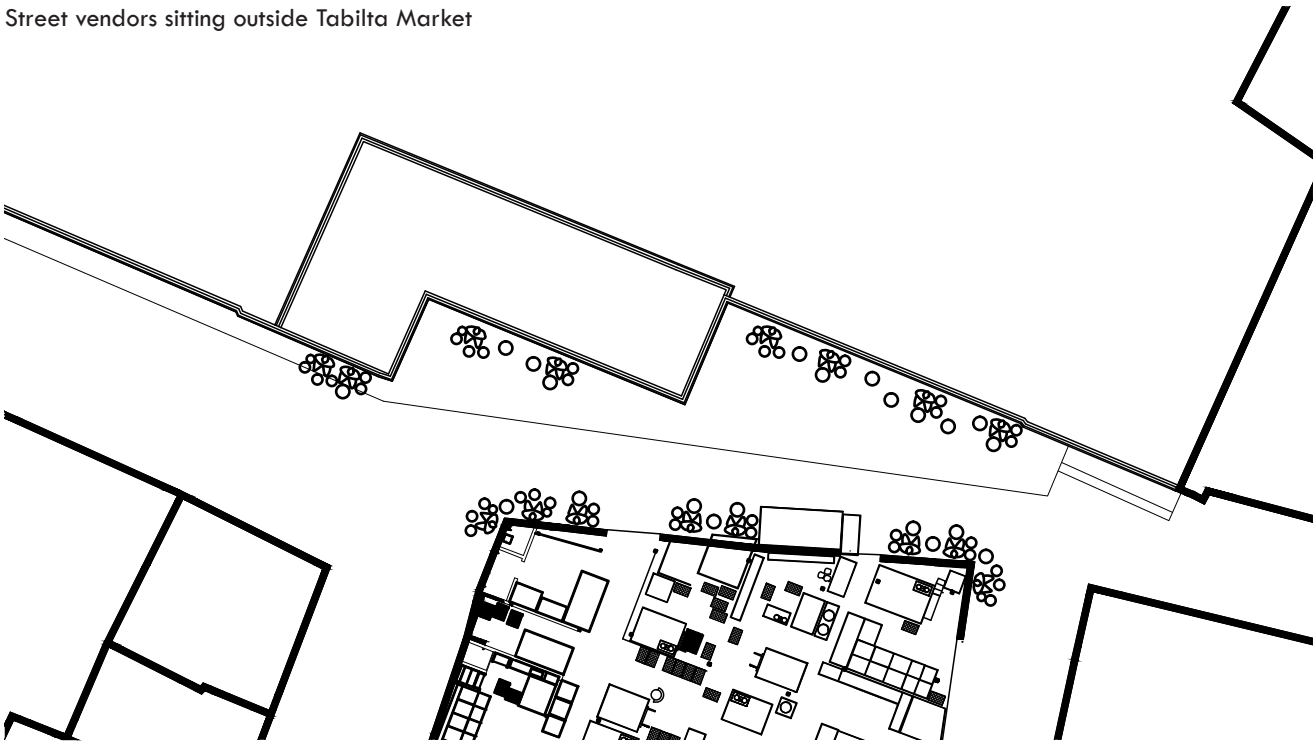
FIXED feature elements :

Mohamed Abdu Street flanked by Tablita Market on one side and Tekkeyet Abu Al-Dahab on the other. The latter, a monument, is not currently in use and acts as an **anchor** to the appropriation exercised by street vendors; they set up their merchandise and pile up the waste along the mute walls of the monument.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Street vendors set up their baskets propped up at a height suitable for clients to pick and choose. They have a scale for weighing that may be shared by more than one vendor, sometimes a small stool and/or an parasol for shade. They also often litter the space around them, usually away from the **RoW**, with waste such as discarded leaves and stems or packaging. The display baskets are usually themselves the territorial markers of the appropriated space and sometimes additional storage baskets are utilized. Some do not leave territorial markers overnight, but most of them do and simply cover them with a cloth.

Street vendors sitting outside Tablita Market



NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Vendors: Street vendors mostly come from Giza rural areas.

Clientele: Shoppers from Al-Darb Al-Ahmar northern shiakhass and nearby Al-Gammaleya coming between 12:00 noon and 3:00 pm to buy ingredients to cook lunch, and later starting 6:00 pm to prepare dinner. All passersby are potential shoppers.

Passersby: Mostly residents of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, students in Al-Azhar University and some shoppers from Al-Ghoureyya Market who know about the existence of the market.

RULES :

The street vendors situated along Mohamed Abdu Street along the boundary of the Tablita Market are licensed and pay rent to the Market Administration in the District. The ones across from the market along the monument are not licensed; they are perceived to restrict the **RoW** and may deter clients from entering the market itself. Tablita market vendors did not perceive conflict when street vendors sold complementary items such as herbs or spices, but when those vendors increased in number and started selling the same vegetables as inside market vendors, there was perceived conflict.

Case Study: Tablita Market

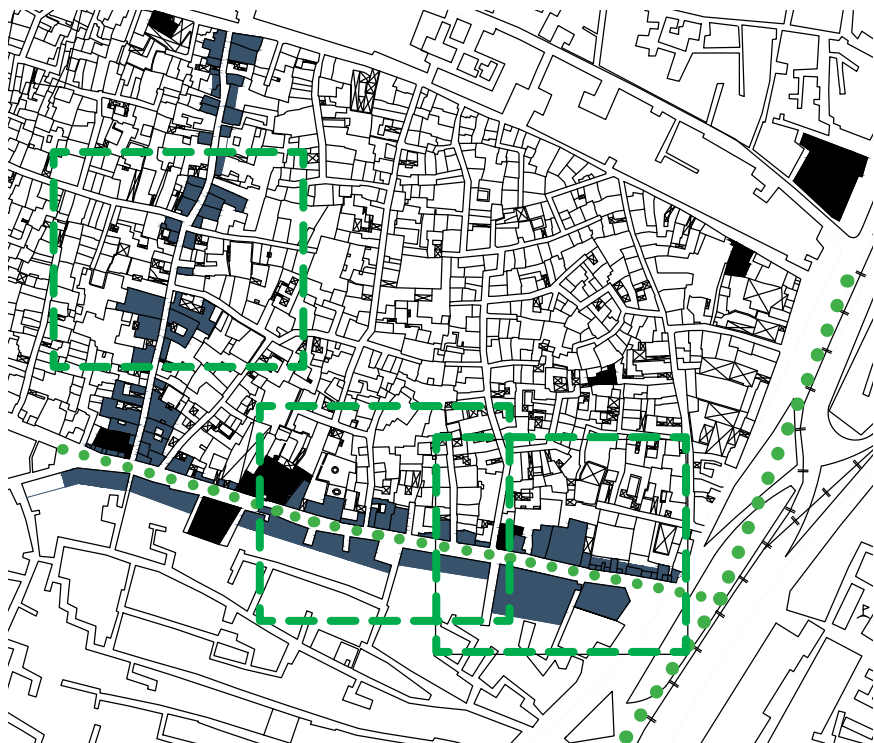
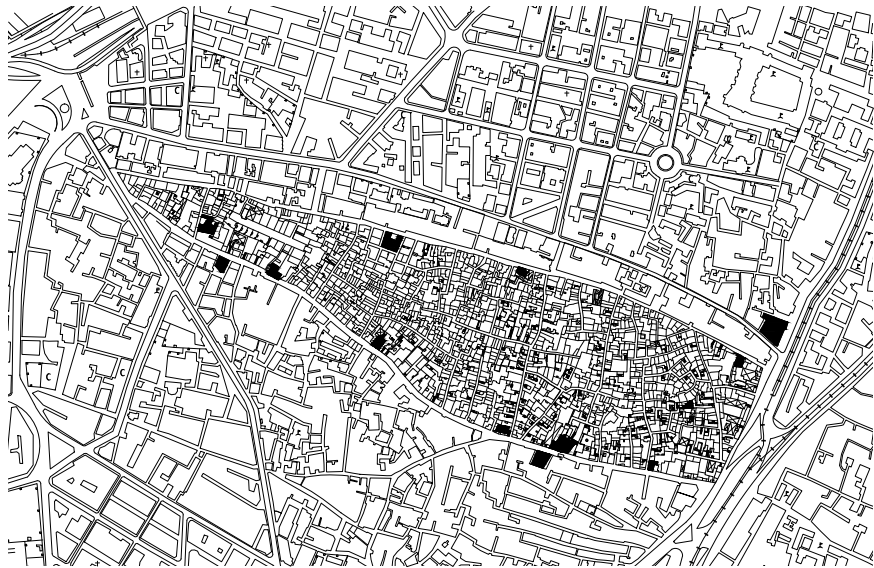


Thematic Markets: Fresh Food

History of Bab Al-She'reya - Food Market

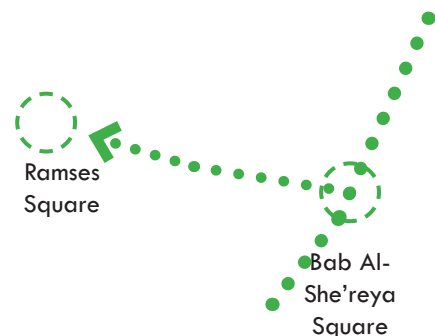
The fame of Bab Al-Bahr street dates back to the establishment of Historic Cairo. The fresh food market is located at the beginning of Bab Al-Bahr street. It has gained over history the title of the “street of cooks”. People say that cooked food is available 24 hours; one can depend on it to fulfil the hospitality needed when guests come over unexpectedly. The food market is characterized by a certain kinds of meat (fresh and cooked) that are not found easily elsewhere. That is why a concentration of butchers is evident in the market that extends to include Sekket Suq Al-Zalat which links Bab Al-Bahr street to Al-Sabban street.

Besides, there is the covered food market specialized in selling fresh vegetables; known as Suq Bab Al-She'reya Al-Gedeed; the ‘new’ market. Street vendors occupy the street around the enclosed market forming a linear extension occupying almost one third of the length of the street. Along Bab Al-Bahr street a number of monuments are found, several mosques, one *hammam* and one *sa-beel*. This was not uncommon in commercial streets of HC.



Relation to Surroundings

Clients approach the market from Bab Al-She'reya Square; a busy square where two major arteries intersect Al-Geish street and Port Said street with various means of transportation. In addition; across the square lies the western entrance to Al-Gammaleya district. Walking through the street till its end leads to Ramses square or Bab Al-Haded an even bigger hub of transportation with Cairo's central train station, metro station and regional bus and taxi station just beyond.



Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Bab Al-She'reya Food Market

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a) and (b): Fresh food market consisting of shops, their extensions and complimentary street vendors extending linearly along one third of the street of Bab Al-Bahr.

Setting (c): Covered official food market of Bab Al-She'reya.

Setting (d): Fresh and cooked food market street characterized by concentration of butchers as well as cooked food.



(d)

Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Along Bab Al-Bahr Street, activity settings (a) and (b) are the most common in the traditional food market pattern. Shops appropriate space in front of their shops for display and street vendors situate themselves along the edges barely leaving the **RoW** for the high density of pedestrians, hand pushed carts called "aza" and occasional vehicles. Street vendors tend to choose an **anchor** to lean on. This explains their concentration along solid walls, like that of a monument, or in front of a closed shop. As for Sekket Suq Al-Zalat, the width of the street space was too narrow to allow street vendors. It barely allows shops to extend to their property line, leaving the entire street width to the **RoW**.



(a) and (b)

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	

Thematic Markets: Fresh Food

Activity Setting (a): Street Vendors

FIXED feature elements :

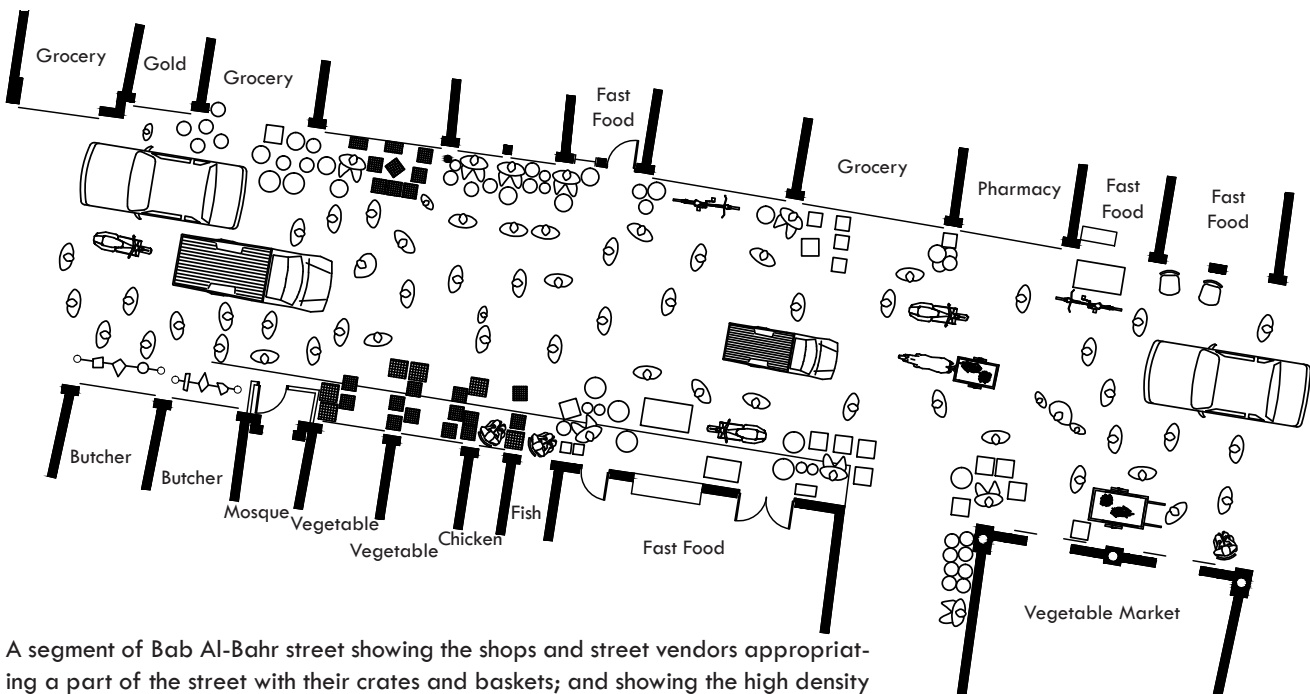
It is an outdoor activity setting which happens in either of two ways: by using the space in front of a functioning edge, usually a shop. By using the space in front of a non-functional edge (closed store or solid wall, usually a monument or a fence).

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Street vendors use light equipment that can be easily carried and moved, e.g. Scales – palm- rib crates that are used as tables or containers for display –small hand pushed carts.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

The main activity is selling fresh produce (vegetables – fruits – meat...etc.).



A segment of Bab Al-Bahr street showing the shops and street vendors appropriating a part of the street with their crates and baskets; and showing the high density of this segment

ACTORS :

Work- personnel: They usually come from rural areas bringing their goods over with them.

Clientele: The market serves several districts. Reasons maybe the concentration of surrounding (thematic) markets that brings clients beyond the locale, and direct access from two main arteries with public transportation; Al-Geish street and Port Said street.

Passersby: There is high a density of passersby. Besides being a direct link from two city nodes, Bab Al-Bahr street is the only access to many residential alleys, to various (thematic) markets and manufacturing hubs as well as being in a certain section the neighbourhood shopping and service street with post office, mosque and primary school. In other words, there is a high concentration of destination points within Bab Al-Bahr street itself in addition to the multitude of uses to which it is the primary access.

RULES :

Street vendors get permission from shop owners, sometimes in return for money. **RoW** to shop entrance or selling window is always secured. The activity maybe complementary to that of the shop or it may not be so, but it is never conflicting.



Case Study: Bab Al-She'reya Food Market



Activity Setting (b): Shops

FIXED feature elements: Shops are usually small in size and are specialized in all kinds of fresh produce which distinguishes the market. Some shops serving the neighbourhood are mingled among the thematic market shops.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements: Some shops appropriate the edge of the public space along the street and use it as a “spill out” for the display of their merchandise. These extensions often involve bringing out a few tables every morning, setting up the merchandise, and bringing them inside the shop at the end of the day.

NON-FIXED feature elements:

ACTORS:

Work-personnel: business owners and employees who used to be residents of the area, now they mostly live outside the district.

Clientele: same as Activity Setting (a)

RULES:

The territorial claim of permanent actors in the setting (work-personnel) is restricted by the **RoW**. Negotiation is always key to avoid conflict with street vendors. Shop personnel do not dominate the street scene or control the **RoW** due to the high degree of “publicness” of the activity and the high diversity of setting actors.

Thematic Markets: Wholesale

History of Wholesale Markets

Wholesale thematic markets are also a feature of Historic Cairo, usually located nearby major transportation hubs that linked the market to city-wide and sometimes regional destinations. The concentration of wholesale markets around Ramses square therefore comes as no surprise. The two most well-known wholesale markets in the vicinity are the Fagalla paper and school books market and the Bab Al-She'reya specialized food markets. The first segments of Bab Al-Bahr street and Shambaky street house two kinds of wholesale markets. One is the wholesale market specialized in raw materials for the manufacturing of sweets which serves small scale sweet factories usually located in neighbouring streets and individual clients. The other kind is the wholesale market of packaged food (biscuits, chocolates, chewing gum, chips...etc.) which attracts grocery owners from all over the city. According to locals, the manufacturing and sales of sweets and all the raw materials needed for that characterized Al-Shambaky street for three centuries.



Relation to Surroundings

Ramses square is the hub of multiple means of transportation to almost all of the provinces in Egypt; train, bus and collective taxi. Vehicular access to Bab Al-Bahr street and Shambaky street wholesale markets is facilitated from Ramses square through Al-Gomhoreya street and Clot Bey street; these two streets being later additions and more vehicle conducive than the older fabric in Bab Al-She'reya. The **RoW** in these segments of Bab Al-Bahr street and Al-Shambaky street are used by both vehicles and pedestrians, but the vehicular activity prevails in Al-Shambaky over Bab Al-Bahr. This is because the catchment area of the wholesale market of raw materials for sweets is wider than that of the packaged food sold in Bab Al-Bahr street. Also, when comparing both streets, although apparently similar regarding the width of the street and the height of buildings...etc., Al-Shambaky / Tawosh / Al-Sabban street has much less vehicular and pedestrian activity. It does not attract the large numbers of passersby as Bab Al-Bahr street where there is a high concentration of destinations to residential, industrial, thematic markets as well as neighbourhood services. The speciality of manufacturing and sales of sweets became spatially distributed around Al-Shambaky street in an economic efficiency that characterizes Historic Cairo. The raw materials needed for the manufacturing of the sweets are sold wholesale in the first segments of Bab Al-Bahr street and Al-Shambaky street, followed along Al-Shambaky by wholesale of packaging material and products such as boxes and all kinds of wrapping paper. Within the urban fabric flanking the street lies the small factories that manufacture the sweets, but this industry is shrinking significantly and is now mostly restricted to the manufacturing of the special traditional sweets sold during the celebrations of the Moulid Al-Nabawy (once each year). In the nearby Bab Al-Bahr street used to be the wholesale market where all the locally manufactured sweets were sold. Now this wholesale market broadened its speciality to include packaged dry food instead and sells the locally manufactured traditional sweets only seasonally during the Moulid celebrations.

Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client

Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr / Tawash



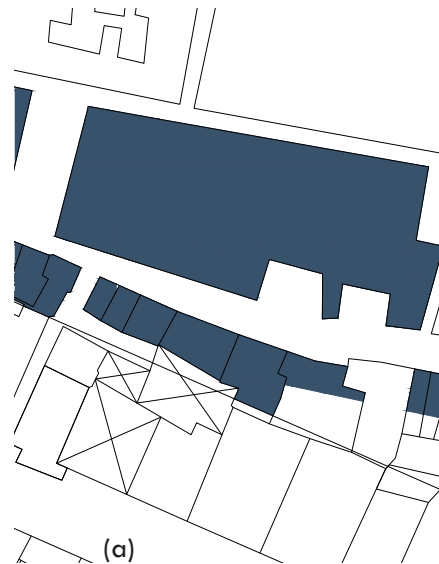
(a)

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Wholesale of raw materials for sweets production and some sweet factories.

Setting (b): Wholesale of raw materials for wrapping sweets.

Setting (c): Wholesale of packaged food.



(a)



(b)



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

No critical traffic jam is evident at this market only big trucks find it a bit hard to station themselves on the street for loading purposes. The low density of pedestrian activity along all of Al-Shambaky street till its other end (Al-Sabban street) helps. The modality of appropriation of public space exercised in this wholesale market is restricted to shops extending onto the narrow sidewalk but not beyond.

In the wholesale market for packaged food, the merchandise is manufactured by factories outside the city so the scale of sales in Bab Al-Bahr street is more local than the raw materials wholesale market and many customers are retail groceries and supermarkets in surrounding districts. In some cases the sales are picked up by hand-pushed carts; “aza” and therefore the appropriation of public space exercised by the shops extends further onto the street. The conditions change during the seasonal Moulid celebration, but that will be discussed separately in the Moulid pattern (see pages 58-61).

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	

Thematic Markets: Wholesale-Raw Materials (sweets)

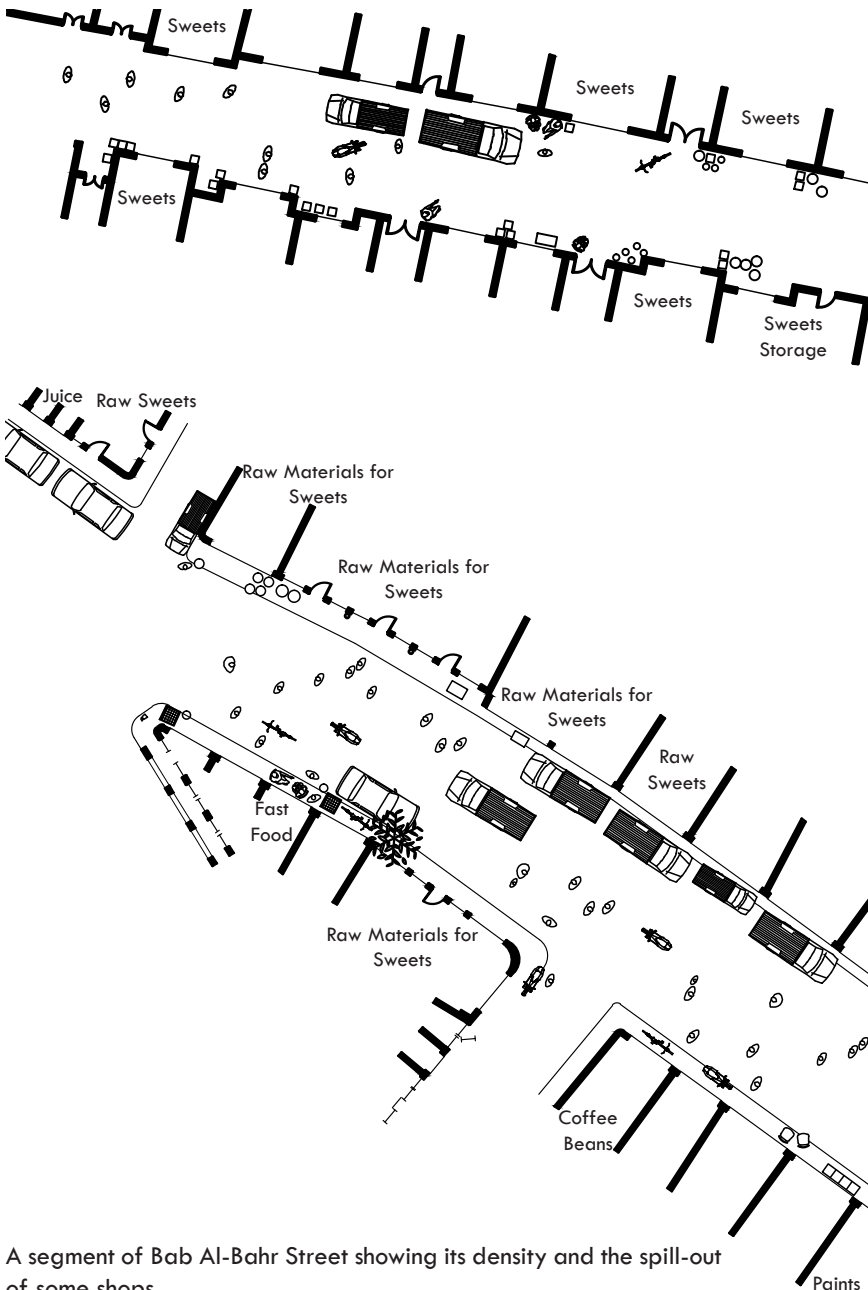
Activity Setting (a): Raw Materials for Sweets

FIXED feature elements :

Shops selling all kinds of food items needed to manufacture sweets are located in the first segments of Al-Shambaky Street and Bab Al-Bahr Street. Along Al-Shambaky Street they usually on the ground floor of medium-rise apartment buildings whereas buildings along Bab Al-Bahr Street are lower in height and some shops are only one-storey in height and occupy an entire plot. Al-Shambaky Street has a narrow sidewalk (less than 1m in width) whereas Bab Al-Bahr Street does not have a sidewalk but has paving from one building edge to another.



A segment of Al-Shambaky Street showing its low density and the limited spill-out of some shops



A segment of Bab Al-Bahr Street showing its density and the spill-out of some shops

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Some shops occupy the narrow sidewalk along the front of their shop; barrels of syrup, flour sacks stacked up high, cardboard boxes of nuts and dried fruits flank the facades of shops. Occasionally business owners would sit in front of their shop alone or with a friend smoking a "shisha". Only in the wrapping paper wholesale section would one find an occasional spill-out of the activity where the street width allows it without obstructing the vehicular **RoW**.



Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr / Tawash



A segment of Al-Shambaky Street

NON-FIXED feature elements :

The main activity is selling all kinds of food items needed to manufacture sweets of different sorts. Some of these items are imported such as nuts, and some are locally manufactured in factories nearby such as the syrup known as “asal”.

ACTORS

Working Personnel: Business owners often sit at the door of their shop sometimes on a chair on the narrow sidewalk. Some of these business owners still live very close by in Al-Shambaky. Hired help consists of mainly young men who are fit enough to carry the heavy merchandise to and from storage spaces and on occasions of unloading trucks.



Clientele: The market mainly provides these supplies to small-sized sweets factories and other small businesses located in different parts of the city and beyond. It is therefore the only supplier to those factories in the vicinity of Al-Shambaky. With the boom of industrialization in the new cities and the increase in large-scale production sweets factories do not seek this thematic market for the needed raw material.

Passersby: The density of passersby witnessed at this market is not high. This may be due to the narrow scope of specialization of the market as well as the morphological nature of Al-Shambaky Street / Tawash / Al-Sabban thoroughfare that runs along the ruins of the Historic Wall acting like a single-loaded corridor with limited destinations within it.

RULES

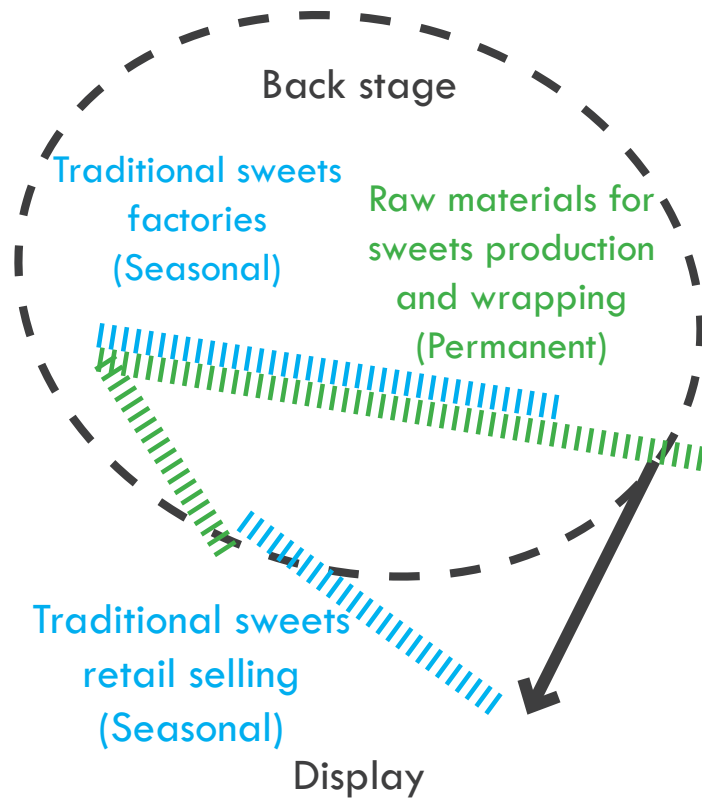
This is a most public setting and therefore whenever there is a residential ground floor and not a shop, the windows overlooking the street are always shut.



Thematic Markets: Wholesale-Raw Materials (sweets)

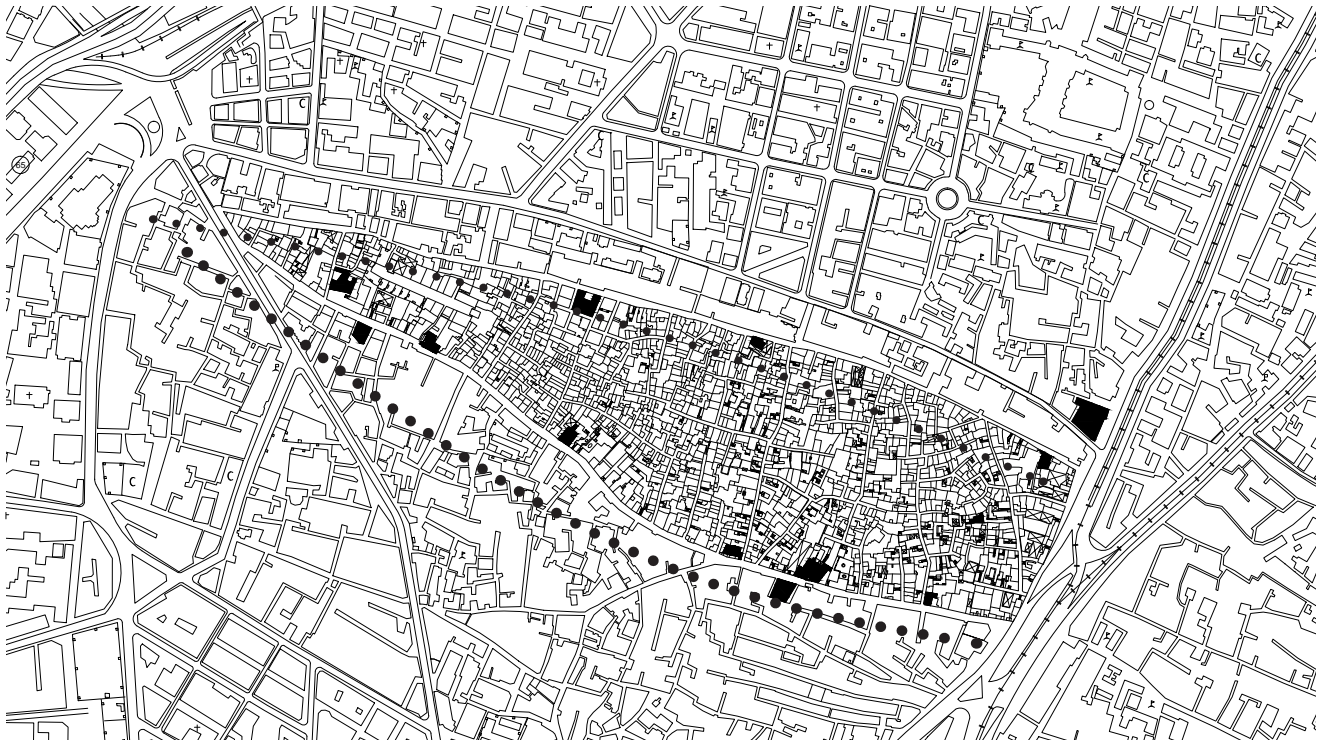
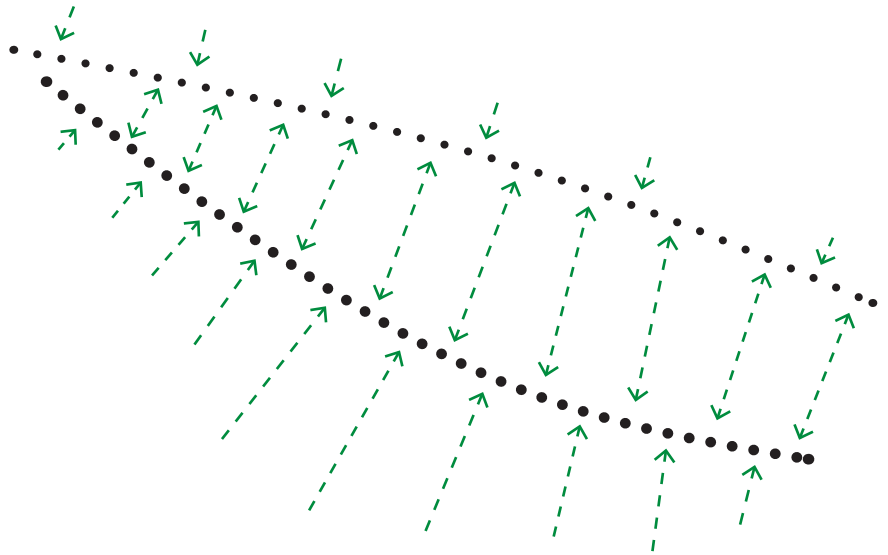


Bein Al-Harat functions as the back stage where the whole stage of sweets manufacturing takes place, then the final product is displayed at Bab Al-Bahr street.

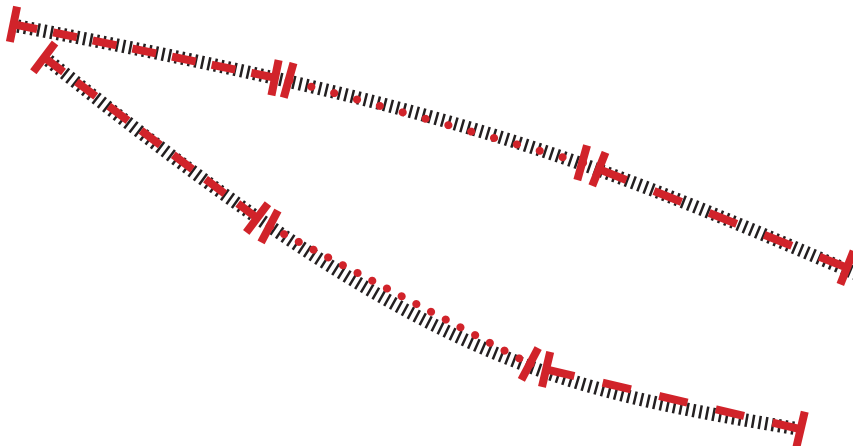


Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr / Tawash

Although both connectors seem to link the same two public spaces, Bab Al-Bahr Street has a larger number of passersby than Al-Shambaky/Tawash/Al-Sabban spine. This is mainly because the number of destinations that are accessed through Bab Al-Bahr are much larger in number (both sides) and more diverse.



The degree of ‘publicness’ of the **RoW** along the two connectors is maximum at the Ramses square end than it is at the Bab Al-She’reya end. The middle section of both streets are the least public; they serve the neighbourhood; “neighbourhood street” activity pattern.

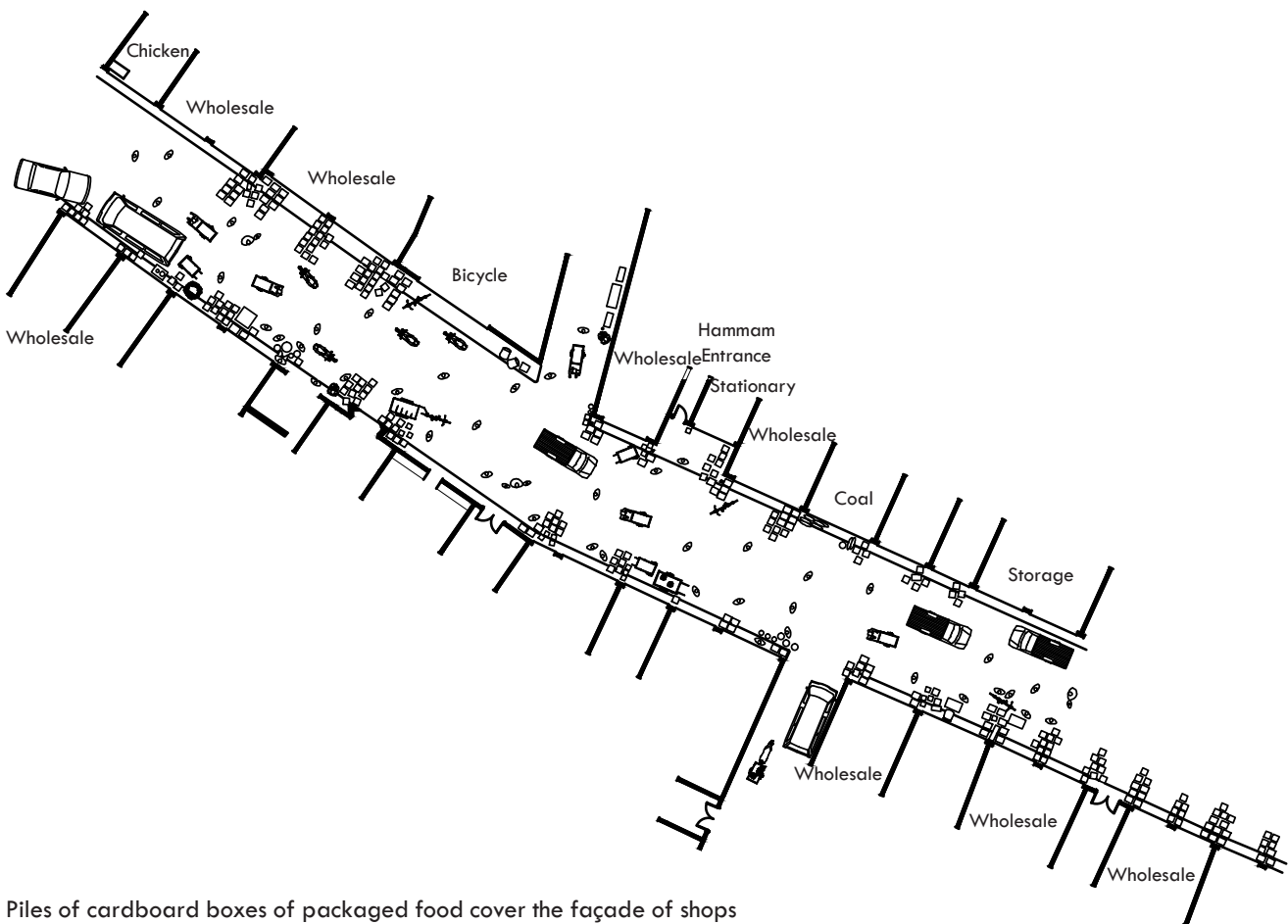


Thematic Markets: Wholesale-Packaged Food

Activity Setting (b) Packaged Food

FIXED feature elements :

Rows of shops are located either in the ground floor of low-rise apartment buildings or at the periphery of historic buildings like in the case of Hammam Bab Al-Bahr. Some shops occupy an entire plot and are only one storey high. It is an indoor-outdoor setting where shop display and selling activity spills out without obstructing the **RoW**.



Piles of cardboard boxes of packaged food cover the façade of shops

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Piles of cardboard boxes of packaged food cover the façade of shops and define the boundary of the spill out onto the street. They also serve as territorial markers that demarcate the boundaries between adjacent shops. Sometimes tables or a small desk used by a cashier may also be included in this setting. The same zone may include an occasional two-wheeled delivery cart or a parked bicycle or motorcycle.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

The main activity is wholesale of packaged food whether the client was a retail shop owner or an individual. Retail selling does not occur at this market. The regular packaged food items include dry snacks such as biscuits, gum, chips, chocolates...etc.

Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr

ACTORS :

Work-personnel: Once used to be residents of the area, now they mostly live outside the area. The Work-Home proximity property of Historic Cairo seems to fade away over time. There are men usually for hire all around the market who would load and push the “aza” to deliver smaller amounts of merchandise to where there is more space at the beginning of the street near Clot Bey.

Clientele: The market serves a scale that extends to include most districts of Cairo. Groceries, kiosks, small offices at governmental service buildings, poor elderly women trying to generate extra income and others head towards this market to buy merchandise for their business. Most of them come by vehicles, especially common are the small Suzuki trucks.

Passersby: The density of passersby witnessed at this market is not as high as in the rest of Bab Al-Bahr Street; this may be due to the narrow scope of specialization of the market.

RULES :

Territorial Claims of permanent actors (work-personal) is defined and restricted by the **RoW** (which no one obstructs) and the built-up edge of the street. No one dominates the scene in this segment of Bab Al-Bahr Street due to the “publicness” of the activity and the high diversity of actors.



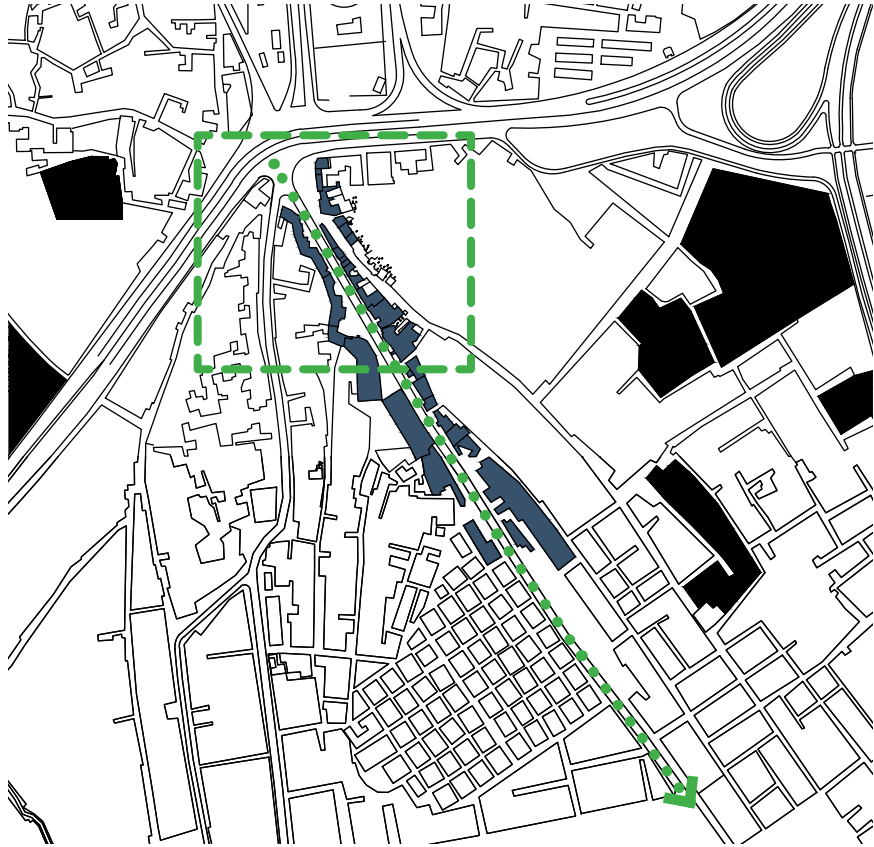
Thematic Markets: Pets

History of Suq Al-Hamam

Pigeons Market or Suq Al-Hamam dates back to Historic Cairo as expressed by the community. Now, shops along Suq Al-Hamam street comprise a thematic market specialized in selling power and construction tools. The Pigeon market functions twice per week; Fridays and Sundays, yet it is more famous and frequented on Fridays.

Spatially, it starts from Al-Sayyeda Aisha square and extends till Al-Imam Al-Shafei. Functionally, it is divided into segments differentiated by the sold material, i.e. Segment for selling birds followed by a segment for selling pigeons then coloured fishes and so on.

The permanent activity of the street of Suq Al-Hamam is totally divorced from the temporal market which shows how this market could keep the tradition of its occurring over time.



Relation to Surroundings

Suq Al-Hamam street is a commercial vehicular street where lines of public transportation, as well as informal transportation (microbuses), coming from Al-Agzakhana and Al-Imam Al-Shafei pours in Al-Sayyeda Aisha square. Al-Sayyeda Aisha square is one of the main cores of transportation in Cairo, like Ramses, Al-Abbaseyya and Al-Tahrir.

Due to the traffic jams it creates, especially on Fridays, some means of transportation (mainly microbuses) and cars find a lee way to escape this congestion using Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra street instead. Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra is the main street inside the cemetery of Sidi Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti. The street is unpaved instead it is made of compacted earth covered with a layer of dust, it allows car access and is supplied with infrastructure. Depression in street level has been witnessed more than once, especially the section in front of the Southern Minaret where people fill it with dirt to retain its level. Residents of the cemetery reason the street depression for the frequent microbuses activity on that street and asked for some actions to hinder it. It also causes dust flow that buries columns of certain monuments like Jaliq.



Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

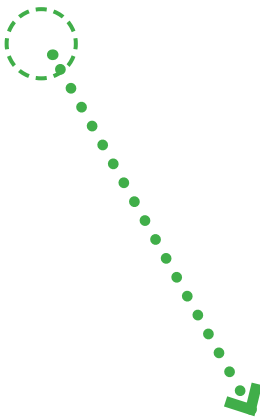
Case Study: Suq Al-Hamam

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Street vending – The temporary pigeon market ‘Suq Al-Hamam’.



Al-Sayyeda
Aisha
Square



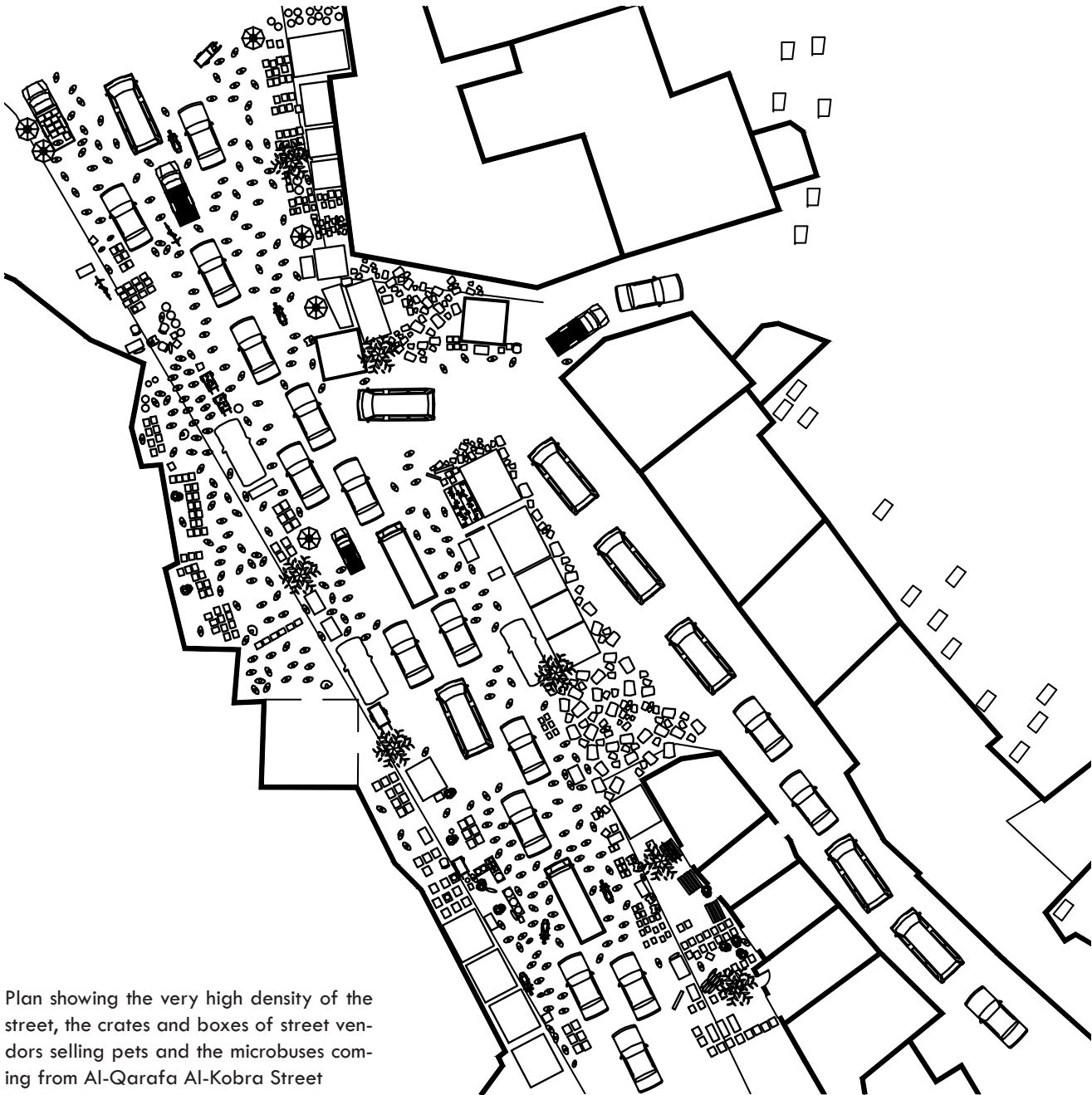
Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The Pigeons Market itself is an appropriation of public space since it completely occurs in the street. Vendors station themselves just in front of the pavement and expand along the street respecting the **RoW** for pedestrians and vehicles.



RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	

Thematic Markets: Pets



Plan showing the very high density of the street, the crates and boxes of street vendors selling pets and the microbuses coming from Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra Street



Case Study: Suq Al-Hamam

Activity Setting (a): Street vending

FIXED feature elements:

Street vendors line themselves on both sides on the street without obstructing the **RoW**.

The pavement (no fixed features are built specifically for this market. Street vendors start to line themselves in the street just after the pavement).

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

High variation of semi-fixed features is witnessed in this market, the following is description of some:

The vehicular type:

- Motorcycle (the vendor fixes 4 small cages full of birds to the motorbike).
- Medium truck (1/2 suzuki) (the vendor has a number of wood ribbed boxes full of ducks and a balance in the back of the car where he stands and sells to clients encircling his truck).

The stationary type:

- The vendor lines some cages over each other in the street and stands beside them or use a wooden chair for sitting.
- The vendor uses loose pieces of sidewalks curbs as tables to put on them iron utensils usually full of birds and animals food. Wooden chairs are used for sitting.
- The vendor sits on fixed sidewalks curb and use wood ribbed boxes as tables.

NON-FIXED feature elements:

ACTIVITY:

The main Molecular Activity of the weekly (temporary) market is selling most kinds of living birds and some animals in addition to their complementary needs such as cages and food.

The temporary market of Suq Al-Hamam or Pigeons Market is specialized in selling live birds like pigeons, ducks, chicken, turkeys...etc., since poultry farming is traditional for Egyptian families at certain levels of the population. Decoration animals are also found in the market like Australian birds, cats, coloured fish, snakes, tortoises...etc. The market provides all equipment to raise the birds and animals like cages, food...etc.

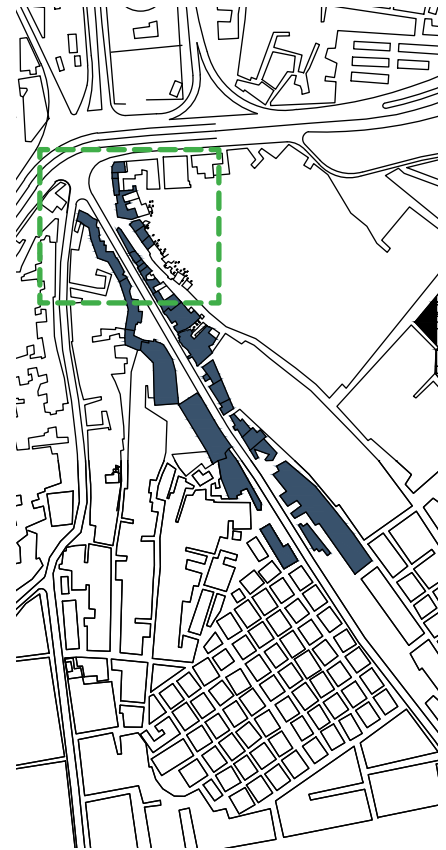
ACTORS:

Vendors: This is an open market. It hosts the type of professional vendors who arrive regularly to the market to earn their living. Usually, regular vendors earn their locations so that clients would come to them at the same spot every time, and that if they were not found at their location, it would mean they did not attend.

This market also hosts the regular people who just need to sell their pets. It is so common to bring their pets and stands on the street for display. That is why selling stolen pets is common in this market.

Clientele:

This market attracts clientele at city scale. Usually, the passerby is not the potential clients since it needs a previous decision to raise a pet at home.



Handicraft Production: Clustered Workshops

History of Qassabet Radwan

Qassabet Radwan is the name of all the area around the palace of Radwan Bey, who founded close to his palace the covered street known as the 'Tentmakers' Bazaar "Khiyameyya", shops, apartment units, two small mosques, and a sabil. Handicraft workshops have filled the void created by the collapsed historic mansion. The historic building remains in ruins and suffers neglect by authorities. It is squatted in by a family and it is said not to be connected to electricity. In the vacant space of the ruin, 23 workshops and 11 storage spaces were built incrementally. There are different types of workshops, such as carpentry, wood carving, bed posts, shoe making, "Khiyameyya", printing on leather, and handmade glass and mirror carving. Some carpentry workshops use heavy machinery; that bothers other workshops. The craftsmen themselves in the Qassaba see the potential for using the ruined monument as a café and restaurant for tourists, and realize that their handicraft can be a main attraction as there are some traditional as well as innovative handicrafts. They expect many tourists and local visitors to be interested to watch handmade production as long as it does not include heavy machinery or much noise.

Relation to Surroundings

Qassabet Radwan is an enclosed space with a special entrance that is totally isolated from its surroundings, although adjacent RoW Al-Mu'izz street is extremely public and tourists come to it since it includes the "Khiyameyya" bazaar, and Bab Zueila. This spine is considered a pedestrian route in which cars and small trucks could enter if needed for transportation of merchandise.



Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
.			.					.	

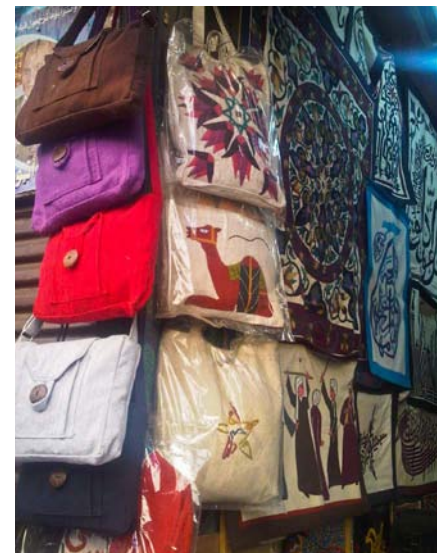
41

Setting (a): Clustered workshops.

Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Qassabet Radwan itself can be considered an appropriation of space since workshops were built informally around the ruins that serves as an **(anchor)**. The existing maze-like structure with 33 spaces around 3 dead-end alleys and a central space is evidence of an incremental modality of appropriation ruled solely by providing access. Ventilation is insignificant and maximising use of space is the governing rule. Workshops appropriate space in front of them or on both sides of narrow passages according to the affordances of the space. They have also created the potential for vertical expansion, as there are stairs in different parts of the structure that lead to

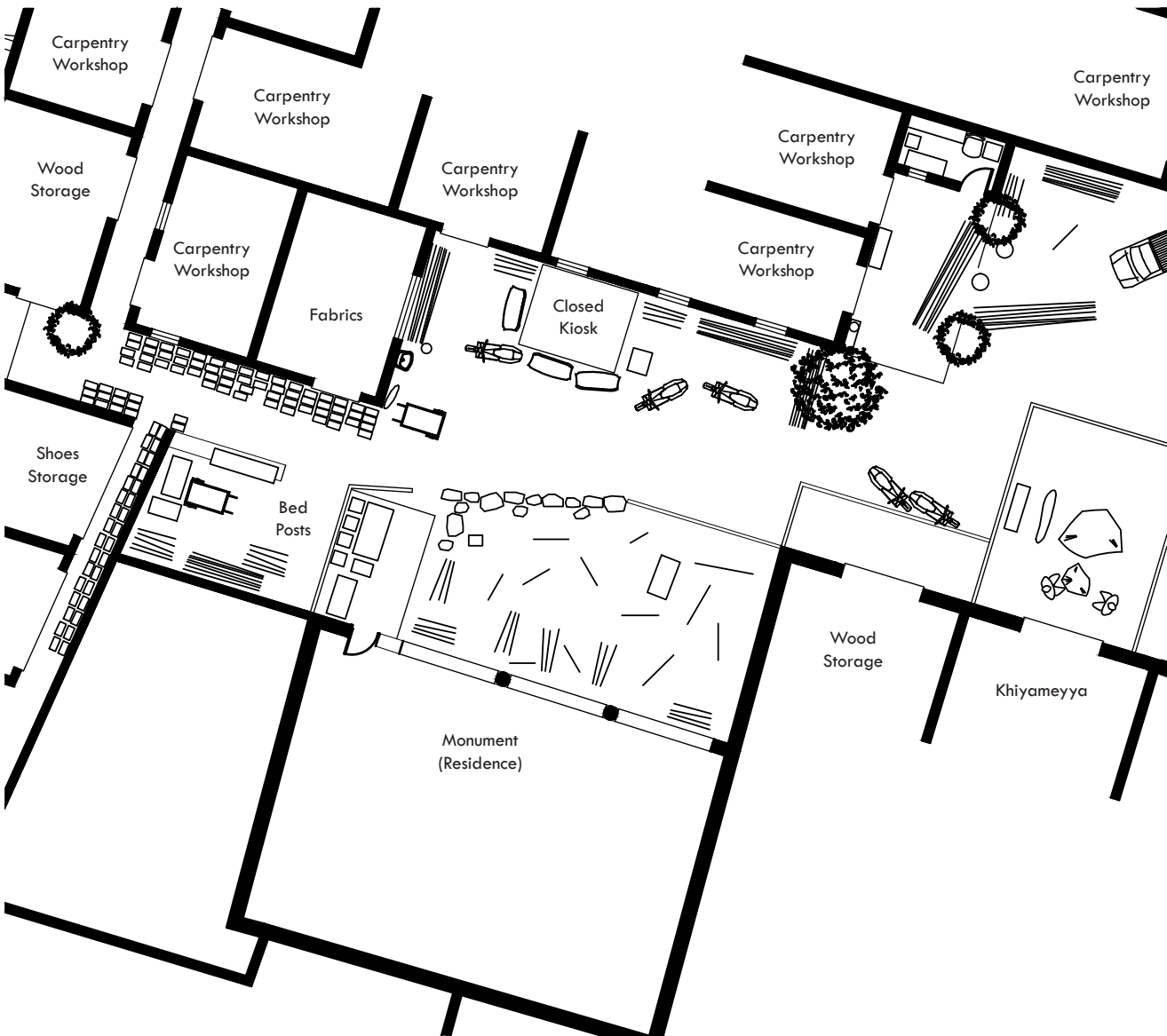
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RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
.			.

Handicraft Production: Clustered Workshops

Activity Setting (a): Clustered workshops



Zoomed-in plan showing the spill-out activities of some workshops like “Khiyameyya” and the usage of outdoor spaces and narrow passages as storage

FIXED feature elements:

23 workshops and 11 storage spaces unrelated in type of product form a horizontal cluster. Some were established in the ruined buildings of the old palace, others were built with reinforced concrete with high ceilings for ventilation (mostly woodwork). The ones in the deepest access passages have no ventilation. Some workshop owners built a room dedicated for taking break during the day they call it the “rest room”; “*isteraha*”. There is an obvious need for toilets since the roofs of workshops and stairs are used currently instead.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

Outdoor space and narrow passages are used as storage mostly for workshop products leaving a **RoW** without obstacles. Trees are planted by workshops’ owners.

NON-FIXED feature elements:

ACTORS:

Work-personnel: Workshops and storages owners and employees mostly occupy the space and workshops. Hardly anyone outside this group ever access the space.

Residents: Very few residents occupy the ruined monument.

Case Study: Qassabet Radwan

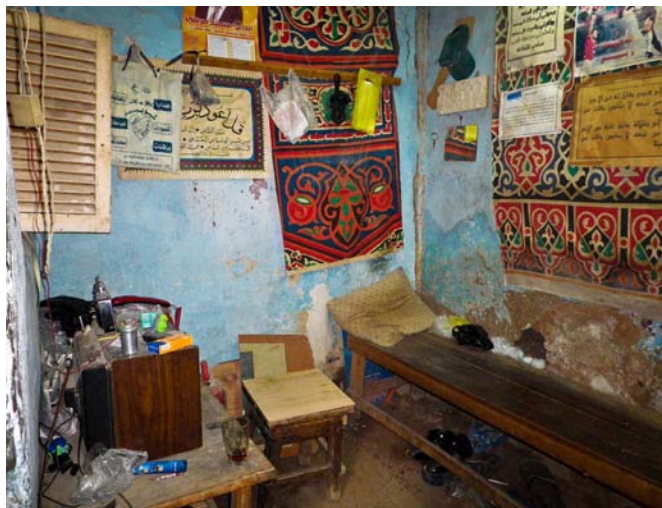


RULES:

No clientele come to the workshops and this negatively affects the craftsmen; work depends on orders based on word of mouth and reputation. The craftsmen go to the clientele in their places whether they are individuals or retailers. Most of the products manufactured in this cluster go to retailers; bed posts, carved wood parts used in furniture, shoes and printed leather.

Very few like the glass and mirror carving workshop sells immediately to an individual client or an interior designers. But even in those cases, the craftsmen go to the client and the client never comes to the space.

Handicraft Production: Clustered Workshops



Case Study: Qassabet Radwan



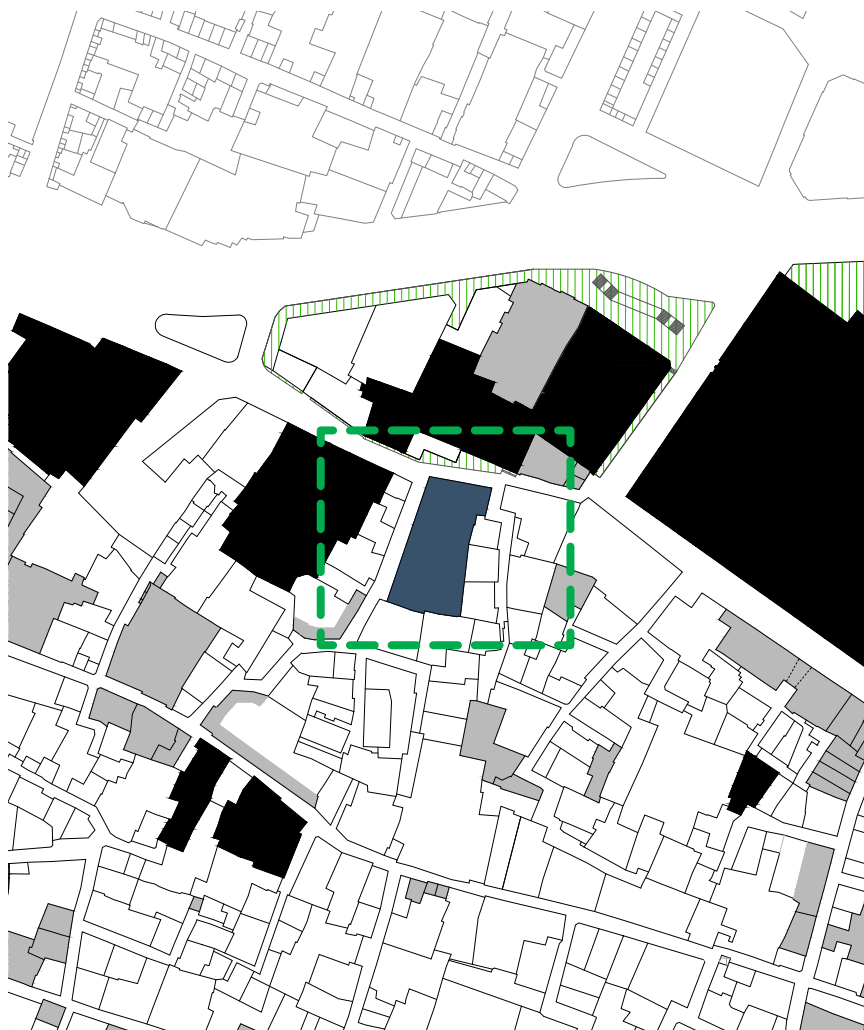


SOCIAL/CULTURAL PATTERNS

Moulid: Performances

History of Moulid Performance in Tablita Market

Although known primarily as a vegetable market, vendors of Tablita Market, some of whom are also residents around it, participate annually in setting up the market for the socio-religious celebration of “Moulid Al-Hussein;” one of the major Moulid festivals celebrated in Egypt, “Al-Hussein” being the beloved grandson of the prophet Mohammed. For Tablita Market vendors, Al-Hussein Moulid is a major festivity, based on which all efforts, support, and contributions are directed towards celebrating the “Moulid.” During the preparations for the celebration, all vendors work together in organizing and supervising the preparations; cleaning the place, removing the carts, hanging up the coloured light bulbs, furnishing the place, and sometimes even repainting the place. The Moulid is considered a precious chance for everyone in the Market and the area around to contribute to the most outstanding group effort. For the vendors, the “Moulid is a chance for them to socialize and establish relationships with other vendors, residents of the area, local leaders, and government officials. It is looked upon as a process of building public relations. The significance of this event is evident in the vendor’s sacrifice of two or more days of income in addition to what they spend on it.



Relation to Surroundings

The Tablita Market is probably one of the few public spaces near the Mosque of Al-Hussein where a performances can take place. Its proximity to the main road; Al-Azhar Street, makes it easy for visitors to reach the Market. It is also well connected to other parts of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district and districts to south such as Al-Khalifa and Al-Sayyeda Zeinab through the southern part of Al-Mu’izz spine (Al-Ghoureyya, Al-Khiyameyya and Al-Megharbeleen).

Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Tablita

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Market enclosure as theatre for performances.

Setting (b): Street storage.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The transformation that occurs inside the Tablita market necessitates temporary disposal of the hand-pushed vending carts that are used to display and sell from. The closest space that can accommodate those carts heaped up in piles is the space along the solid wall of the monument “Tekkeyet Abu Al-Dahab” (**anchor**). This is the space where usually street vendors would set their baskets. The temporary appropriation of public space in this case is simply a case of substituting one form of appropriation by another. The **RoW** is always clear.



RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
.			.

Moulid: Performances

Activity Setting (a)

Market enclosure as theatre for performances

FIXED feature elements :

The 780m² of partially enclosed and roofed space, that is the Tablita Market, becomes a theatre for performances during the Moulid of "Al-Hussein". The existing flexible Market design; steel columns with no built up partitions between vending units, permits the vendors and the collaborating residents to practice this annual activity inside the market.

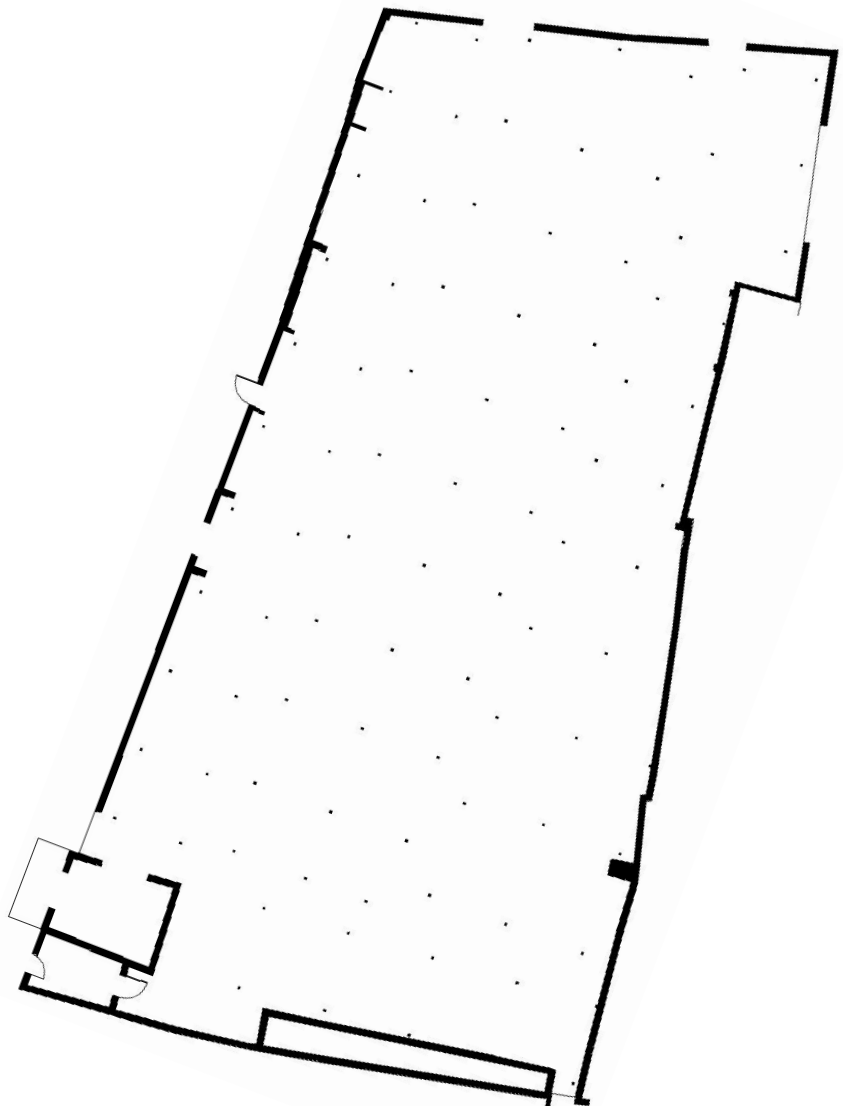
SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

The market is evacuated from all its daily furnishings. Hand-pushed vending carts are piled up outside the market against the monument across Mohamed Abdu Street (**anchor**). The floor is levelled, swept clean and a stage is built of wooden planks and frame to hold the performances. Decorative fabrics are sometimes hung from the metal structure that holds up the roof to add to the festivity.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS:

Vendors act as hosts and join residents and visitors in enjoying the celebrations and the Moulid performances staged at Tablita Market. This lasts for one or two days, that's all.



Tablita Market after evacuation of all vending units and carts to be prepared for performances and celebrations



Case Study: Tablita

RULES:

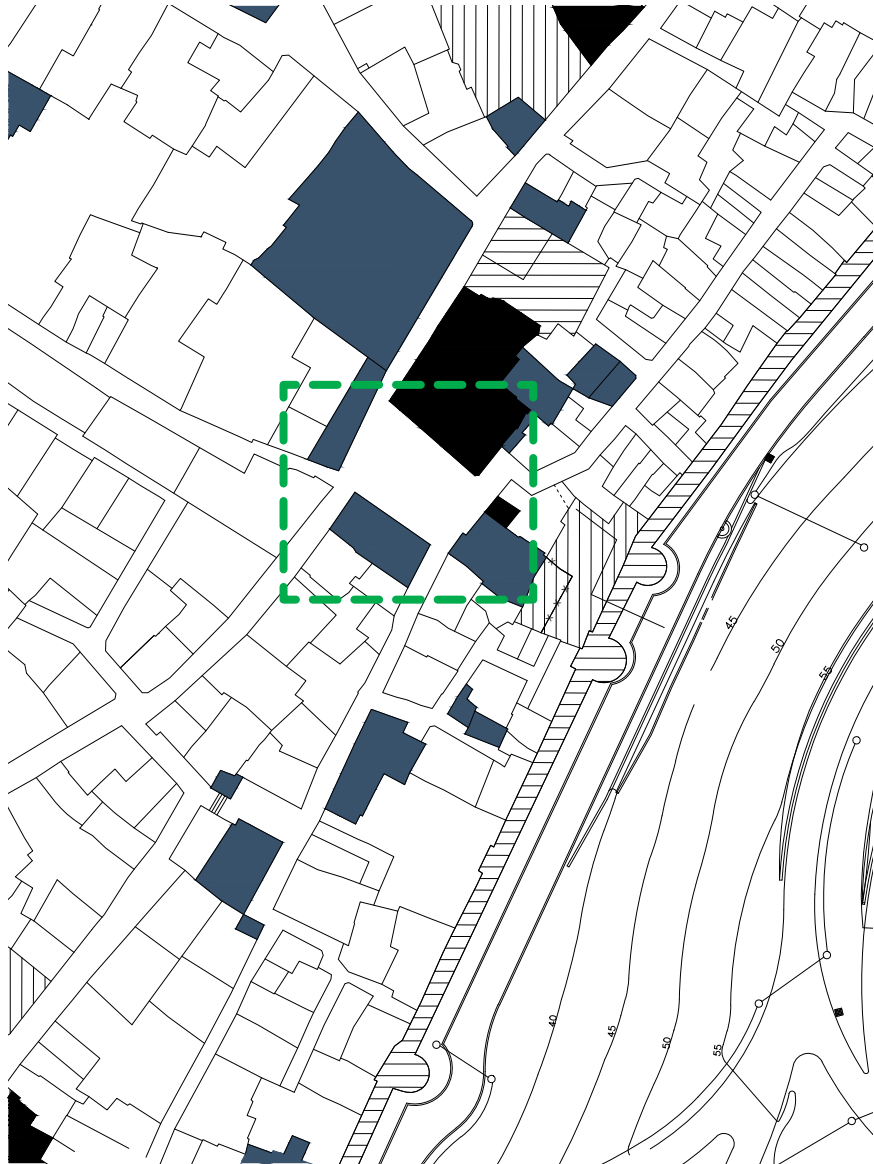
The relatively wealthy vendors participate in this event through monetary, or in-kind contributions, such as getting the materials needed for the celebration (food, stage and furnishing), distributing alms, or paying for the traditional performance that takes place on a wooden stage inside of the Market. The market vendors of Tablita Market organize the event hiring performing groups from different parts of Egypt; performers specialized in Moulid celebrations which include religious traditional chanting and dancing such as “zar” and “tannoura”.



Moulid: Temporary Residence

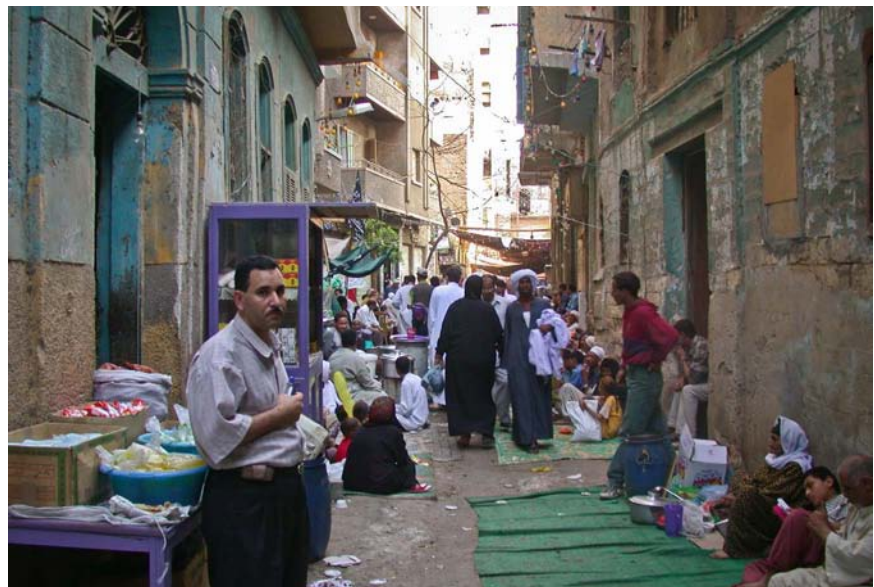
History of Moulid Residence in Aslam Square

During Moulid Fatma Al-Nabaweya streams of people from the provinces; like pilgrims, come to the capital to spend one week to ten days till the day of the Moulid in the vicinity of Fatma Al-Nabaweya shrine and mosque. Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district becomes the focal point of this celebration and offers its streets and public spaces to these pilgrims to set up their tents and mats for the duration of the Moulid. Like all other Moulid celebrations, the day of the Moulid becomes a day of festivity for these pilgrims and other visitors, where games, food stands and performances fill the streets of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. Aslam Square is one of the few public open spaces in the district and therefore it affords potential for pilgrims to set up camp and for festive activities to take place around the square. Aslam mosque and square was renovated by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture between 2006 and 2009. The renovations were done so that the space can continue allowing this temporary appropriation to take place.



Relation to Surroundings

Aslam square is quite deep into Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district with rather poor connectivity to the main arteries of circulation. However, its proximity to the Fatma Al-Nabaweya shrine and space (a local landmark where the Moulid of the revered religious figure of Fatma Al-Nabaweya is celebrated) makes it more known than expected especially to Moulid visitors.



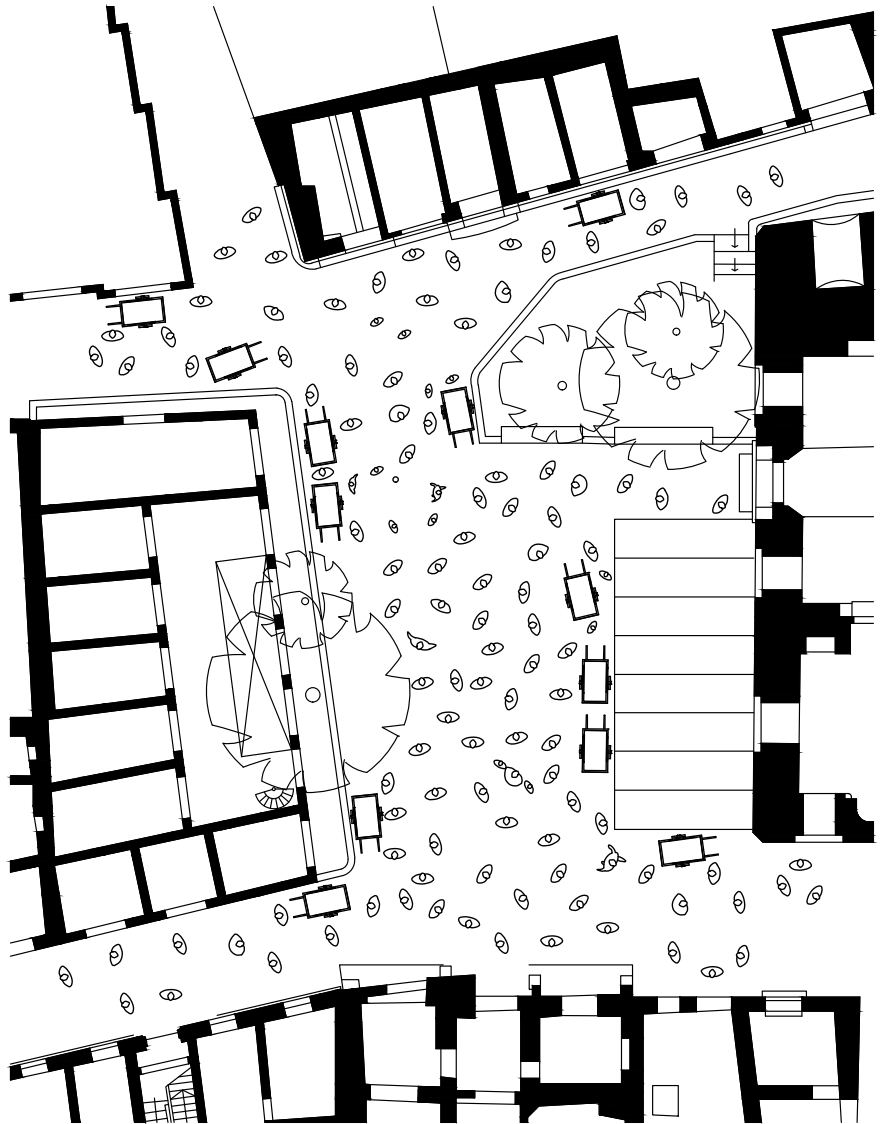
Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Aslam Square

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Living enclosure.

Setting (b): Street activities (games – food....).



Aslam Square during Moulid with very high density and several activities

Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The Aslam Mosque with its monumental façade and tiled forecourt is the perfect **anchor** to the camping activity that occurs during the Moulid days. The outdoor stretch of tiled space protected from the **RoW** by another row of diverse activity settings (swings, kiosk and parked cars) offered a perfect setting where pilgrims put up their tents to practice complete residence for a few days. The mosque also offers the rare commodity of a public toilet.



RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.		.

Moulid: Temporary Residence

Activity Setting (a): Living enclosure



FIXED feature elements :

In front of the mosque the outdoor stretch of tiled space affords the space needed, and protection from passersby, that encourages its appropriation for setting up temporary residence. The toilet inside the mosque serves this activity setting as well. Before renovation it used to be flanked from both one side by a short wall and from the other by a small fenced garden, not it has short walls designed for seating at both ends.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

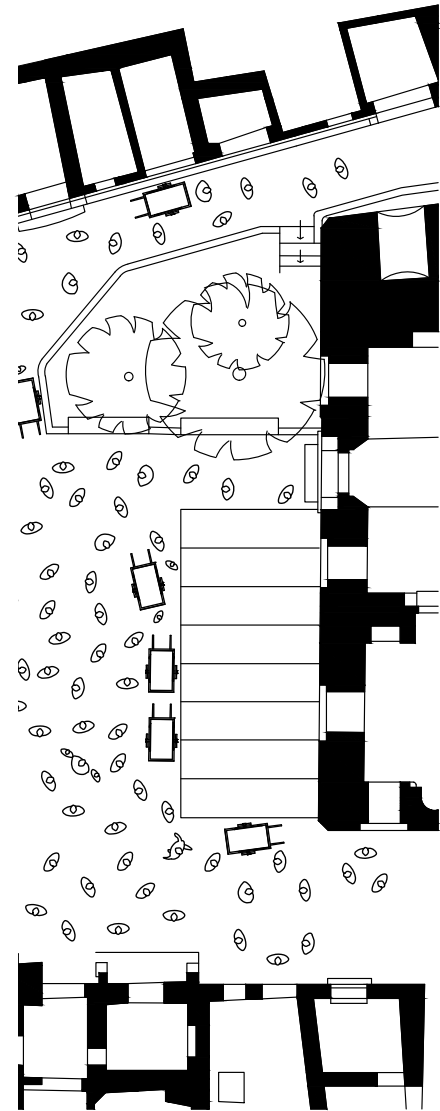
Previous and current design of the tiled forecourt serve as props against which wooden poles are set up in the traditional shelter, or “sewan” mode to form one big enclosure under which pilgrims sleep, eat and sit most of the day. This zone remains quiet, like a refuge, from the rowdy Moulid activities that dominate the rest of the square.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Pilgrims: Coming from villages and small provincial towns, they put up camp in front of Aslam Square and go to Fatma Al-Nabaweya shrine for short visits.

Residents/business owners: Some of them assist with in-kind contributions to the setting up of the traditional shelter and/or of the daily sustenance of the pilgrims. Others make an extra income and ask the pilgrims for a rent.



“Sewan” for temporary residence and wooden carts for food and games



Case Study: Aslam Square



RULES :

The pilgrim bring cooking equipment, blankets and other support items but also depend a lot on charity of surrounding residents and business owners for their daily provisions during the days of the Moulid. Some residents and business owners see the Moulid pilgrims as an opportunity for charity but others see this outdoor camping as unseemly and negatively affecting the cleanliness of the square.



Moulid: Temporary Residence

Activity Setting (b): Street activities (games – food....)



FIXED feature elements :

The space and shops in Aslam Square lend themselves to the festive activities of the Moulid day and the crowds of visitors that come from all over Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and neighbouring districts.

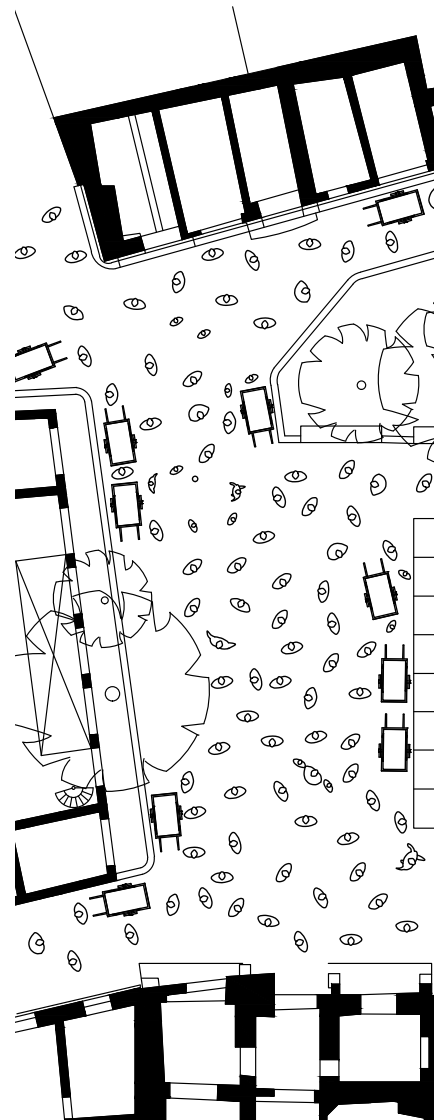
SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

One day before the Moulid, mobile carts selling coloured hats, snacks and drinks station themselves around the square. Here and there games are set up; games of luck and fortune telling, and games of skills such as weight-pushing and aiming. There is also the favourite 'aragoz' or puppet show. However, all these stands do not take up more than 1m x 1m of space and are removed immediately the following day of the Moulid.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Working personnel: The vendors on stands and games are all outsiders usually travelling from one Moulid to another throughout the year. This also applies to the occasional performers who dance or do magic tricks for tips.
Visitors: Visitors include the pilgrims from the countryside and many youngsters and children from Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district.



Aslam square crowded by people enjoying the Moulid and wooden carts for food and games



Case Study: Aslam Square



RULES :

Those who take part in the day of the Moulid do so at their own risk. Because of the crowded situation sexual harassment of women and girls is not uncommon, as well as petty theft of wallets and mobile phones, both not to degrees that threaten personal safety. The space is filled with people and the **RoW** is not visible anymore. Conservative residents consider the time of the Moulid a time to avoid lingering in Aslam Square or even passing by it if unnecessary. They do not take part in Moulid activities but look upon it with tolerance because of its association with the revered figure of Fatma Al-Nabaweya.



Moulid: Products

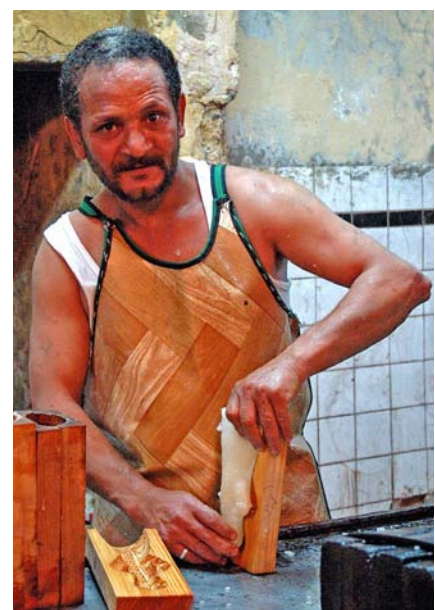
History of Moulid Al-Nabawy Sweets

At the seasonal period of the Moulid Al-Nabawy, celebrating the birth of the Prophet Mohammed, Bab Al-She'reya is dominated by the manufacturing and the selling of traditional Moulid sweets and dolls. This event is characterized by specially attired dolls and horsemen statues that are traditionally made of sugar candy dressed in coloured foil paper, but more recently; they can be found made of plastic and fabric. Cookies are also baked and sold in trays or boxes, but the most important product is "halawet al-moulid" which consists of an assortment of extra sweet crunchy bars made of different kinds of nuts and honey syrup.

Two months prior to the day of the Moulid, sweet factories around Al-Shambaky Street start manufacturing the special traditional sweets and sugar candy dolls. Wrapping and packaging fill Al-Shambaky / Tawash / Al-Sabban street entirely spilling out onto the street over the last few days and nights. The night before the Moulid the celebration is brightest along Bab Al-Bahr street where all manufactured goods are displayed ready to be sold the following morning. Hardly anyone in the area sleeps that night. Coffee houses and shops are open overnight and children are seen playing in the street till the early morning light.

Relation to Surroundings

Same as the wholesale pattern (packaged food).



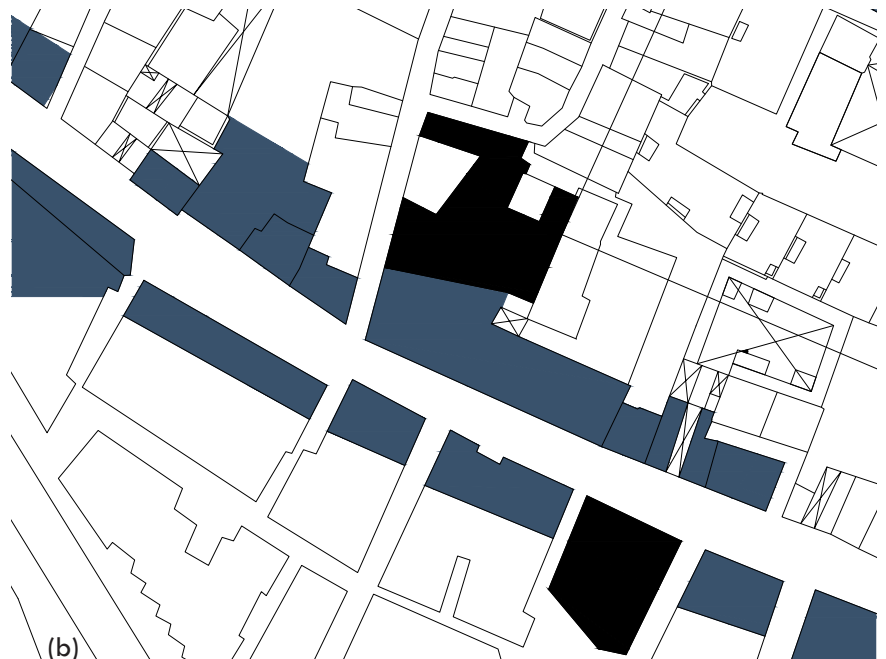
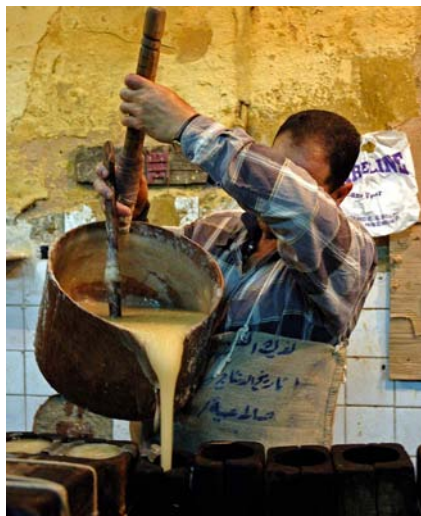
Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Bab Al-She'rya

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Production of sweets (factories – shops....).

Setting (b): Sales and street display.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Along the sweet manufacturing spine of Al-Shambaky / Tawash / Al-Sabban street features of the Moulid appear where young boys hired from the countryside are seen wrapping and packaging and boxing traditional sweets anywhere and everywhere... The public space is entirely appropriated for the last two days and nights. During the day of the Moulid (sometimes for two or three days longer), it is Bab Al-Bahr Street that becomes the scene of total appropriation but never obstructing the **RoW** needed for shoppers to buy the seasonal merchandise.

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	



Moulid: Products

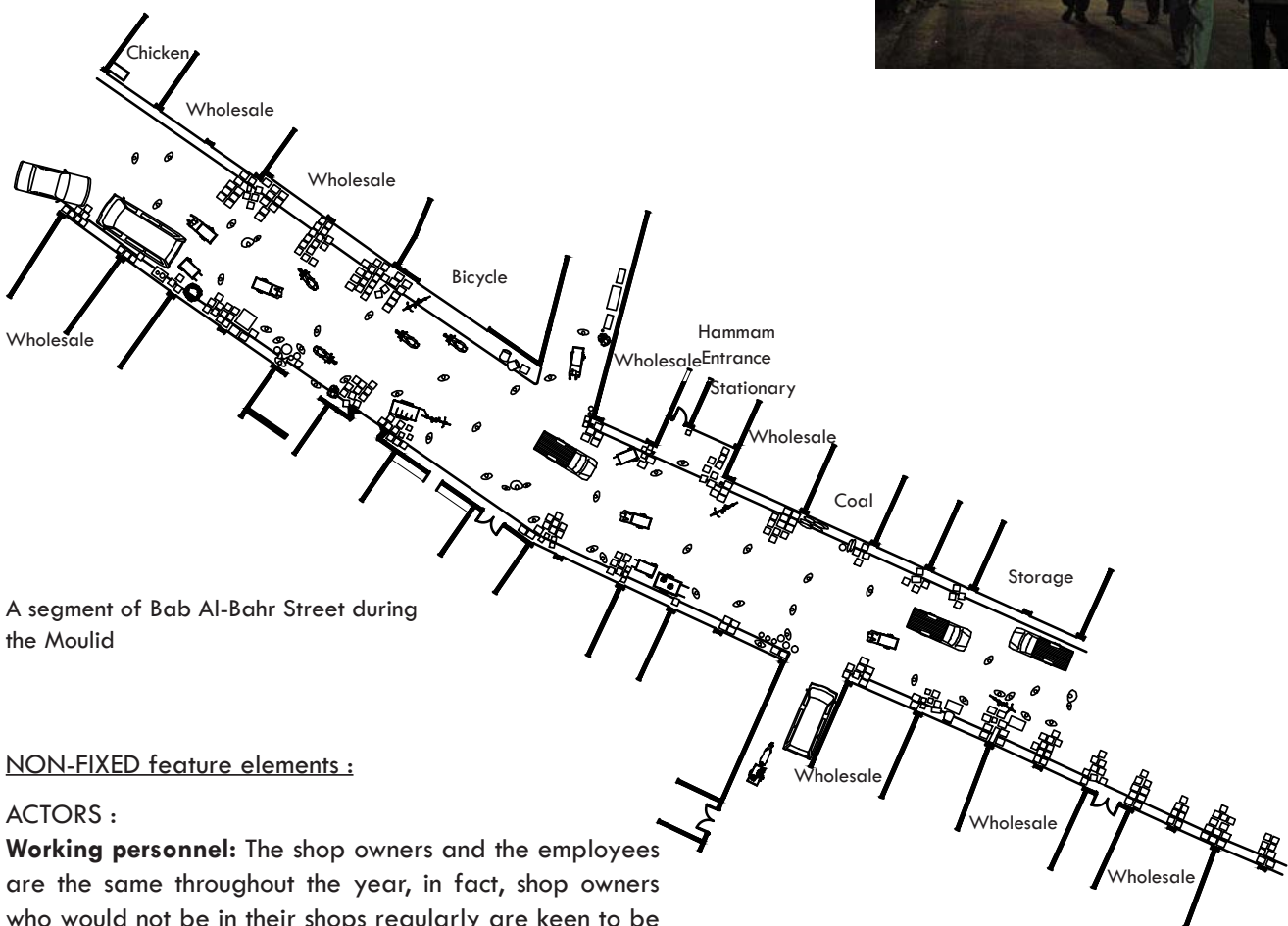
Activity Setting (b): Sales and street display

FIXED feature elements :

Shops in Bab Al-Bahr Street in the wholesale packaged food market segment towards Ramses Square sell traditional Moulid sweets for just a few days starting the day of the Moulid.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Shop fronts are decorated and canopies with traditional tent fabric are set up in large portions of the streets. The street itself is decorated with strings of light and hanging bright coloured shapes. Shops set the traditional dolls and horsemen statues up on shelves and tables of different heights. Trays of freshly baked cookies are displayed and boxes full of assorted Moulid sweets, “halawet al-moulid”.



A segment of Bab Al-Bahr Street during the Moulid

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Working personnel: The shop owners and the employees are the same throughout the year, in fact, shop owners who would not be in their shops regularly are keen to be there during the Moulid days.

Clientele: Shoppers come to Bab Al-Bahr Street from all over the city to buy the Moulid sweets at wholesale prices. Many of the clients are retailers filling up truckloads of dolls or boxes of “halawet al-moulid”.

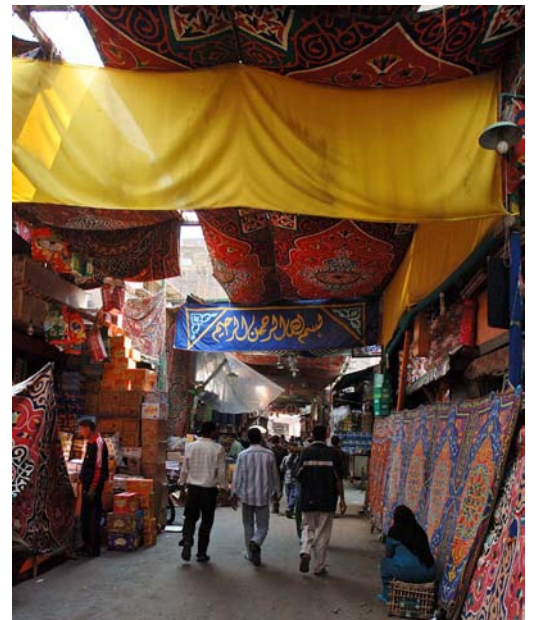


Case Study: Bab Al- She'eya



RULES :

The residents and business owners located in the areas around Bab Al-Bahr Street do not express annoyance of this seasonal appropriation of the market. On the contrary, the festive mood spreads to the entire neighbourhood especially that features of other Moulid festivities (regarded by some as a nuisance especially for women) do not appear in the market's celebration of the Moulid which focuses on the sales of the traditional sweets.



HAMMAM

History of the Hammam

This is a community based activity pattern which occurs indoors. The hammam was first known from the Romans. It sustained during the dominance of the Muslim culture for its cleanliness '*taharah*' and social dimensions, enforced by the lack of tapped water at homes. The number of functioning hammams is minimal in comparison to the past. Now, only four hammams are registered as monuments at the SCA, some of them are still functioning like Hammam Bab Al-Bahr off Ramses Square and Hammam Margoush off Bab Al-She'reya Square.



Hammam Al-Talaat and Hammam Al-Arba' located in Boulaq Abul-Ela district are historic and functioning but not registered. Keeping the hammam in function is the only way for keeping the building from deterioration. Cases like Hammam Al-Tanbali in Bab Al-She'reya Square are a living evidence for this fact where the building suffers a clear decline since the decision of closing it came early in the 2000s. Also, the routines followed by the SCA discourages hammam business owners from necessary maintenance and renewal which affects the historic building negatively. This is a problem unregistered hammam owners could avoid, but then they run the risk of unknowingly harming the heritage.

Running a Hammam business is also an inherited trade like most trades in Historic Cairo. A "hammameen" family would usually rent the hammam either from the family owning the property or from the Awqaf.

Perceived values of the hammam were expressed by its frequenters, the most evident of which are the health and beauty value, the social and leisure value as well as its cultural value as heritage. But still there are aspects where improvements can benefit the sustainability of the use of this activity pattern as a public space and increase the demand and use of traditional hammams. Hammam Bab Al-Bahr, is named after the street where it exists. It is a registered monument at the SCA. It is one of the rare functioning hammams in Cairo. It attracts clients several districts far. It has a very good reputation due to the straight (and strict when needed) management. It serves both men and women at different hours of the day; women during mornings till 4 pm, then the staff clean the hammam and change the bathing water in preparation to receive the male clients.

Relation to Surroundings

The hammam of Bab Al-Bahr is located on the central part of the big street of Bab Al-Bahr off Ramses square. Historically, the hammam is a heart or a centre of the neighbourhood and play a role of public centre in an Islamic neighbourhood. But when we study its urbanistic characteristics on the street, it is clear that its simple and invisible facade and small entrance hide themselves behind a small facade among all the shops and are reluctant to set up close relationship with other public activities on the street, therefore it shows a strong introvert character on the street view. The raised publicness of Bab Al-Bahr Street over-time messed up with its privacy and negatively impacted the clients especially the females.

Ramses
Square



Bab
Al-Bahr
Street

Case Study: HAMMAM Bab Al-Bahr

**Modality of Appropriation of Public Space**

The hammam activity pattern does not occur in public space, however, the historic hammam had an outdoor space where neighbourhood solid waste was burnt as fuel to heat the hammam waters. At the same time 'ful' makers read a potential and bury the 'ful' containers in the fallen ashes to slow cook in the back of the hammam. This ecological triad was disrupted in the 1970's when burning solid waste within neighbourhoods was deemed environmentally polluting and abolished. Surprisingly, the 'ful' makers still cook it behind hammams sometimes when the hammam building is no more using it for heating water.

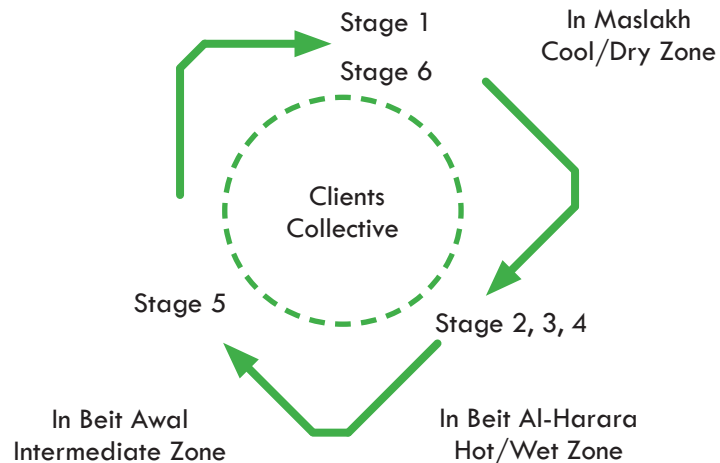


HAMMAM

The Hammam Process

Using the Hammam is a journey composed of a number of stages that comes in sequence. Spatially, it ends where it starts.

It provides maximum staging of temperature step-downs from the hottest plunge pool space to the scrubbing space, to the washing up space, to the intermediate space, to the outer cool/dry zone.

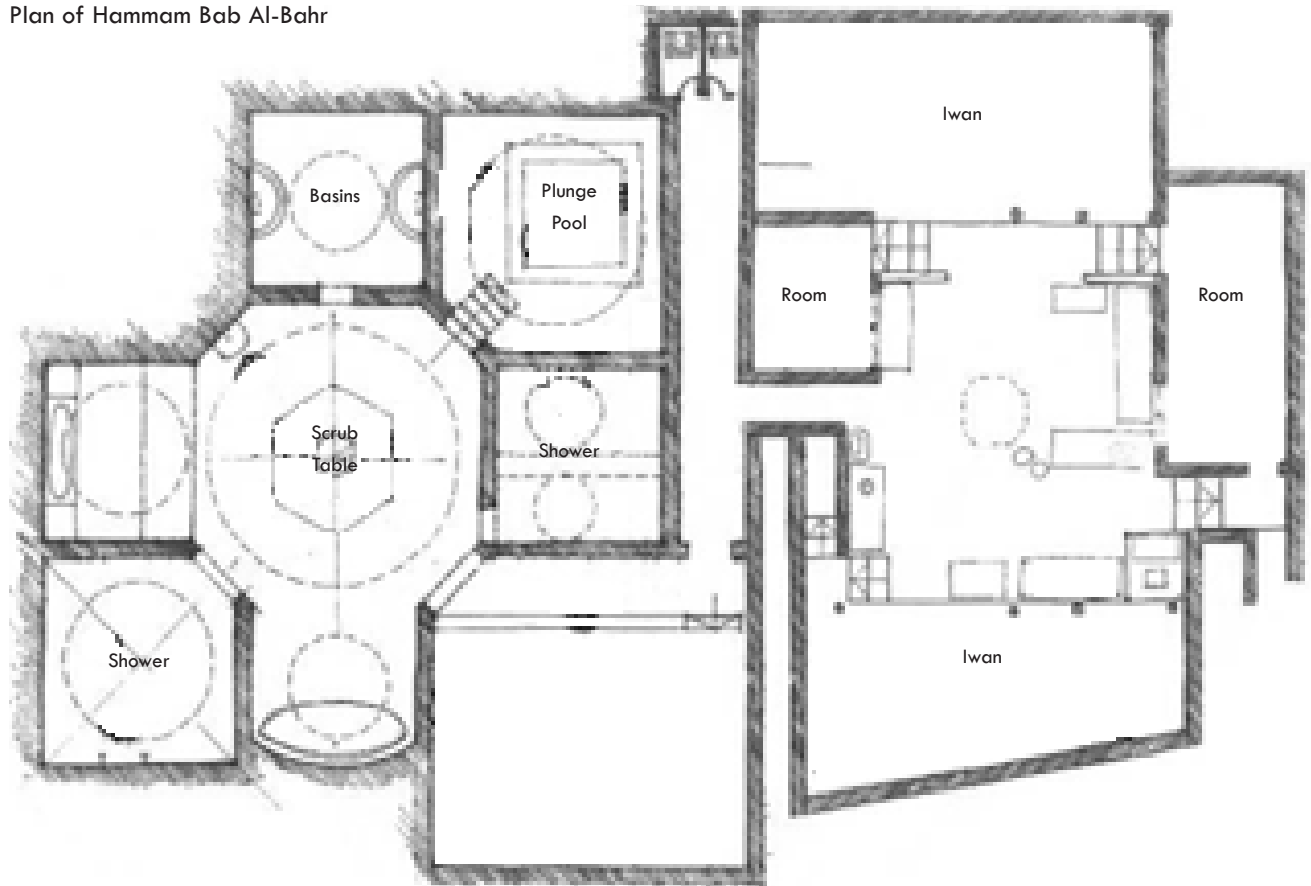


Step #	Historic terminology	Zones	Activity Settings
Stage 1	Frigidarium	Cool/Dry zone	Undressing
Stage 2	Caldarium	Hot/Wet zone	Warming up
Stage 3			Scrubbing
Stage 4			Washing
Stage 5	Tepidarium	Intermediate zone	Cooling-off
Stage 6	Frigidarium	Cool/Dry zone	Resting/Exiting



Case Study: HAMMAM Bab Al-Bahr

Plan of Hammam Bab Al-Bahr



FIXED feature elements :

Cool / Dry Zone:

The cold/dry zone is known as the '*maslakh*'. This is the reception space of the Hammam. A broken entrance descending 2 meters below street level leads to it. It is composed of one big hall with a wooden flat roof with a clear-storey *shokhshekha* in the middle. Branching from the central hall are 2 enclosed rooms and 2 open loggias or '*iwans*'. Both rooms and loggias are elevated 3 steps above ground level. There is a door that leads to the roof where heating the water occurs and another door that leads to the intermediate and hot/wet zones.

Intermediate Zone:

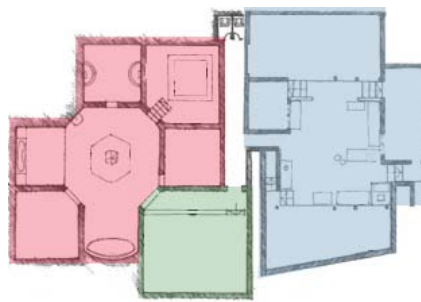
It is composed of one room with two doors; one opens to the Cool/Dry zone while the other opens to the Hot/Wet zone. Known as the *tepidarium* or '*beit awal*' meaning first home.

Hot / Wet Zone:

'*Beit Al-Hararah*' or the home of heat consists of a domed hall from which six spaces branch. Two spaces completely open to the hall while the rest are semi-closed.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

It is explained with every activity setting.



Intermediate zone

Cool / Dry zone

Hot / Wet zone

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS :

Hammam Staff:

Gender of the staff depends on gender of the client; men serve men and women serve women, except for the role of operating the furnace where a male staff handles it permanently.

The hammam operation requires the following roles to be fulfilled:

The manager is the one responsible for the successful operation of the hammam. (S)He receives clients' belongings and collects fees from them just before leaving.

The Scrubbers role takes place in the Hot/Wet zone. They are the skilled labour of the hammam. They help the clients get rid of the layer of dead skin, lest they harm themselves, by means of a certain kind of loaf specifically manufactured for this activity pattern.

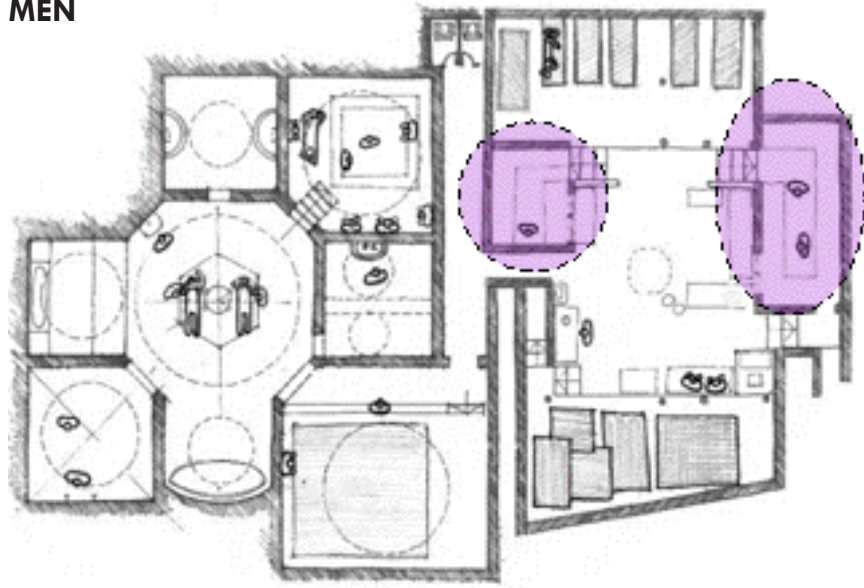
Additional role for men scrubbers is to massage male clients.

Miscellaneous roles done by **assistants** like buying stuff from hammam surrounding for clients or cleaning the hammam among others have staff members specified for them.

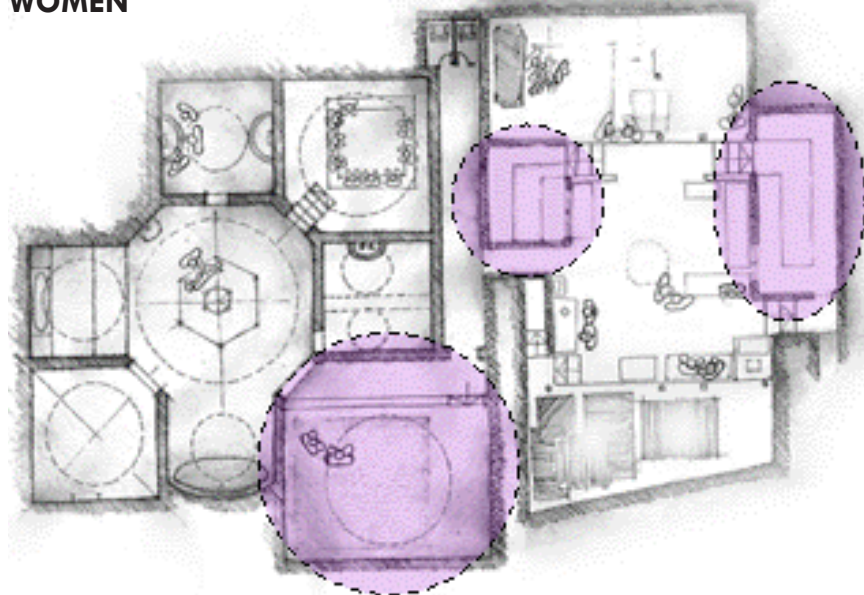
HAMMAM

This is the **preparatory or introductory stage** of using the Hammam. It happens on one step only which is getting ready for taking a bath. Users **undress** in one of the closed rooms. This can take place either individually or collectively depending on the preference of the users. Client belongings and valuable items are usually kept with one of the hammam staff in the cupboard of belongings.

MEN



WOMEN



Gender based differences:

Undressing, of women, also occurs in intermediary spaces used as climatic transition spaces between wet and dry zones. One explanation maybe that these spaces are warmer and afford more visual privacy for its users.



Case Study: HAMMAM Bab Al-Bahr

FIXED feature elements :

Undressing takes place in either of the closed rooms branching from the central reception hall.

The private changing rooms have a door and window viewing the reception hall. They may be used to offer temporal privacy for changing.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

The hall or reception of the hammam is equipped with wooden furniture; a sofa/couch, a desk for the manager, a cupboard for clients' valuable belongings, another cupboard for towels, wooden slippers, loaf... etc. It also has a fountain in the middle but it is not functioning. An upper attic with wooden structure is used for hanging laundry.

The two changing rooms are equipped with hangers fixed on the back of the door and on the wall besides a couple of single *mastabas*.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS:

Hammam manager

Assistants

Clients

RULES:

Privacy of users is maintained even when using a communal space. It is very unlikely to find anyone (clients or staff) staring.

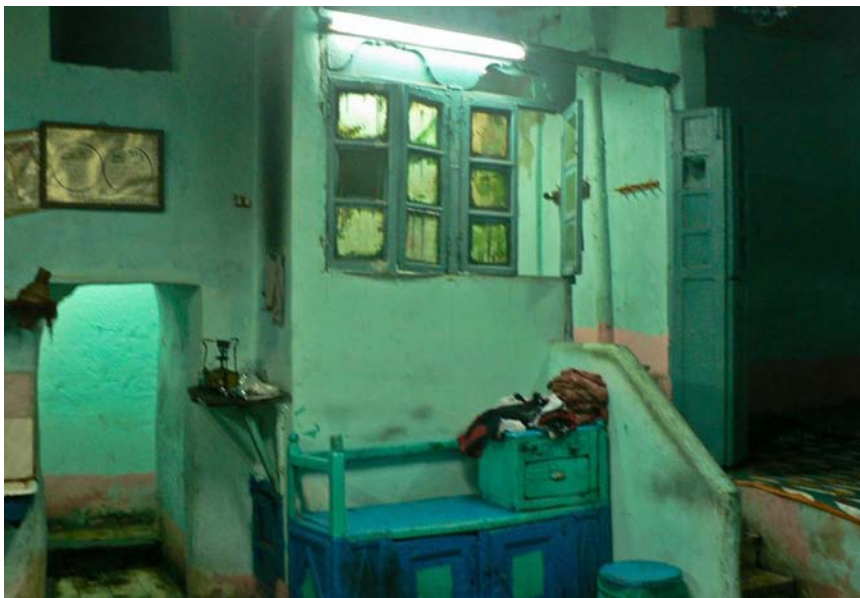
Keeping users' belongings secure is crucial to the sustainability of the hammam and there is a hammam staff member dedicated to that.

The reputation of the hammam has to be closely kept by the management of the hammam. Suspicious clients should be kept away from the hammam.

The new hammam management offers male clients a towel, a pair of shorts and wooden clogs to make sure no one uses the hammam nude. Women usually bring their own belongings, shampoo and all.

No one is allowed beyond this zone with street footwear.

The only violation is when occasionally the police inappropriately intrude on male clients during operation to perform security checks. This practice is harmful to the hammam business.

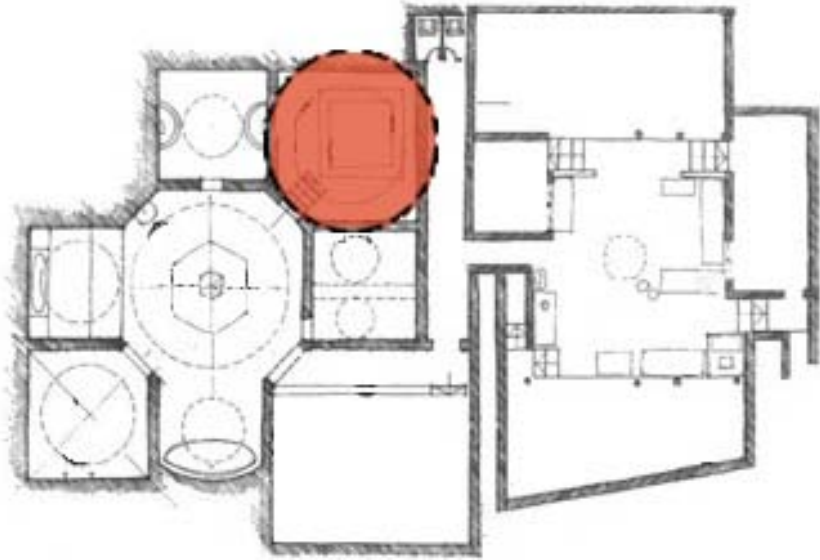


HAMMAM

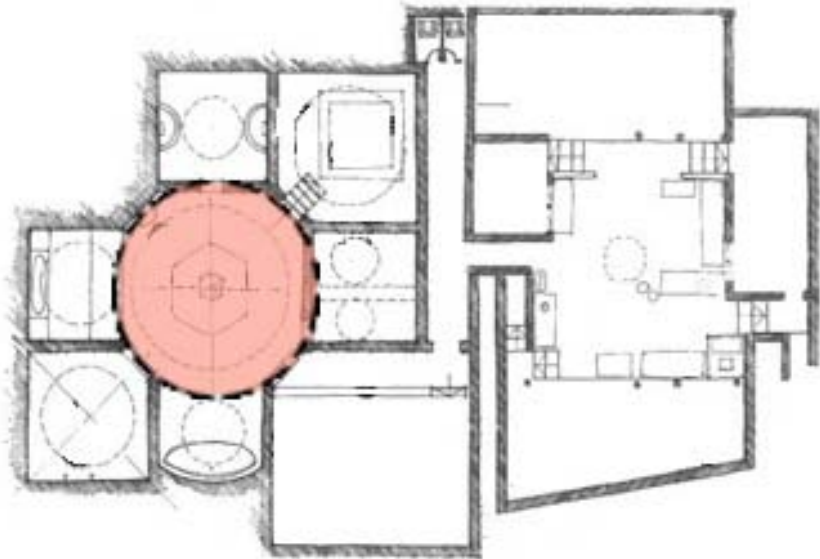
This is the main function of the hammam; **the stage of actual bathing.** It is a three-stepped stage (steps 2-4) which occurs completely in the hot/wet zone.

No gender disparity in using spaces of this stage.

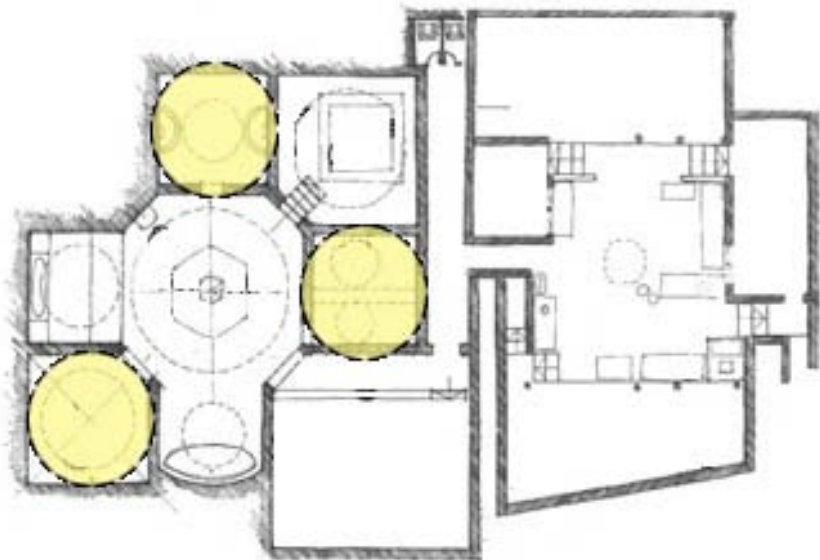
Warming up always occurs in the hottest spot of the hot/wet zone of the hammam. It is necessary for the body to soften and get ready for scrubbing. In Egypt, an extremely hot water plunge pool 'maghtas' is the main source of heat complimented by an outlet of steam from the furnace.



Scrubbing comes next to warming up. It occurs one space away from the space where the heat source is. The user lays down on the hexagonal marble table. The scrubber works on cleaning the clients body (scrubbing it) by means of a special kind of loaf and a source of hot water usually a fountain fixed in the middle of the marble table in case of the Egyptian hammam.



Washing away the scrubbed skin is the final step of bathing. It occurs in the furthest spaces from the heat source in the hot/wet zone, in the multiple auxiliary spaces branching out of the central space. These auxiliary small spaces vary in their degree of visual connection to the central space, thus offering hammam clients the choice according to the desired level of privacy. The most private of those small spaces offer clients the choice to have an individual private space for both scrubbing and washing up. This occurs at a higher fee and in these cases scrubbing is performed lying down on the floor. Clients are free to use a shower or pour water from a basin by means of a cup.



Case Study: HAMMAM Bab Al-Bahr

FIXED feature elements :

A door-free room branching from the central hall (scrubbing area) of the hot/wet zone is where warming up takes place around a plunge pool. In Hammam Bab Al-Bahr this room is raised and water from the plunge pool drains on the floor of the central space.

The central hall of the hot/wet zone is the area dedicated for scrubbing. It is equipped with a large hexagonal marble table that can serve up to three clients at the same time. This area is covered by the largest dome in the hammam. Unfortunately, due to poor renovation efforts its irregular surface led to condensed water droplet falling on clients being scrubbed.

Three door-free rooms or alcoves branch out from the central space (scrubbing area) of the hot/wet zone are dedicated for the washing activity. They are visually screened by short walls from the central space.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Owner of the hammam covered it with ceramics for reasons related to hygiene. The room is also equipped with a steam outlet pipe as an additional heat source.

Specific for the Egyptian hammam, the central marble table has a small fountain fixed in the middle of the table which is a source of tapped hot water. This enhances the cleanliness since the scrubber continuously immerses the loufa in hot water hence disinfecting it and uses the hot water from the fountain to disinfect the tiled scrubbing surface between clients.

Originally, the water source comes from a wash basin placed or fixed under hot and cold water outlets. A low fixed marble seat is in front of the basin for the user to sit and pour water from the basin using a cup. In two of the three spaces, basins were substituted with modern showers with running water tap.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS:

Clients

RULES:

While warming up, clients maybe loud in this stage chatting or even singing if they are a group. Female users are completely free to dress as they wish. Some would wrap their bodies with a big towel staying naked beneath, others would put something light on; a bikini, short top and shorts or simply the underwear. It usually lasts between 20-40 minutes.

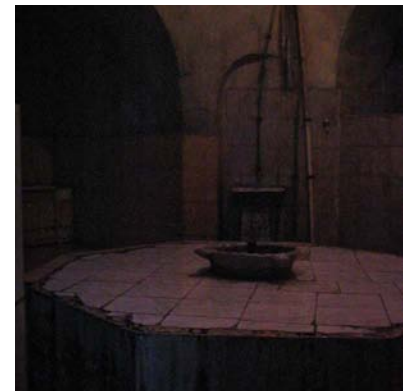
It is obligatory for male clients to cover their genitals. The hammam management offers the mandatory shorts for that reason.

ACTORS:

Client - Scrubber

RULES:

Scrubbing takes 10-15 minutes. Use of any beauty products during warming and scrubbing is prohibited not to cause slipping on the wet tiled floor.



ACTORS:

Clients

RULES:

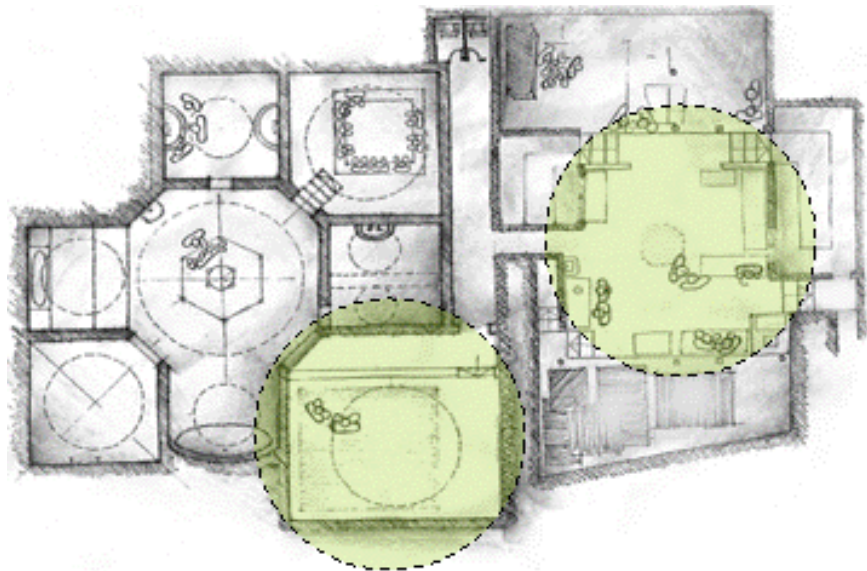
Each client has their soap, shampoo and towel to use during washing up which does not involve any staff.

Some clients who want more privacy would pay extra to be scrubbed privately on the floor of one of the sheltered washing up alcoves.



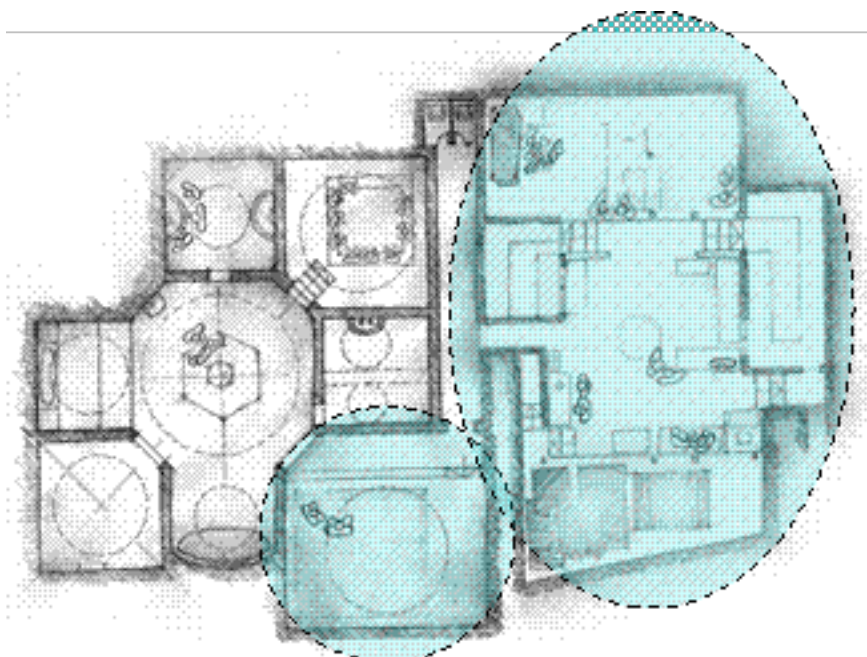
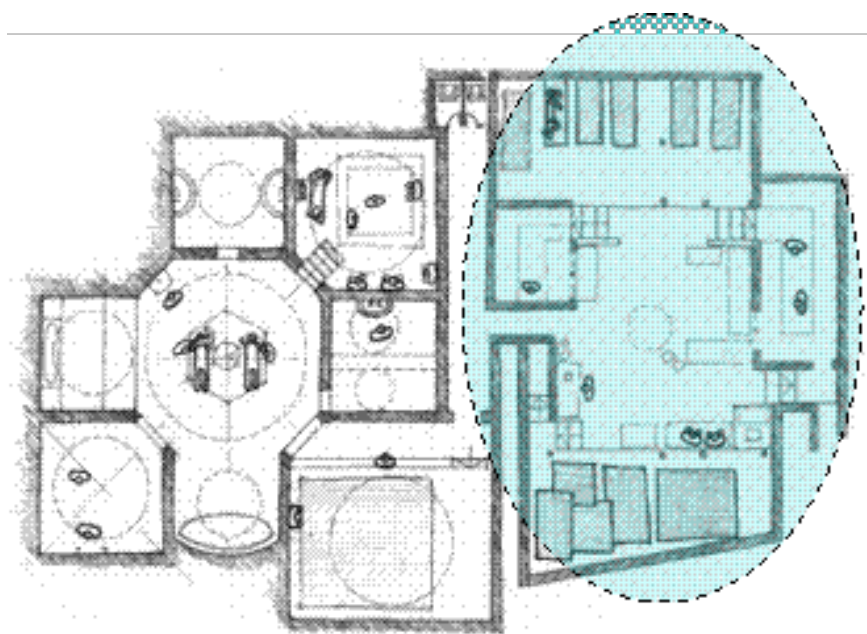
HAMMAM

Cooling-off refers to the time spent after washing up, while still undressed, with the sole purpose of reducing body temperature.'



Relaxing is the last stage of the hammam activity system which involves dressing up, resting and paying. Other associated activities include socializing, eating, smoking, and sometime sleeping. This takes place in the cool/dry zone in all hammams mostly in the iwans that flank the central space.

However, these individual private spaces allow women the equal opportunity to take a nap in the hammam before leaving. In Egypt, only the men nap in the hammam and this usually occurs on mats spread on the floor of the iwans.



Case Study: HAMMAM Bab Al-Bahr

FIXED feature elements :

Cooling off occurs in the intermediate space and in the outside central space of the cool/dry zone. Sometimes men would cool off a bit and re-enter the hot/wet zone again just to take a break from the steam and the heat.



SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

Since the client is not completely dry by this stage, sitting on the palm rug of the intermediate zone or on the wooden chair or couch in the cool/dry zone is the most appropriate for sitting.

NON-FIXED feature elements :

ACTORS:

Clients

RULES:

There is always an assistant who can help fetch a towel or a belonging when one is cooling off. For women, this stage usually includes drying their hair.

Relaxing takes place in the cool/dry zone of the hammam mostly in the open *iwans* that flank the central space.

Individual private spaces allow women the equal opportunity to take a nap in the hammam before leaving except that in Egypt, only the men nap in the hammam and this usually occurs on mats spread on the floor of the open.

Thin cotton mats are spread on the floor of the lateral open galleries. Small single beds in the closed rooms are used as well in this stage.

ACTORS:

Hammam Manager

Assistants

Clients

RULES:

Quiet is maintained in this area because some clients maybe napping. The assistant maybe sent out to fetch food or some groups may bring their own like a picnic. Smoking *shisha* is most common among men who spend more time in this stage due to their longer hours (7p.m. to 7a.m.). Some men even sleep over.

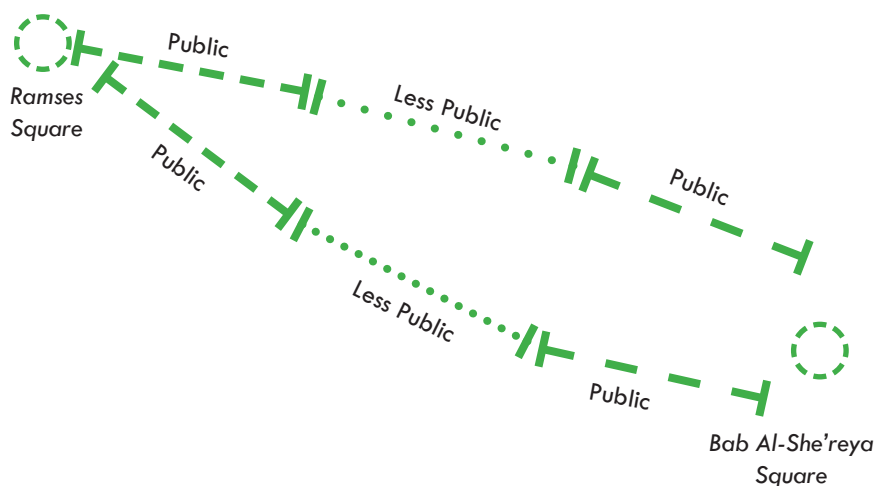


Neighbourhood Street

History of Neighbourhood Street - Bab Al-Bahr

Any district is divided into a number of neighbourhoods 'shiakha' where basic services should exist at such level to serve the population. Neighbourhood services include schools, post office, phone service, fast food or take away restaurant, mosque... etc. At large as well as the small grocery, stationary, pharmacy...etc. Hence, neighbourhood streets are mostly pedestrian dominant streets frequented by all members of community, safe for children to walk alone and hassle free for women.

The Neighbourhood Street activity pattern appears in the middle section of Bab Al-She'reya both spines; Al-Shambaky/ Tawash/ Al-Sabban spin and Bab Al-Bahr street. Bab Al-Bahr's middle section is a pedestrian dominant street that serves the locale. Its vehicular activity is limited to the residents of the neighbourhood. Activity of the street does not attract strangers although it lies between two public thematic markets on both ends.



Relation to Surroundings

This activity pattern usually appears after transitions from highly public streets. The neighbourhood street along the spine of Bab Al-Bahr is sandwiched between the thematic food market serving several districts and the thematic wholesale packaged food market serving the city scale. Both thematic markets are highly public. The neighbourhood street serves the more private residential fabric on either side of it as well as a bit beyond the locale due to the type of services it includes.

The neighbourhood street along Al-Shambaky/Al-Sabban/Tawash spine is less public than its counterpart. It lies between two less public ends if compared to Bab Al-Bahr. And the street is bound to serve the immediate locale.

Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	

Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr Street

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): The neighbourhood street.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The neighbourhood street is a commercial street that serves the residents of the immediate locale. No evident spilling out of shops is witnessed. This could be justified by the familiarity that characterising this commercial activity and the lack of competition. In this pattern community members know the business owners and/or working personal in each service facility or shop by first name. In return working personal know many residents and children by name and know all of them by feature. The shops in this pattern do not need to advertise themselves by spilling out; they are targets by necessity to the resident community. Scattered mobile street vendors are seen to occupy parts of the street at certain hours during the day. They usually use push cars by man force or dragged by a horse or donkey.

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	

Neighbourhood Street

Activity Setting (a): The Neighbourhood Street on Bab Al-Bahr Spine

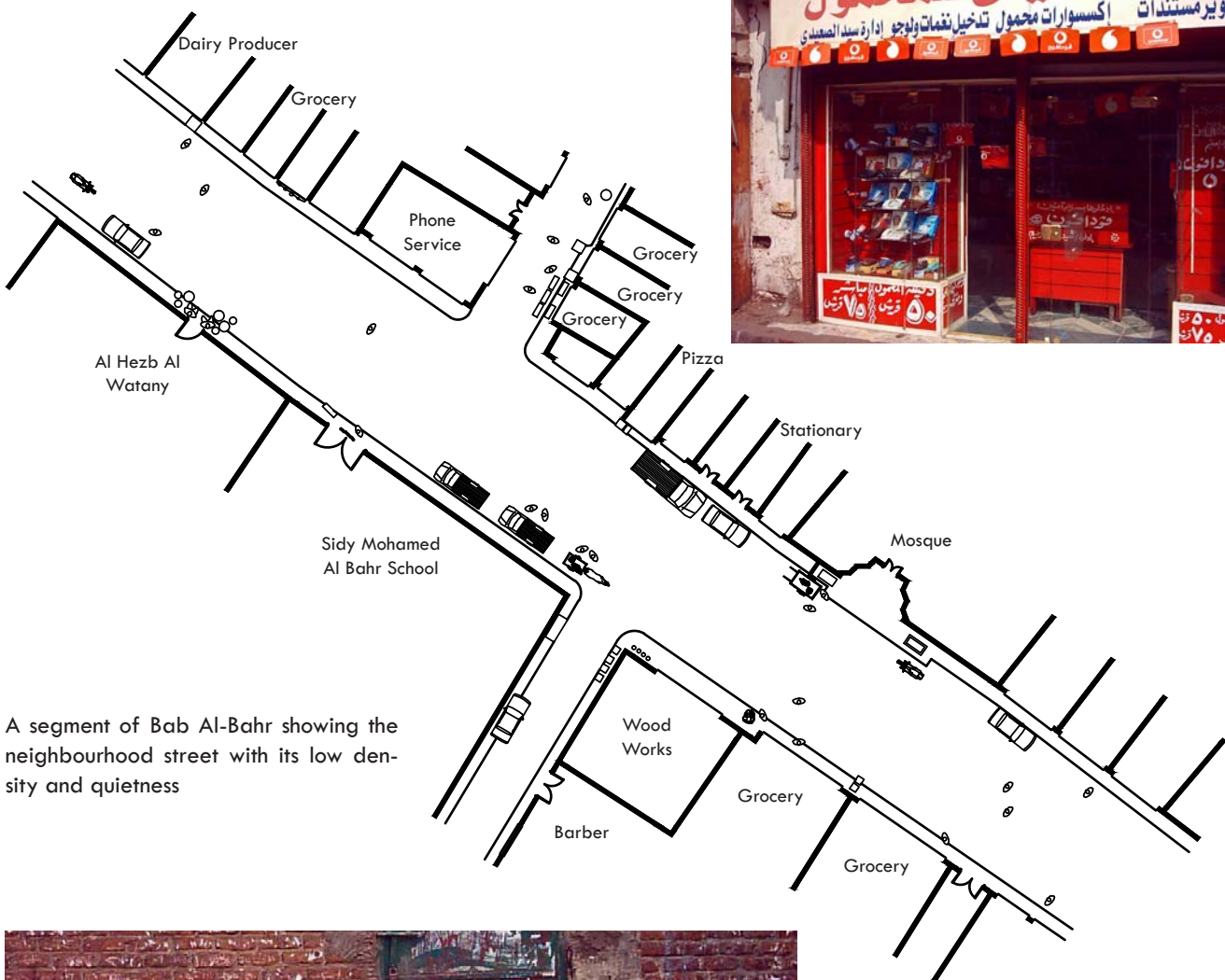
FIXED feature elements:

Shops at ground level of apartment buildings are found on both sides of the street. They provide the immediate locale with basic daily needs like dairy products, groceries, stationary, and medical supplies. They are also public service buildings that serve the neighbourhood beyond the scale of the immediate locale, among which is a primary school, a post office, and phone exchange “central”. A couple of light wood work workshops catering to household repair needs are also found.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

A private cars, a small Suzuki or motorcycle park for short periods on both sides. Street vendors do not exercise appropriation of public space; a few sit on the sidewalk curb with their goods displayed on light palm ribbed baskets that they remove with them when they leave, others are mobile.

The only spill out for not beyond half a meter adjacent to shop façade, is when shop owners would bring plastic or wooden chairs and a small table to sit together, in front of the shop, for a chat and a cup of tea.



A segment of Bab Al-Bahr showing the neighbourhood street with its low density and quietness



Case Study: Bab Al-Bahr Street

NON-FIXED feature elements:

MOLECULAR ACTIVITIES:

It is targeted to fulfilling daily dwelling needs.

ACTORS:

Children: This is a category of users usually seen alone on the street.

Housewives: Egyptian housewives would go for grocery and fresh vegetables almost on daily basis. They use a bag placed on a metal structure with two wheels so as to drag the bag instead of carrying.

Working Personal: Mobile street vendors are usually seen at this level of streets; the less public ones. They use hand-pushed or donkey-drawn carts. They announce their presence by calling loudly mentioning the goods they have. They change their location on small intervals of time.

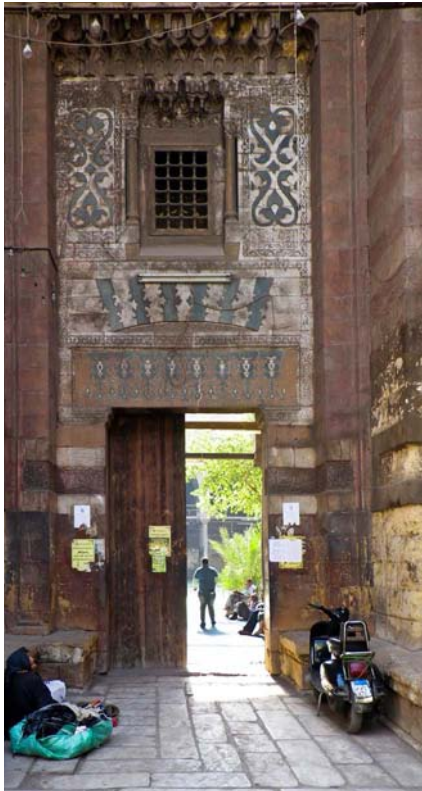


RULES:

Due to the low vehicular activity and the stranger-free neighbourhood, parents would allow their children to participate in buying daily needs from immediate neighbouring shops. An opportunity children appreciate a lot. Children also go to and fro school on foot by themselves. The women also use this street pattern freely because of the high sense of safety afforded by the familiarity between residents and working personal. Business owners and employees would often ask a visitor what they need and give them directions. They keep guard and provide eyes-on-the-street preventing any potential hassle or skirmish.



Mosque as “Community Center”



History of Al-Maridani Mosque

The idea of Al-Masjed Al-Game' revolves around creating a meeting point for the community and not a place to perform a single activity; the praying.

Mosques are either owned by the Awqaf or are privately owned, in either case they are public spaces.

The mosque was always associated to activities such as education, shelter, or some medical services. Theological learning took place inside the mosque historically and until now. Additional classes for school students as well as funerals and marriages would take place in spaces included in the structure of the mosque designated for these activities in modern mosques. Sometimes medical services are placed in outbuildings built beside the mosque.

Recently, the mosque has been made to lose its role as a meeting place. The government reduced its working hours only till the last prayer for security reasons totally unaccommodating the Egyptian culture where night activity extends into the night. The new trend of transforming monumental mosques into museums, like Sultan Hassan mosque, where the government prohibited their functioning as mosques; sometimes only Friday prayer is allowed. They are open for limited hours (till 4 p.m.) and Egyptians as well as tourists pay a fee to visit them. In some mosques women were prevented to meet and sit in its main courtyard (Al-Azhar mosque).

The mosque of Al-Maridani is a rare case where the mosque still functions as a community centre. It is a place for social interaction where spontaneous encounters with acquaintances happens. Elderly men (over 60) meet at the mosque. Quiet children play takes place inside as well. Al-Maridani mosque affords many meanings and potentials for the community. It is a resting point for anyone, for many reasons; to drink, to wash face and hands, to use the toilet, or to meet familiar faces. People would have a nap after the afternoon prayer; Al-A'sr. Some come to sit for a while on their way to accomplish an errand; a lady expressed that it is a rest point for her on the way back from the daily market trip to Al-Megharbeleen. People may agree to meet at the mosque for socializing, exchanging news or knowledge, attend a lesson or simply meet each other. It is a refuge to sleep, study or meditate.

Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
	.			.			.		

Case Study: Al-Maridani Mosque

Relation to Surroundings

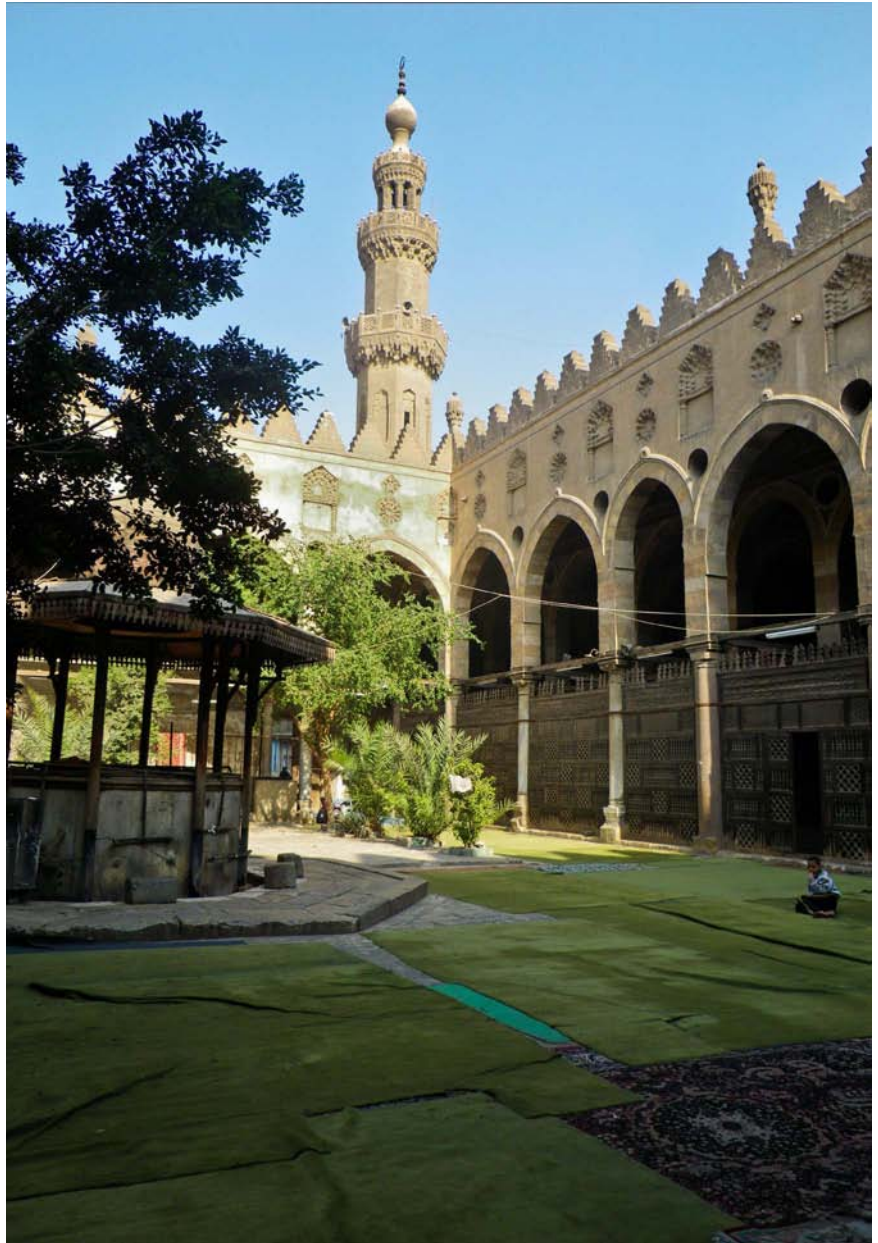
Al-Maridani mosque lies along Al-Tabbana Street at the intersection between Suq Al-Selah Street and Al-Darb Al-Ahmar/Al-Tabbana/Bab Al-Wazir spine where is the district's main vehicular street. The mosque is amazingly orientation to face the spine slowing down the rapid street activity where the intersection occurs. Pedestrians can walk on the street or simply cross the mosque courtyard since it has two opposite doors.



Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): The open court yard.

Setting (b): The praying enclosed area.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The first mosque built, by Prophet Mohammed, did not exceed four columns and a shade, emphasizing the idea of defining a point for people to meet. Accordingly and for centuries to come the mosque comprised of an open court in the middle surrounded by a shaded arcade with no doors. These features reflect the simple and democratic soul of the activity pattern of the mosque where it is made easy to access, easy to appropriate any part of it for any temporary activity setting.

By the time of the Ottomans, the shaded part of the mosque increased in size till nearly same size and developed to become an indoor space with doors.

Lately, modern mosques discarded the open court and even adopted the vertical extension; a second floor is quite common.

Designation specific space to specific activities is increasingly encountered in the newly built mosques, for example, designating of a room for women to pray on the second floor. This proves very hard for the elderly and young mothers carrying their children. Allows very limited room for children thus women are less and less going to the mosque.

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.		.

Mosque as “Community Center”

Activity Setting (a): The Open Court Yard

FIXED feature elements :

The mosque of Al-Maridani has an outer wall with two doors. An open air court in the middle, surrounded from three sides by two rows of columns framing an arcades. The arcades have a ceiling and are directly open to the central court.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements :

A wooden ‘*mashrabeyya*’ with door openings was introduced to separate the shaded praying area from the central open court. Carpets cover the floor of some parts of the court. Plastic chairs and wooden seats are placed here and there. Uncommon to either monumental or modern mosques trees are planted in the court adding to the relaxing sensation encountered in this specific mosque.

In the middle of the court, there is ‘*al-meida*’ which is the water source mainly used in ablution prior to the prayers. Refrigerating machines are recently fixed beside it to provide cold water for drinking.

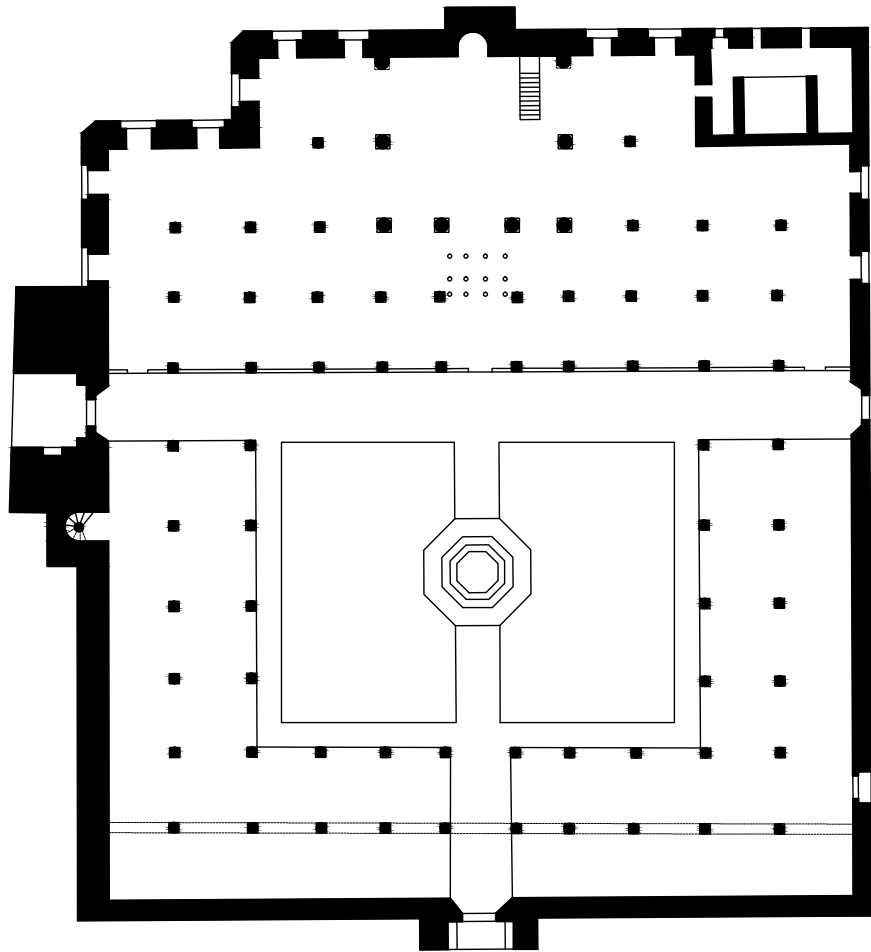
NON-FIXED feature elements :

It serves as a haven of peace and quiet and greenery in contrast to the noisy busy and dusty street outside.

ACTORS :

Men, women, children from the district are always seen in the mosque courtyard engaged in quiet socializing or reading or sitting the relaxing silence of the place.

Visitors: occasional visitors or tourists are always welcome.



Plan of Al-Maridani Mosque



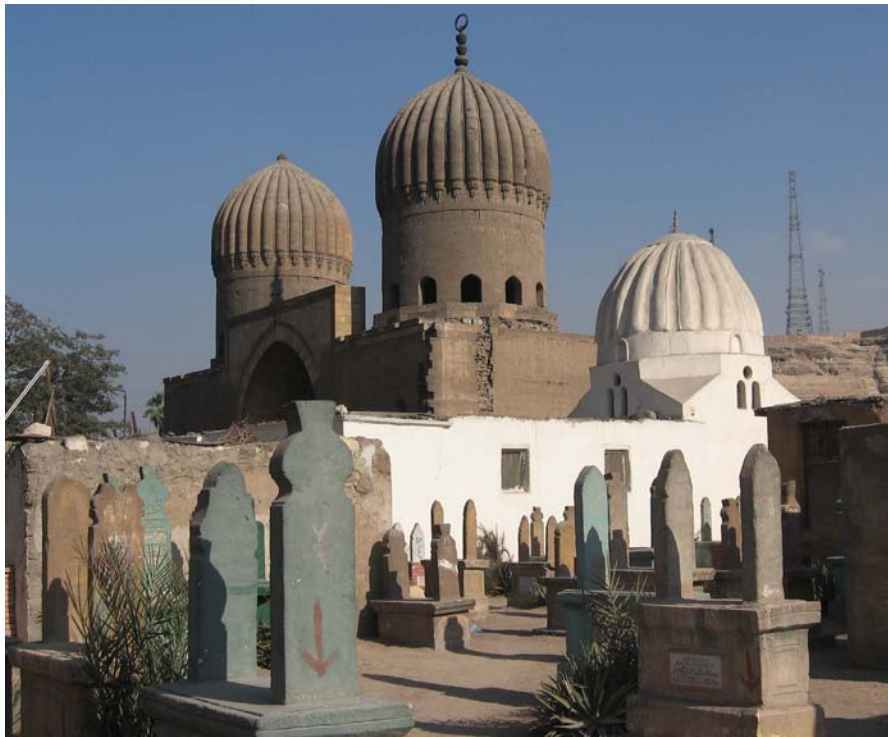
Case Study: Al-Maridani Mosque



RULES :

Praying, resting, chatting, sleeping can occurs anywhere. Both men and women, as well as children, frequent the mosque regularly, occupying various locations inside without any nuisances.





MONUMENTAL CEMETERIES

Toraby Organization

History of the Toraby Organization

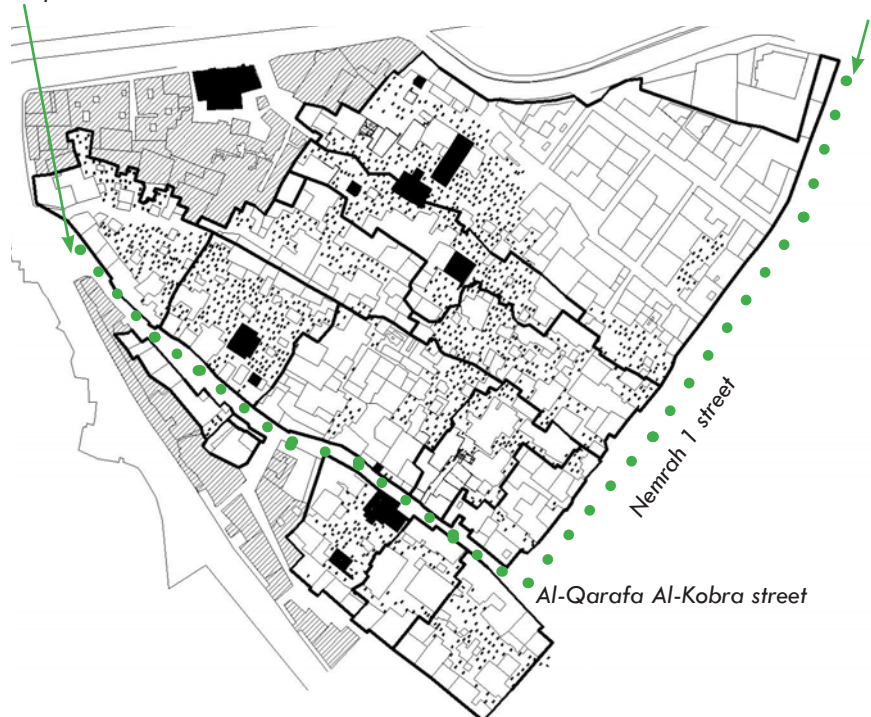
The Historic cemetery of Cairo or The City of the Dead was born with the establishment of the Muslim capital in Egypt around the 7th Century hence, the profession of burying people. By then, the profession was appreciated and well thought of, unlike recently where members of the profession became marginalized by the society at large.

The cemetery never stood alone as we see in recent days instead it used to be a part of a charity complex dedicated for serving the community (a wakf). It included a number of activities among which a garden, khankah to shelter widows, a sabeel, a hammam, as well as residential clusters, markets, religious schools, Sufi hostels and small workshops. That is why today the cemetery is a combination of monumental domed and vaulted structures dating from as early as the ninth century. It has walled family burial yards (hosh) with spaces for overnight accommodation, residential, commercial, and industrial structures: all set within open burial grounds dotted with tombstones and cenotaphs. The myriad of textures, architectural forms, and decorative themes within this urban fabric is a reflection of the layered history of this multi-functional cemetery. These buildings also are the theatre within which the richly complicated socio-religious phenomenon of the multi-functional cemetery of Cairo unfolds. The profession of burying people is

run by the mo'alleem toraby on top of the Toraby Organization which is a structural organization that extends to shape the social and spatial structure of the cemetery. Every mo'alleem toraby family has a well defined territory granted by the administration of cemeteries. The profession, hence the territory, is exclusive to descendants of the family in charge. The territorial distribution of torabeyya families influence is known by all inhabitants of the cemetery where no family attempt to extend its power over another's.

Entrance from Al-Sayyeda Aisha square /
Suq Al-Hamam street

Entrance from the Autostrad



The hierarchy of the toraby organization is governed by deeply rooted norms that everyone abides by. It is composed of five categories:

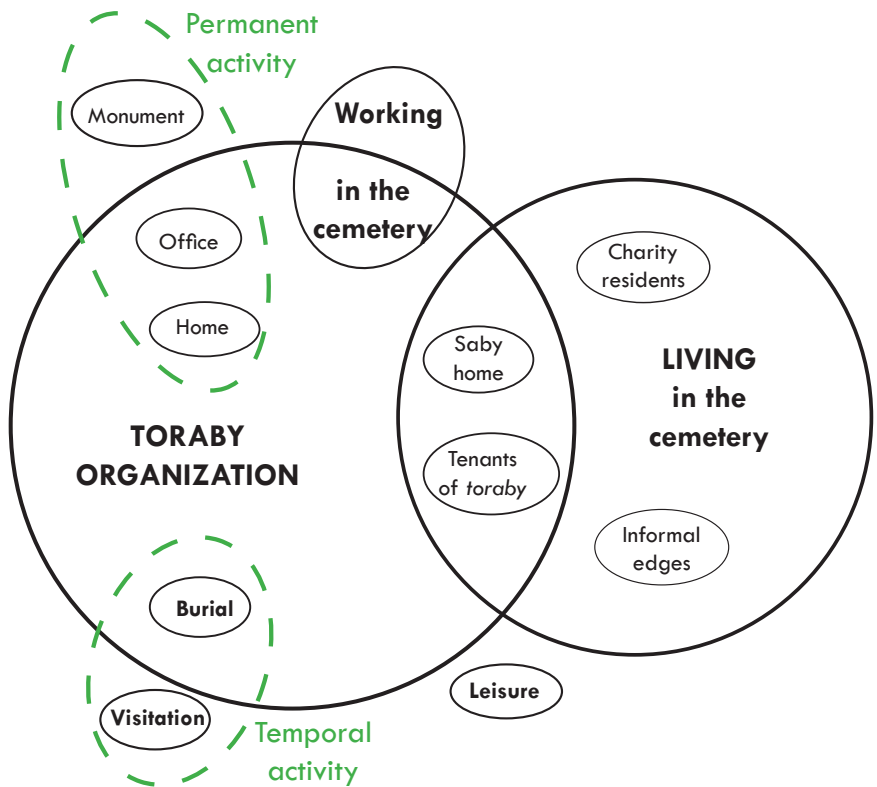
1. The head or Mo'alleem Toraby: He is nominated by his predecessors appointed by the advisor to the administration of cemeteries, where he is registered and issued an ID card (carné).
2. The assistant or mosaed: He has granted a permit v from the administration of cemeteries. He must pass an oral exam in order to get this permit. The exam tests his knowledge of the "burial process" and his ability to memorize verses from the Qur'an. He is most probably one of the sons of the mo'alleem toraby or one of his close relatives.
3. The apprentice or saby: meaning an assistant but of lower rank than the mosaed. Three years ago, the administration of cemeteries made them ID cards in order to keep track of all who form the formal structure of the organization.
4. The informal temporary workers: the sanai'i. They have neither permits nor cards from the administration and therefore not recognized by the formal system. They are chosen by the mo'alleem toraby or the mosaed or the saby who is acting in his place.
5. Poor women who live in the cemetery (could be mothers of workers) who offer tea to visitor and visitation.

Case Study: Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti Cemetery

When exactly did the toraby start living in the cemetery is unknown. The cemetery administration granted each registered mo'allem toraby a vacant plot of land that was not a burial ground in order to build two rooms as a rest house so as to facilitate existence on site to be able to watch the cemetery and protect it. This eventually grew to become a 2-3 storey extended family house used as a permanent residence. Torabeyya sought appropriation of one of the prototypes of graves, namely: the hosh, to provide physical space for certain activities that were essential in the cemetery but lacked a space for. Every mo'allem toraby chooses a hosh inside his territory to function as an office from which he runs his business without violating its original function as a grave. He also allows members of the toraby organization to live in ahwash so as to be able to exist in the cemetery permanently which is crucial to fulfil their roles, as well as charity cases among which poor member of their extended family.

The toraby's responsibilities are diverse among which he constructs and maintains the graves, supervises the burial process, keeps record of the "burial permits" brought by the family of the deceased and he guards the graves of all the types of violation.

He has no formal income and is expected to live off charity from hosh owners which vary according to the family's socio-economic level. The money is distributed between the mo'allem and family (inheritance) and staff.



Many torabeyya seek additional work inside or outside the cemetery (as construction workers or marble carvers). Some of them act as landlords: renting out ahwash as dwelling space for immigrants coming from rural areas seeking inexpensive shelter or relatives of people already living in the cemetery. He allows them to live in a hosh after the approval of its owner (that is what they claim!). The argument is that those residents take responsibilities of the hosh as long as they live in it; they guard it, water the plants, keep it clean, but they usually have to leave it when the owners are visiting their dead. Usually, no one can be given residence inside the cemetery without the permission of the mo'allem toraby except that hosh owners sometimes allow a poor relative to live in their hosh in return of safeguard.

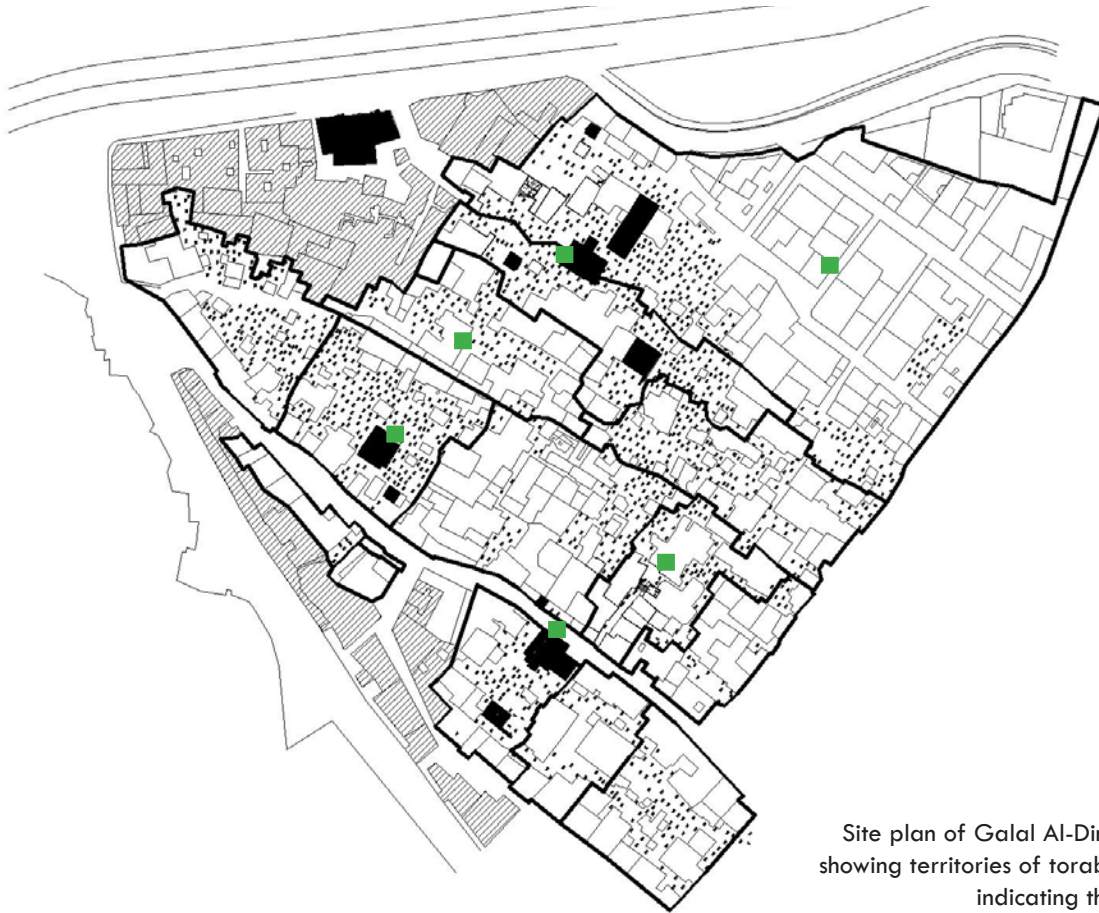
Toraby Organization: Toraby Office

History of the Toraby Office

As previously mentioned every mo'allem toraby dedicates a hosh as an office to manage his territory. Probably hosh owners do not mind because this hosh will be better kept than any other and because it guarantees no one would use it as a residence.

The mo'allem toraby spends his day till sunset at this office and occasionally stays later in summer where he would spend some time with friends chatting and smoking 'argeela'.

The location of the office is critical since it has to fulfil a number of objectives essential for accomplishing his role. Most important is to grant the opportunity for surveillance of his territory access routes and, as much as possible of the territory itself. This is to be able to question any stranger about his presence in the area, as well as prevent any illicit or criminal behaviour. The toraby would take rounds in his territory every while to check unseen areas from his stationary office location.



Site plan of Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti showing territories of torabeyya and indicating their offices

Relation to Surroundings

Although the cemetery lies at the heart of the city, it is isolated in the sense of having limited entrances from outside and a different street condition inside. The case study area is accessed from outside through two main access roads connected to city infrastructure (except natural gas and telephone); Nemrah 1 accessed from the Autostrad and Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra accessed from Suq Al-Hamam street / Al-Sayyeda Aisha square. Inner routes of the cemetery usually branches from the aforementioned roads to pass through the walled burial yards and the open graveyards. They are dust routes without infrastructure since they pass above the underground chambers dedicated for burial.

Choosing the location of the toraby office is based on two main criteria: being nearest to either of the main access roads of the cemetery and the entrance to the territory of the toraby.

Way finding is not easy since the physical looks similar and the area lacks a system of street naming. Monuments are effective landmarks to overcome this shortage.

Number of Passersby			Range of Users				Type of Users		
none	small	large	locale	within district	several district	city +	resident	worker	client
.					

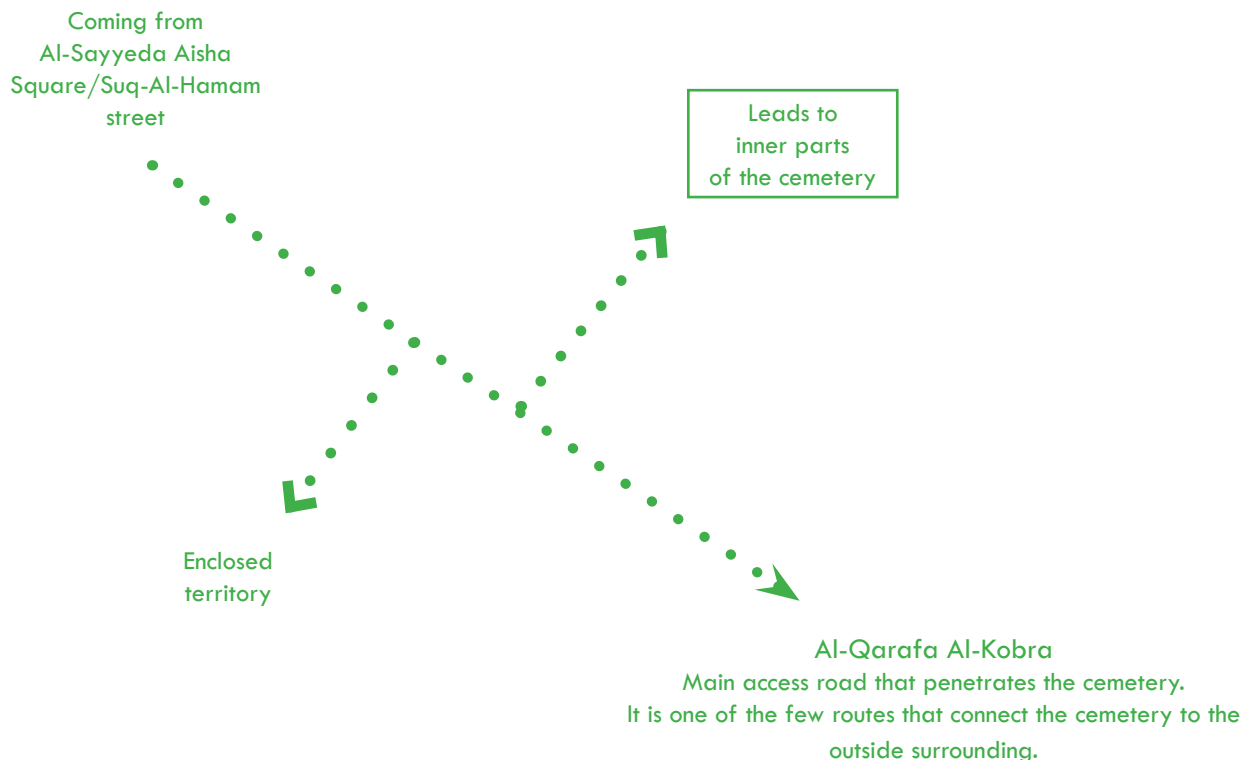
Case Study: Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti Cemetery

Activity Settings within the Pattern

The office would typically have two settings:

Setting (a): Sitting/Meeting area.

Setting (b): Supply storage space to prepare tea, coffee and 'shisha' and space to store chairs needed for visitation and equipment used in burial.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Different modalities of appropriation are practiced in the meeting area according to the affordances of the space, however, they all evolve from the ability to monitor the access route(s) leading to the toraby territory and controlling it.

In the case where observing the access route to the territory from inside the office is fulfilled, then the toraby has no need to appropriate the public space outside the office.

While in other cases, the toraby extends and appropriates part of the public space that allows him to view the access route to his territory all the way from the main access road if possible. Certain conditions determine the mode of appropriation in each case such as the degree of publicness of the public space, the width of the space, the presence of a solid wall or “**anchor**” to set up seating against, the possibility of shading...etc.

Supplies and equipment needed were seen to be stored within either an enclosed space of the office, outdoors in an open hosh area, or even in a monument.

RoW		Space	
adjacent	through	linear	areal
	.	.	

Toraby Organization: Toraby Office

Activity Setting (a): Sitting/Meeting area

FIXED feature elements:

The meeting area setting is located along the narrow access route coming from the main access road, Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra, between two rows of ahwash. It is spatially and visually connected to the supply storage space. The entrance to the hosh and its guest room used as office directly face a solid wall (**anchor**). The space in front of the hosh is defined by two tombstones at one side and a recess from the adjacent hosh on the other.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

It is traditional in the cemetery to build a low fixed seat (mastaba) adjacent to the entrance of the hosh which is evident in this CS. The toraby crossed the route and added another fixed seat (mastaba) leaning on the solid wall (anchor) facing the hosh entrance. This position allowed viewing of the aforementioned mentioned main access road penetrating the cemetery. He fixed a wooden shade above the sitting area and planted some small trees just behind one of the tombstones.



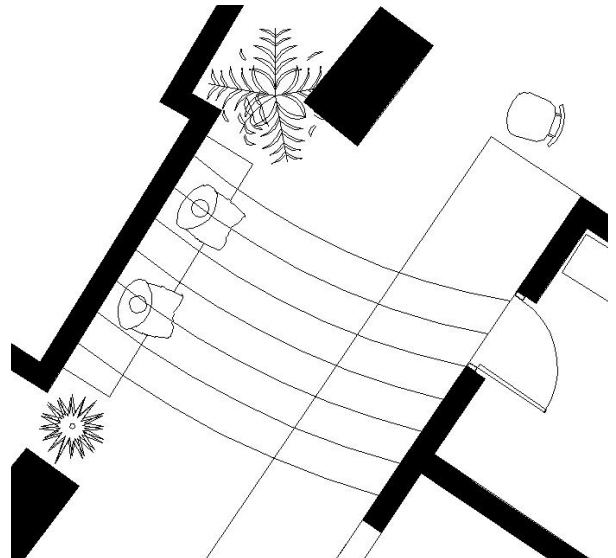
Plan showing Mohammed Hanafy's office and its surroundings



Eye sight line



Case Study: Mohammed Hanafy



Zoomed-in Plan showing the meeting area setting with the 'mastaba'

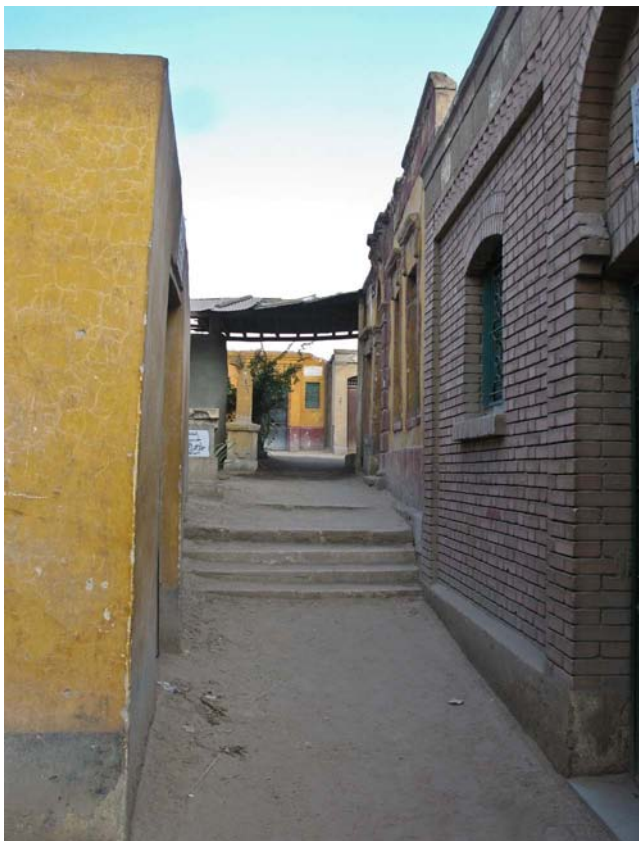
NON-FIXED feature elements:

ACTORS:

Work-personnel: The mo'allem toraby, assistant (mosa'ed) and some apprentices (saby) are found in the office during daytime. Members of their families may pass by for a while. Typically in summer, friends of toraby would gather there for some chatting a smoking of argeela.

Relatives of the dead: Before mobile phones, relatives of the dead had to pay the toraby a visit to report the death of somebody. They come afterwards to pay visits to their dead and pray and read Qur'an.

Tourists and professionals: The city of the dead attracts some actors for its physical built environment and not for its dead. Tourists include visiting the city of the dead on their site seeing agenda. Architects, artists, Historians and scholars among others would pay visits to the cemetery watching its monuments and chat with its residents.



Toraby Organization: Toraby Office

Activity Setting (a): Meeting area

The toraby in charge of this case study lives permanently outside the cemetery. His mother, who is a permanent resident, is the acting toraby. It is odd for women to take such a role, especially their presence all day long in the office. The need for control was fulfilled by some affordances inherited in the space of the territory.

FIXED feature elements:

It is a completely enclosed territory with one entrance that lies between a huge mausoleum (**anchor**) and a hosh. The territory branches from the main access road, Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

Fulfilling the need for control necessitated a spatial and visual disconnection from the storage space setting. The appropriation of adding a fixed low seat (mastaba) leaning on the wall of the mausoleum (**anchor**) created a bottle neck at the entrance to the territory. This emphasized the control over the territory as mentioned by neighbours. As a passerby, the sight of the mastaba, even when empty, sends the message “do not enter, this is private property”.

NON-FIXED feature elements:

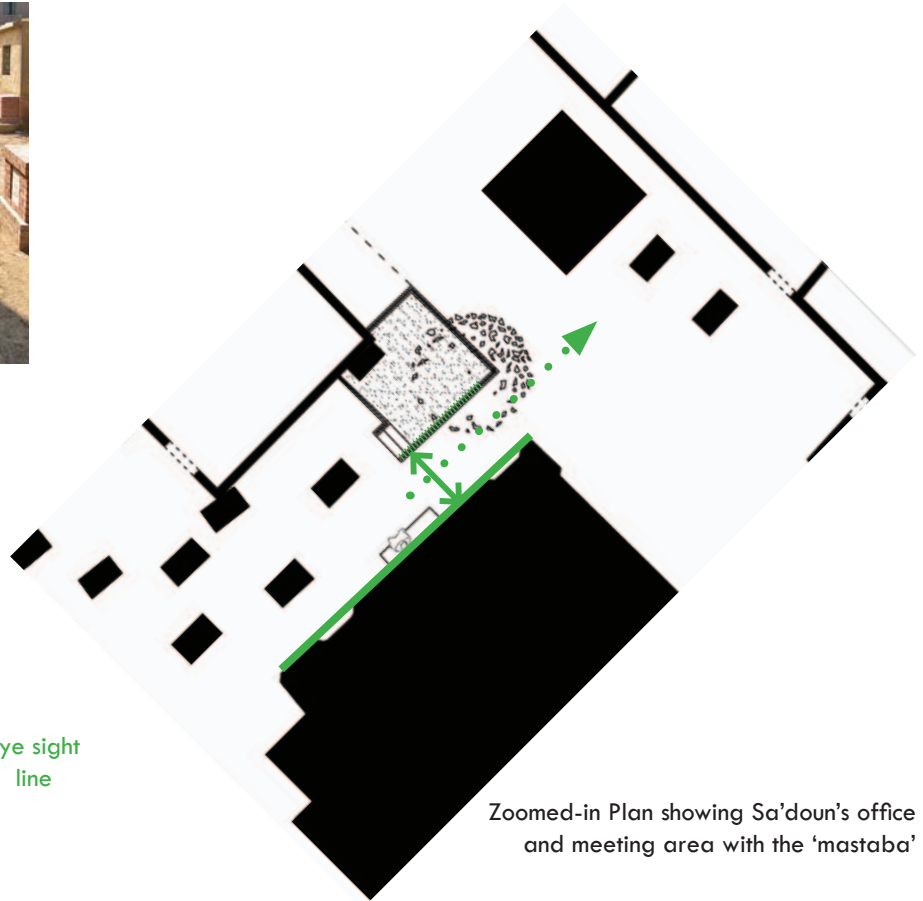
Same for all cases.



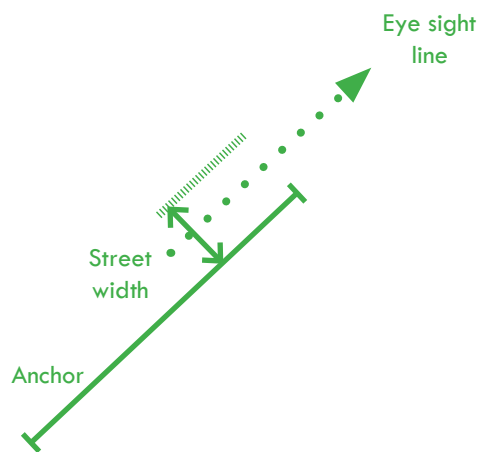
Plan showing Sa'doun's territory with his office



Case Study: Sa'doun



Zoomed-in Plan showing Sa'doun's office and meeting area with the 'mastaba'



RULES:
A permission is essential to enter this territory.

Toraby Organization: Toraby Office

Activity Setting (a): Meeting area

The construction of the Autostrad cut a part of this territory which messed with its urban pattern. Both activity settings comprising the toraby office pattern happens indoor.

FIXED feature elements:

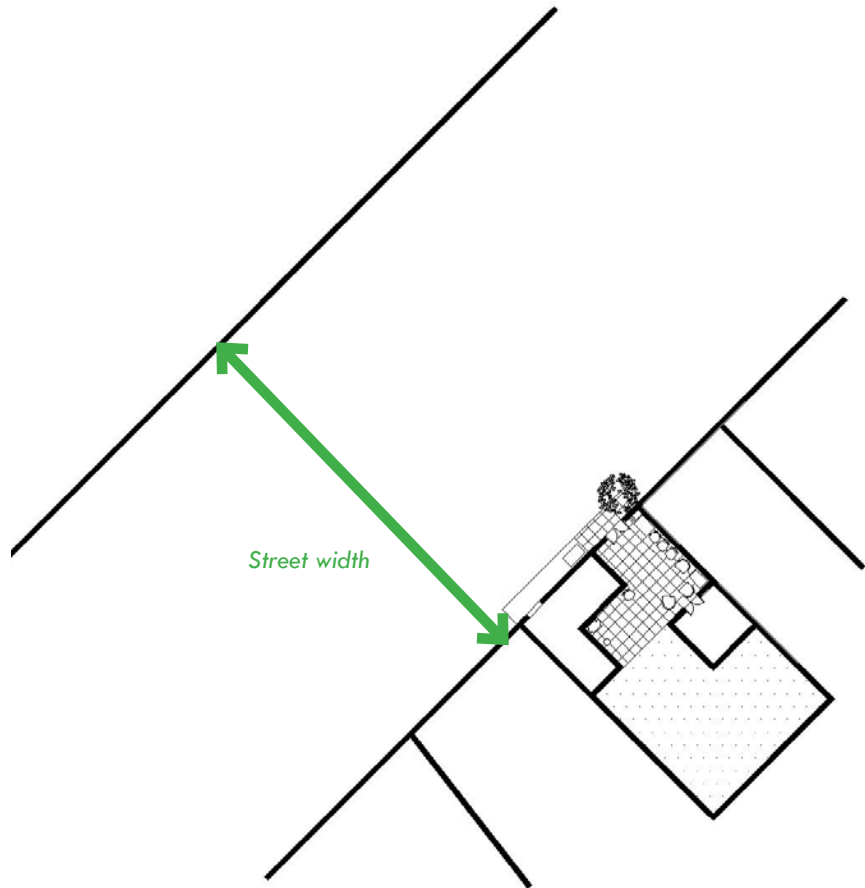
The office lies on a main road almost resembles Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra. The entrance faces a solid wall on the other side. It lies in a hosh with an open yard for burial and a room. The room has one side wall missing which connects the two activity settings spatially and visually.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

No need for appropriation of public space in front of the office since the access road is easily visible from inside the office, hence, security is maintained. The affordances of the street; width and degree of publicness discouraged spilling out. It even lacked the outdoor fixed low seat (mastaba) repeatedly witnessed in the cemetery. The appropriation of removing one of the walls of the room fulfilled the indoor/outdoor connection repeatedly witnessed in the cemetery.

NON-FIXED feature elements:

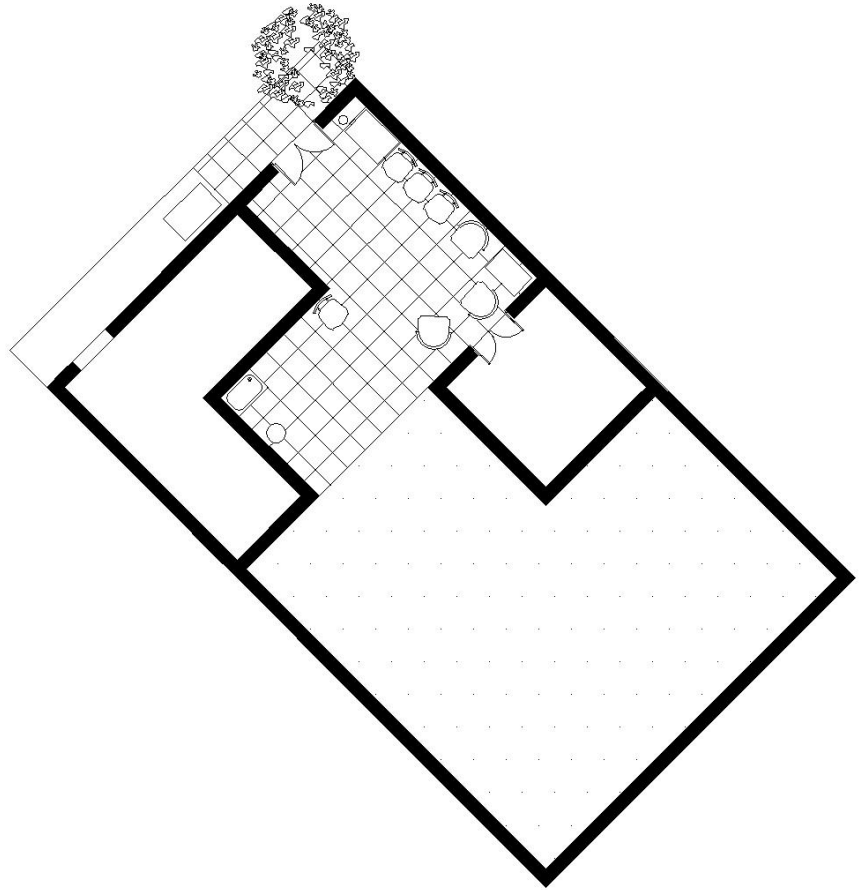
Same for all cases.



Plan showing Megahed's office



Case Study: Megahed



Plan showing Megahed's office with the meeting area and the open yard for burial

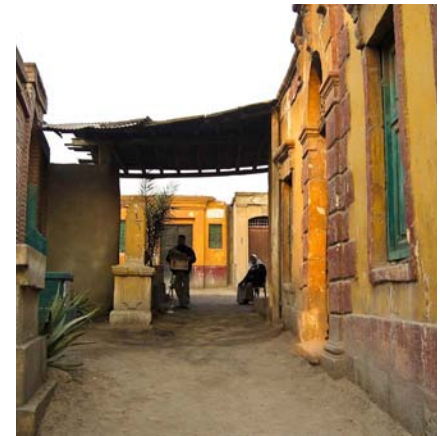


Toraby Organization: Toraby Office

Modalities of appropriation of public space associated with the toraby office activity setting took different forms according to the affordances of the immediate space in front of the office and the nearby surroundings.



The monument near the entrance of the territory resembled a strong **anchor** lacked in the immediate space in front of the office. The affordance of the new location included an appropriate street width (space) to create a bottle neck, thus the need for control was fulfilled.



The solid wall (**anchor**) facing the office entrance, besides the affordances of the space including appropriate street width and visible eye sight line exposing the main access road, fulfilled the need for control over the access route of the territory.

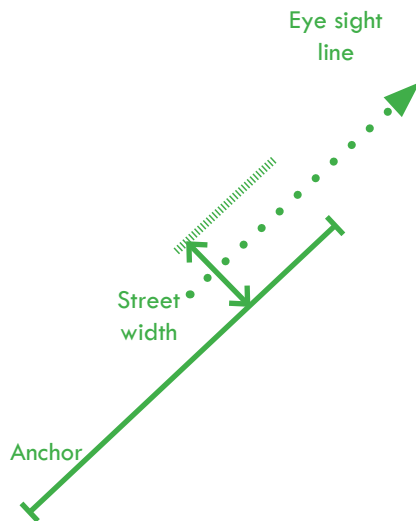


No appropriation of public space witnessed in this case, since the need was already fulfilled without attempting any effort for appropriation.

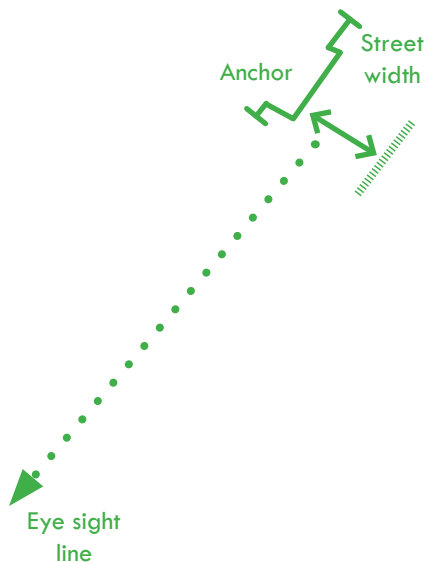
Case Study: Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti Cemetery

Storage space for supplies:

The burial activity required the toraby to own a number of tools used in accomplishing the burial activity, besides some chairs and tea making equipment to host the visitors and friends sometimes. The need for storage space is thus essential. It took different forms as follows:



Storage takes place in the open yard for burial in the hosh used as an office.



Storage takes place in the closed room in the hosh used as an office.



Storage takes place in a monument.

Toraby Organization: Burial

History of the Burial Activity

Burying the deceased is an activity evident across cultures over history yet it undergoes different rituals across cultures. The burial of Muslims is the activity presented in this activity pattern. Its steps and rituals are extracted from the Islamic shari'a.

This activity pattern is a process, a temporal one. No signs of its occurrence show at the regular time (i.e. when there is no burial).

The mo'alleem toraby who is the head of the toraby organization is a key actor in this activity since he is the first to receive the notice of death of a member owning a grave within his territory. This notice had to be in person in the past which transformed to be a call nowadays due to the availability of mobile phones. Unless the mo'alleem toraby receives a "burial permit" with at least the deceased full name (1st, 2nd and 3rd name), the name of the person who reported the death, and the stamp of the health organization issued from the local branch near the deceased person's address, he will not give orders to start the burial activity. He keeps records of burial permits for two years.

He supervises the opening and preparation of the grave. A prayer usually takes place at the nearest famous mosque to the cemetery then the funeral moves on into the cemetery where the actual burial starts. At the end he makes sure the grave is properly closed.

Securing fresh corpses from theft is one of the most important roles of the toraby's which justifies the critical need for presence all day and night, thus the activity of living in the cemetery.

One or two tombstones in each territory are designated for charity, i.e. burying cases who cannot afford to own a grave or they would be dedicated to the general hospital morgues.

This activity pattern triggered the activities of visiting and spending nights at the cemetery. Historically, members of the family of the dead would visit their dead or may even spend a couple of days. That justifies the presence of rooms in the ahwash. This tradition vanished nowadays due to a lot of reasons among which the insecurity in the cemetery by night. The use of the rooms in ahwash transformed into other forms, torabeyya use a hosh as an office, they assign a hosh for their assistant (saby) as a permanent residence, they also reside tenants from their side in a hosh in return of money. Sometimes, the family owning the hosh would allow a poor relative to live in their hosh in return of safeguarding it from torabeyya's violation either by allowing someone to live in it or by burying someone who does not belong to the family.



Relation to Surroundings

No similar relation to surroundings is witnessed in comparison to other activity patterns. The way finding to the family grave is the only issue here. The mo'alleem toraby and assistants know by heart the graves within the territory and who owns which grave. Owning families mostly do not remember the exact location of their graves since the cemetery looks similar and lacks street naming or landmarks.

Case Study: Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti Cemetery

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Underground burial chambers.

Setting (b): Entrance to the underground chamber.



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

Since this is a temporal activity pattern, it necessitates temporal appropriation of the space around the grave which disappears with the end of the activity.

The workers bring the burial tools. Dust flows around due to removing it from on top of the grave opening. If burial is not in a private family yard hosh, the toraby would bring chairs for relatives of the deceased to sit until the process finishes. Relatives may bring green plants to plant beside the grave.

Toraby Organization: Burial

Activity Settings (a) and (b)

It is mainly an outdoor activity yet the part of placing the body of the deceased inside the grave and doing the associated rituals happens indoors.

FIXED feature elements:

The graves are the only fixed feature element in this activity setting.

The underground burial chambers are demarcated by a structure above the ground which takes different forms (as follows) and may afford additional uses.

a. Tombstone/Cenotaph: It points out one or two moderate sized underground burial chambers. A tombstone demarcates the presence of the underground burial chamber since it lies in an open graveyard. Toraby sometimes put a sign of the tombstone to define the direction of grave entrance. Some families order a marble piece mentioning the name of the deceased and a Qur'anic verse.

b. Hosh: It is a walled burial family yard. It indicates bigger sized underground burial chambers, sometimes with a small hall leading to them. A hosh has a sitting area for family visits of their dead and an open yard for burial. The hosh owners are free to decide upon the sitting area either to leave it open air or to fix a shade or even build a room.

c. Mausoleum: Burial inside monumental graves is now prohibited by SCA. Heirs of those families are compensated with one or two graves in the open graveyard.

Common to all types of graves is the underground burial chamber. Almost 2.2 m. x 2.0 m. at a depth of 2.6 – 3.0 m. where the dead body rests in peace. The idea of underground chambers originated from the type of soil in this area, for example at Upper Egypt burying take place in a *lahd* which is a hole dug at the following dimensions: 1.5 m. length × 0.5 m. width × 1.0 m. depth.

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

The tools used are simple and manual. The tools used are: 2 *mesht*, 1 *ghala'*, 2 buckets, 1 hose two meters long, wooden chairs, long monolithic stones known as *magadeel*, 1 brush, sand (optional - a small Suzuki costs L.E.35), and straw mats known as *hosr*.

Wooden chairs are lined around the grave entrance for the funeral members to sit down. The toraby owns these equipment and they are usually stored in a *hosh* or inside a monument in the toraby territory.



Case Study: Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti Cemetery

NON-FIXED feature elements:

MOLECULAR ACTIVITY:

It is a temporal activity that takes 1-2 hours at most. The process constitutes opening the grave, cleaning it, preparing the exact location for the dead body taking its orientation into consideration, and finally closing the grave again tightly. The burial process in details is as follows:

1. The *mo'alleem* orders digging the grave and indicates its entrance which he either knows by heart or uses a sign.

Two boys remove the layer of dust covering the grave entrance (20-30 cm in depth) using a comb (*mesht*). One boy digs the dust while the other uses the rubber container (*ghala'*) to move it. It takes half an hour on average. The rectangular rocks (*megdal* (s), *magadeel*(p)) blocking the grave's opening are moved.

A brush is used to clean the dust that fell on the stairs due to the previous steps and water is sprayed around the grave as a counteraction to the arising dust from the grave opening action. A bucket of water is usually filled from a water tap in the nearest hosh supplied by means of a hose.

2. Preparing the place for the corpse comes next. A *matrah* or *manamah* is prepared either by digging to form a recess and pillow fitting the size of the body or add sand to define the location. Orientation of the *matrah* comes in accordance with the *Qiblah*; i.e. in the direction of Makka.

By then, the grave is ready to receive the dead at any time.

3. Torabeyya workers carry the body, sometimes with the assistance of members of the deceased's family and lead the body down the steps into the grave.

4. The body is placed on its right side slightly inclined backwards or supported by sand on the left side for fear of the disgraceful position of turning on the face when the body swells and the gases evolve

5. Some dust is sprinkled over the body while reciting some verses from the Qur'an related to death and praying for the soul to rest in peace and earn heaven. That is called *talqeen*.

6. Finally, two men start closing the grave. The rectangular rocks are replaced and the gaps in between are filled with mud or small rocks. The dust is levelled and some water is sprinkled on top to make it all settle.

7. Steps 3-5 consume 15 to 30 minutes.

After the burial process is completely done, the family pays the toraby to cover all expenses.

ACTORS:

Members of Toraby Organization: The work done is implemented under the supervision of the *mo'alleem* toraby or assistant. The muscular work is done by the apprentice (*saby*) and/or informal temporary workers.

Relatives of the dead: The number of attendants of the burial is religiously perceived a blessing to the dead that is why relatives of the dead try their best to attend this activity pattern. They come in private cars or in rented minibuses and would stand up till it ends. Torabeyya offer some chairs for the elderly or the disabled.

Qur'an Reciters: Qur'an reciters who are temporarily present in the cemetery to recite some verses during and after the burial upon request. These are not members of the toraby organization; they are free-lance.

RULES:

An underground burial chamber is either dedicated for burying men or women. In case of one chambered graves, toraby will be obliged to bury both genders together.

Opening graves with recent burials should be avoided as possible. A grave is kept unopened until the corpse is fully decayed which takes from 40 days to 2 or 3 months. If opening the grave cannot be avoided, torabeyya cover their mouth and nose and resort to initiating an even strong smell that overrides the existing unbearable one evolving from decayed body. A piece of cloth or incense is burned and placed on top of the staircase leading to the inside of the grave for about 5 minutes. Torabeyya are not aware that this solution deals with the smell but not the harmful gases. Raising awareness is needed in this issue.



Living in the Cemetery: Saby Home

History of Saby Home

The pattern of living in the cemetery in contemporary times is associated with the profession of the *Toraby* (see *Toraby Organization*). While the presence in the cemetery during morning hours explains itself, the need for the presence during the night prevailed for different reasons. The necessity aroused from the potential of illicit behaviour such as drug consumption, theft of fresh buried bodies, theft of iron doors or gates. All necessitated the presence of an eye all day and night in the cemetery for surveillance. Thus, the activity pattern of living in the cemetery re-appeared. During the 80s, burying the deceased after sunset was allowed which necessitated the presence of *torabeyya* during nights. This is not allowed anymore.

While the *Mo'allem Toraby* lives in a house (not burial ground) as explained in *Toraby Organization*, there are others associated to the presence of the *Toraby* who started the pattern of living in a 'hosh'. The 'hosh', which is basically an architectural prototype of tombs over history, accommodated a temporal activity pattern of resting/sleeping in the 'hosh'. Members of the family of the dead would build one or two rooms to spend a couple of nights whenever they visit their dead. The tradition completely disappeared by now but still the potential of living in a 'hosh' remains. *Torabeyya* benefited from this potential by allowing people to reside in a 'hosh' within their territory of control usually in one of the following scenarios:

- A *toraby* allows permanent members of his organization; assistant and apprentice, 'saby' each to permanently reside in a 'hosh' with their wives and children.
- A *toraby* allows poor relatives of his own family to reside in a 'hosh'.
- A *toraby* rents a 'hosh' as residence for tenants who seek inexpensive housing.
- Another scenario equally available is the case where the owners of a 'hosh' would allow a poor member of their own family or an ex-employee or servant to reside in their 'hosh' permanently in return of safeguarding it. Others simply allow a hired guard to reside.

Al-Qarafa Al-Kobra, the main access road of the Galal Al-Din Al-Suyuti cemetery, is connected to the city infrastructure; water, electricity and sewage, but it lacks natural gas and telephone line. The networks were introduced in all main access roads in the cemeteries in the late 1970s - early 1980s. The inner parts of the cemetery do not have any infrastructure. Residents of inner parts find lee ways to extend connections to where they live. Sometimes a public water tap nearby and sometimes by extending a hose from a 'hosh' that has a water connection. This is the case of Am-Isma'il's *hosh*, the *saby* in one of the prominent *Torabeyya* family territory.

Relation to Surroundings

Similar to the *Toraby* office the choice of location where the 'saby' sets up residence follows several criteria. The most important is to choose a location that facilitates the performance of his tasks which include surveillance of the grounds to secure them from vandals or intruders watering the plants by the tombstones and cleaning the open graveyards. A secondary criteria is to have space and amenities such as water nearby to support daily living. In the case of 'Am Isma'il', the area in front of his home is well tended but a part of his *mo'allem toraby* territory is located just behind his home and is deserted. Unwatched, it has traces of illicit behaviour always found in the morning; a syringe, beer bottles, once even a murdered corpse!



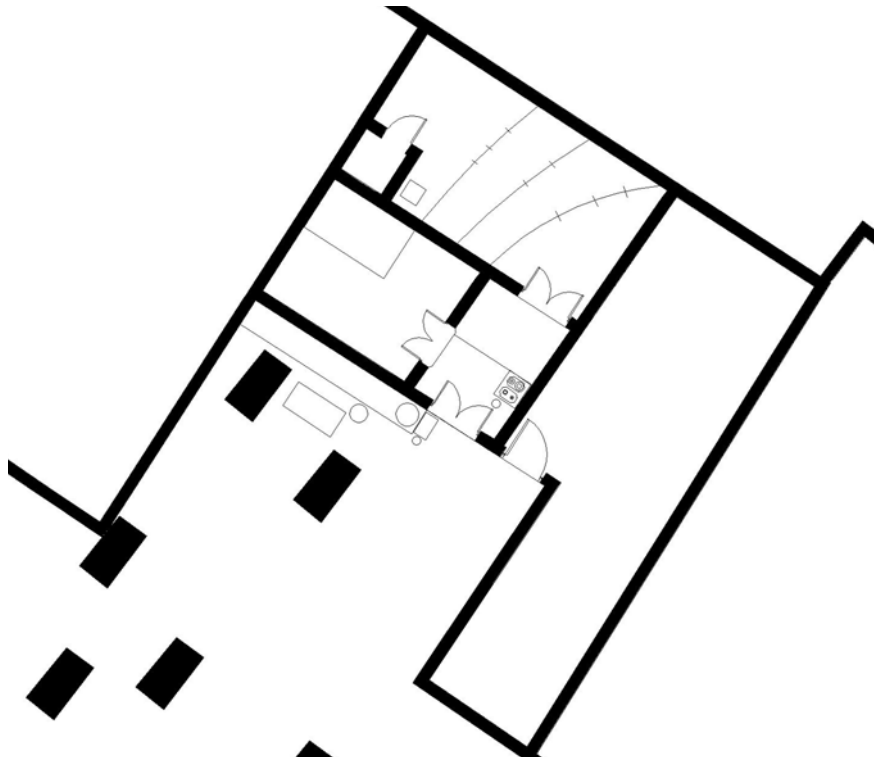
Plan showing Saby Am-Isma'il's home with its surroundings

Case Study: Saby Am-Ismail

Activity Settings within the Pattern

Setting (a): Indoor living.

Setting (b): Outdoor space.



Plan showing Saby Am-Ismail's home



Modality of Appropriation of Public Space

The 'hosh' like all cemeteries is originally public land but designated to private use (right of use). The 'saby' appropriates the entire 'hosh' to his dwelling activity; he divides the indoor room into two rooms of unequal size. A dry toilet is added in the outdoor burial yard that is used only to hang laundry since most residents try to maintain the sanctity of the dead and avoid walking above the burial chambers. A part from the neighbouring 'hosh' was appropriated and used for raising goats.

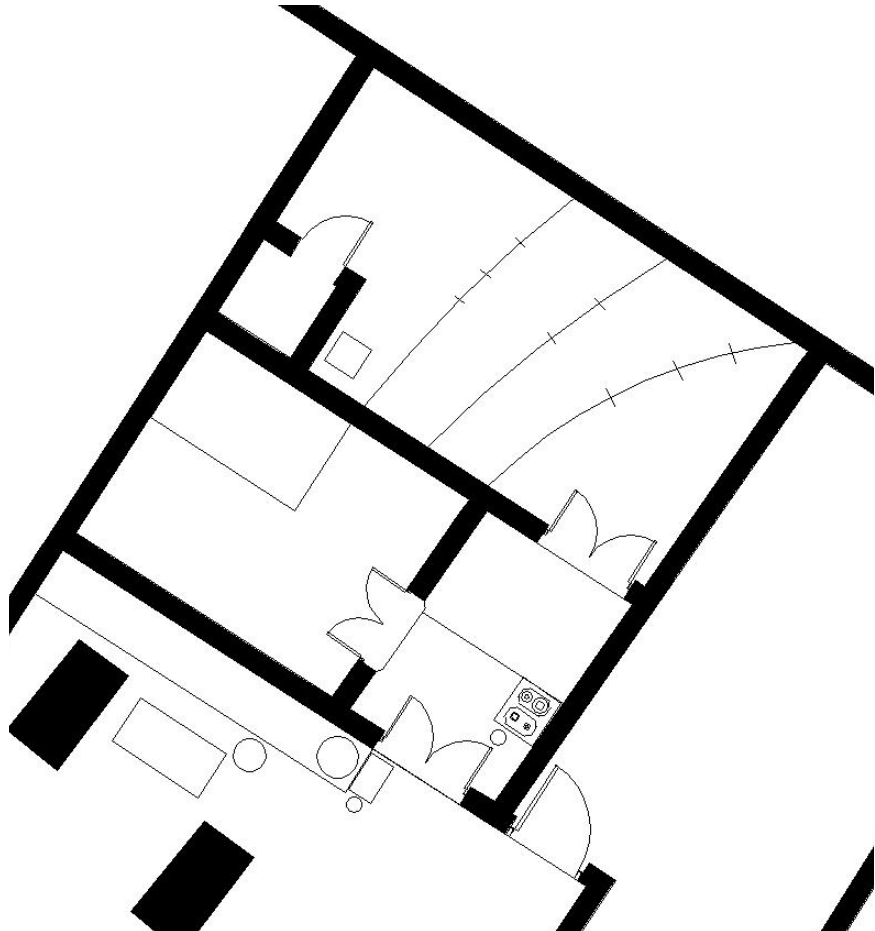
The only appropriation of public space that occurs is the addition of a 'mastaba' in front of the 'hosh' entrance which is a repeated feature in the cemetery.

Living in the Cemetery: Saby Home

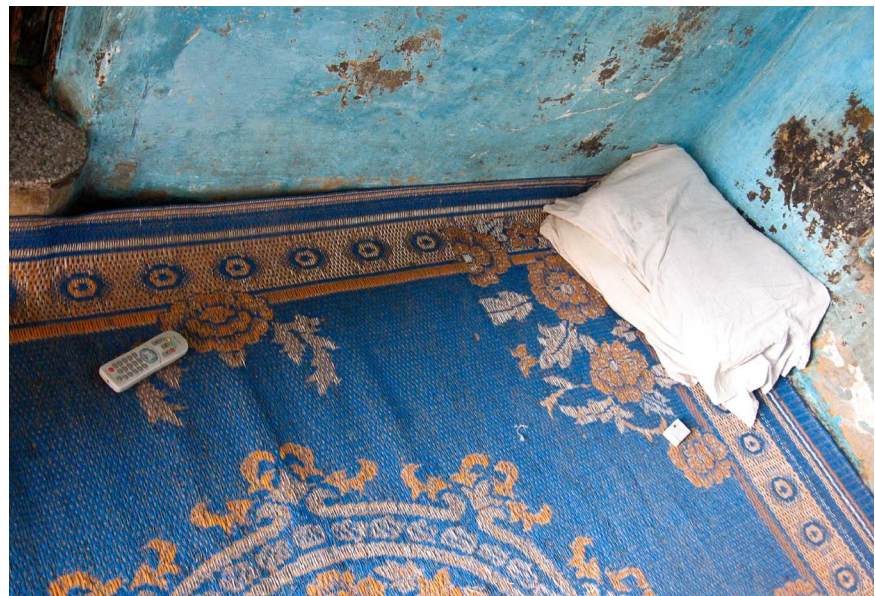
Activity Settings (a) and (b)

FIXED feature elements:

The indoor activity setting is divided into two rooms one leading to the other. The hall, which is used as a kitchen as well as living room, is a small space with three doors; the entrance to the 'hosh' coming from the open graveyard, the door leading to the open burial yard of the 'hosh', and the door leading to the inner room. The inner room is bigger than the hall and is used as a bedroom. A small area was taken from the open burial area to build a bathroom. The rest is used for hanging laundry. The area dedicated for goats has a separate entrance from the open graveyard.



Zoomed-in Plan showing Saby Am-Ismael's home with the outside 'mastaba' and the indoor living space



Case Study: Saby Am-Ismaïl

SEMI-FIXED feature elements:

Small size furniture items are used. The bedroom is furnished with two beds placed vertically at one side of the room. A palm rug covers the floor of the bedroom and the entrance hall. It is used for sitting. Part of the hall, used as kitchen, is equipped with an oven for cooking. As water does not reach such parts of the cemetery, a hose from the nearest 'hosh' supplied with water extends to reach the 'hosh'. They fill a big mud pot for cooking, drinking and washing. It is placed just next to the door in the hall.

Another metal water reservoir is placed in front of the entrance beside the fixed seat 'mastaba'. They fixed a water tap to the container and placed a ceramic basin underneath. The dry toilet does not exceed a hole in the ground.



NON-FIXED feature elements:

ACTORS:

Residents: Am-Ismaïl, is a 'saby' or apprentice in the toraby organization, resides with his wife and children in the 'hosh' for at least 40 years. Originally he comes from Beni Sweif.

RULES:

Claiming territorial control is an evident rule that prevails among the community of the cemetery. Am-Ismaïl and family have untouched control over the area in front of their hosh. This is acknowledged and respected by their neighbours. This reached the extent that his wife decided on the location where she wants to be buried.

They fulfil their shopping needs either by walking to the Sayyeda Aisha Market. However, links to their home village are still alive; they order food items and buy some specialties from mobile vendors.

Organic waste collectors as well as gas containers sellers frequent the cemetery to fulfil needs of its residents.



2. b. Activity Pattern Concentration

This section is concerned with showing the areas of concentration of Community-oriented Activity Patterns in Historic Cairo. In the absence of the opportunity to conduct a full scale field survey of the entire Core Area several the plan is to:

- Initial mapping of existing knowledge (for Intermediate Report).
- Walk-through visits to update areas covered by previous studies conducted by the consultant.
- Walk-through visits to explore areas NOT covered by previous studies.

In accordance with this plan, several maps were produced from the available data mainly the CAPMAS census detailed land use data (2006) and the URHC Street Field Survey data (2011) available to 58 shiakhass of the Core Area covered so far.

The census data provides a detailed indication of the type of nonresidential activity at the level of each shiakhass. For the purpose of the study, the 1176 different activities from the census data were summarized into 57 activities that were then categorized into four broad categories as shown in Figure (1):

- Manufacturing: All industrial products; heavy and light industries or handicrafts.
- Commercial: All products "SOLD"; either to use it directly or to use it in another "PRODUCTION" process.
- Public Services: All "nonprofit" services and activities offered by government sector or private sector.
- Free Enterprise: All businesses and services that excluding trading or manufacturing; wither it were educational activities, sports, cultural, medical storing, hostels, office work... etc..

The categories were then mapped for the 90 shiakhass of the Core Area separately using a dot density to represent the frequency of occurrence of each category of activities in each shiakhass (see Maps 1, 2, 3, 4).

Table 1. Distribution of nonresidents activities within Historic Cairo limits (CAPMAS, 2006).

District "Qesm"	Population	Area (Km2)	Manufacturing	Commercial (Sales)	Free Enterprise	Services
Abdien	18303	271.108	754	780	196	162
Al-Azbakeyya	10715	0.185	396	1263	114	60
Al-Darb Al-Ahmar	60488	1.828	3558	4908	414	353
Al-Gamaleyya	49834	2.034	4801	8174	642	387
Al-Muski	21174	1.607	2989	6755	1659	214
Al-Khalifa	98497	326.981	1675	2698	466	450
Al-Sayyeda Zeinab	53886	1.051	903	1511	312	422
Bab Al-She'reya	54084	0.974	2965	2224	487	311
Boulaq	18454	1.510	753	2710	178	107
Mansheyyet Nasser	13258	2.002	423	323	52	69
Masr Al-Qadima (-)	35485	2.327	399	953	223	142
Totals	434178	611.6057	19616	32299	4743	2677

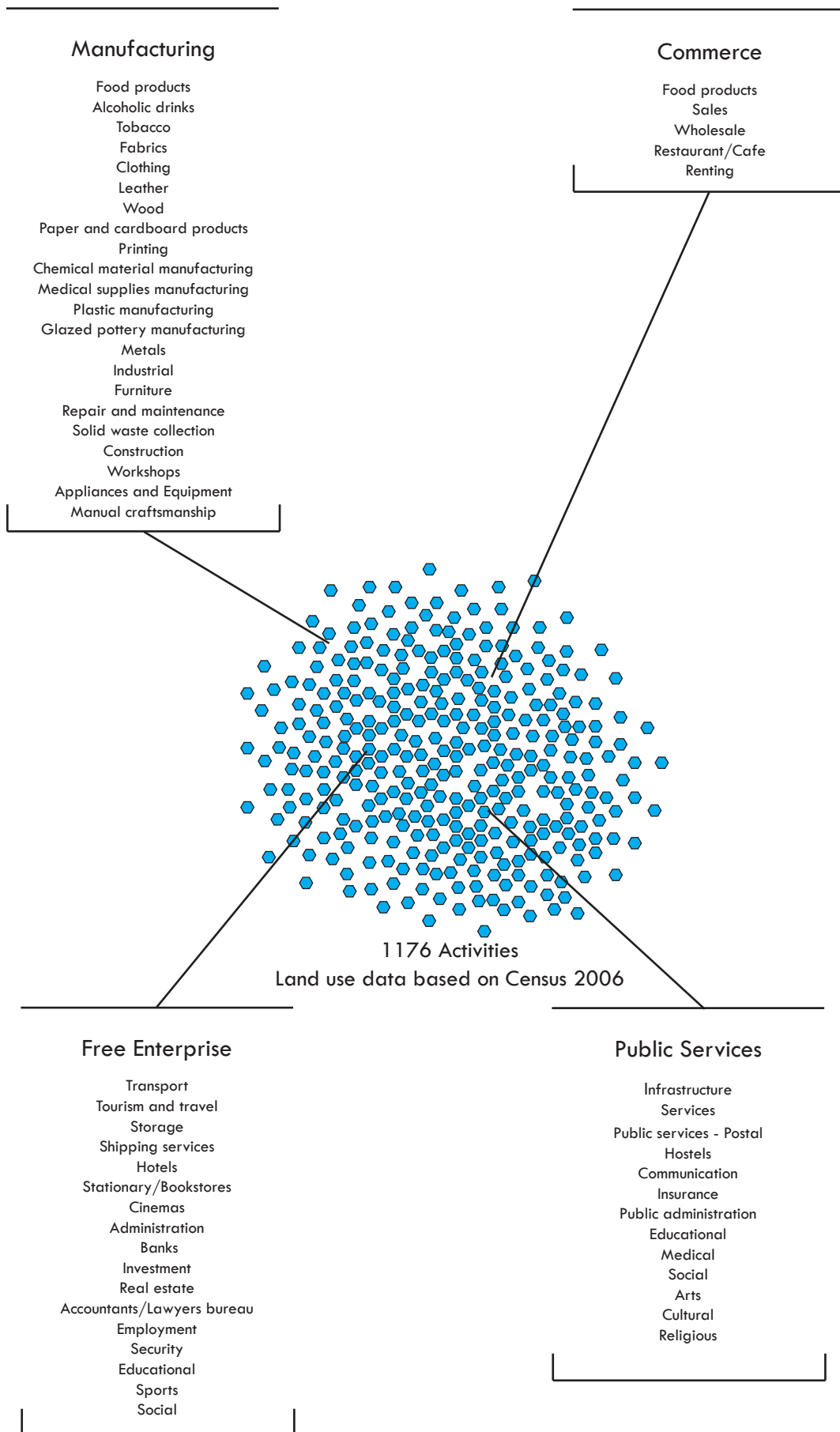
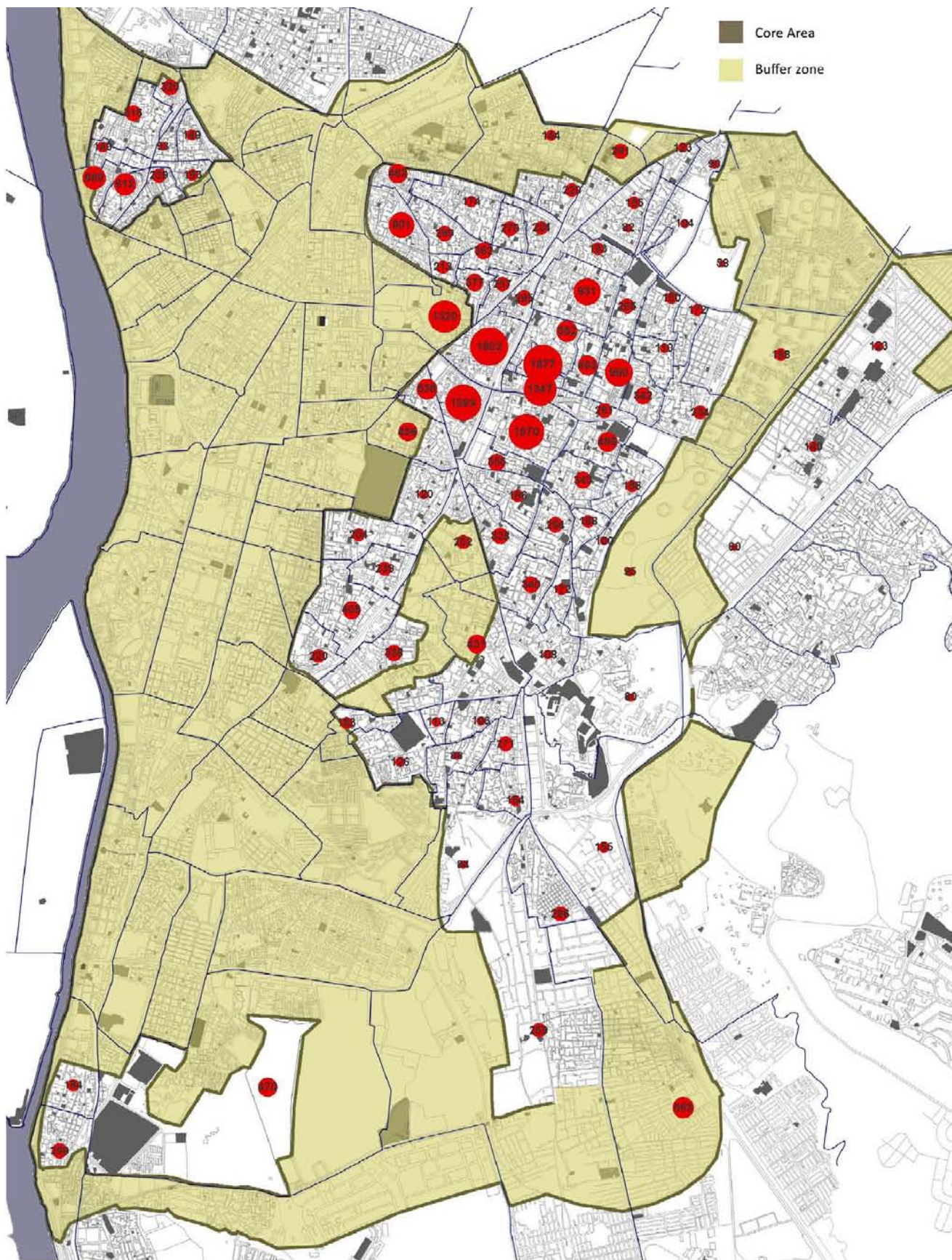


Figure 1. Summarizing CAPMAS Census 2006 land use activities into categories



Legend

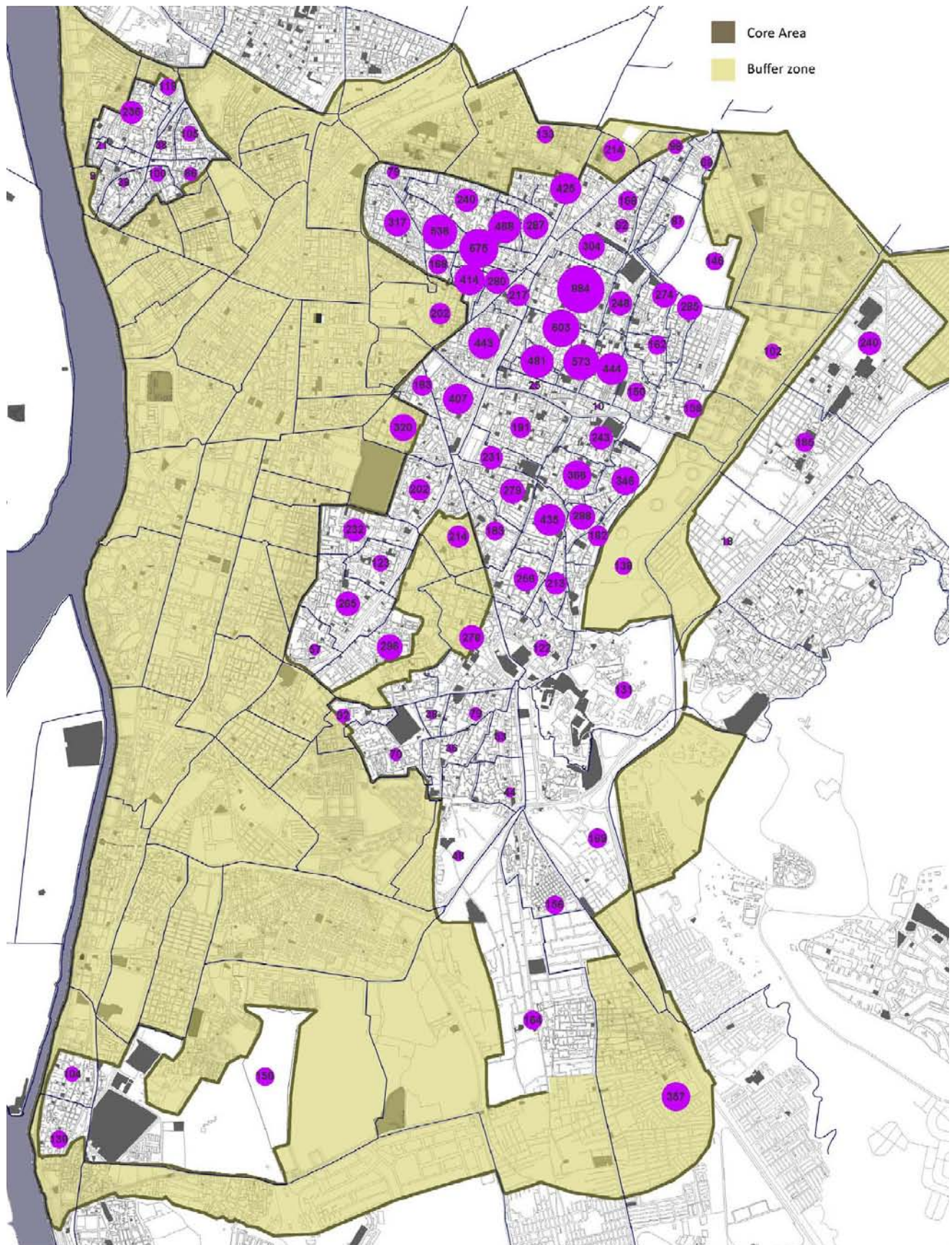
Commercial Distribution

- 100
- 500

• 1,000

* Dot size is proportional to count of locations which is written in black on top of point

Map 1. Distribution of commercial activities based on 2006 Census land use data



Legend

Manufacturing Distribution

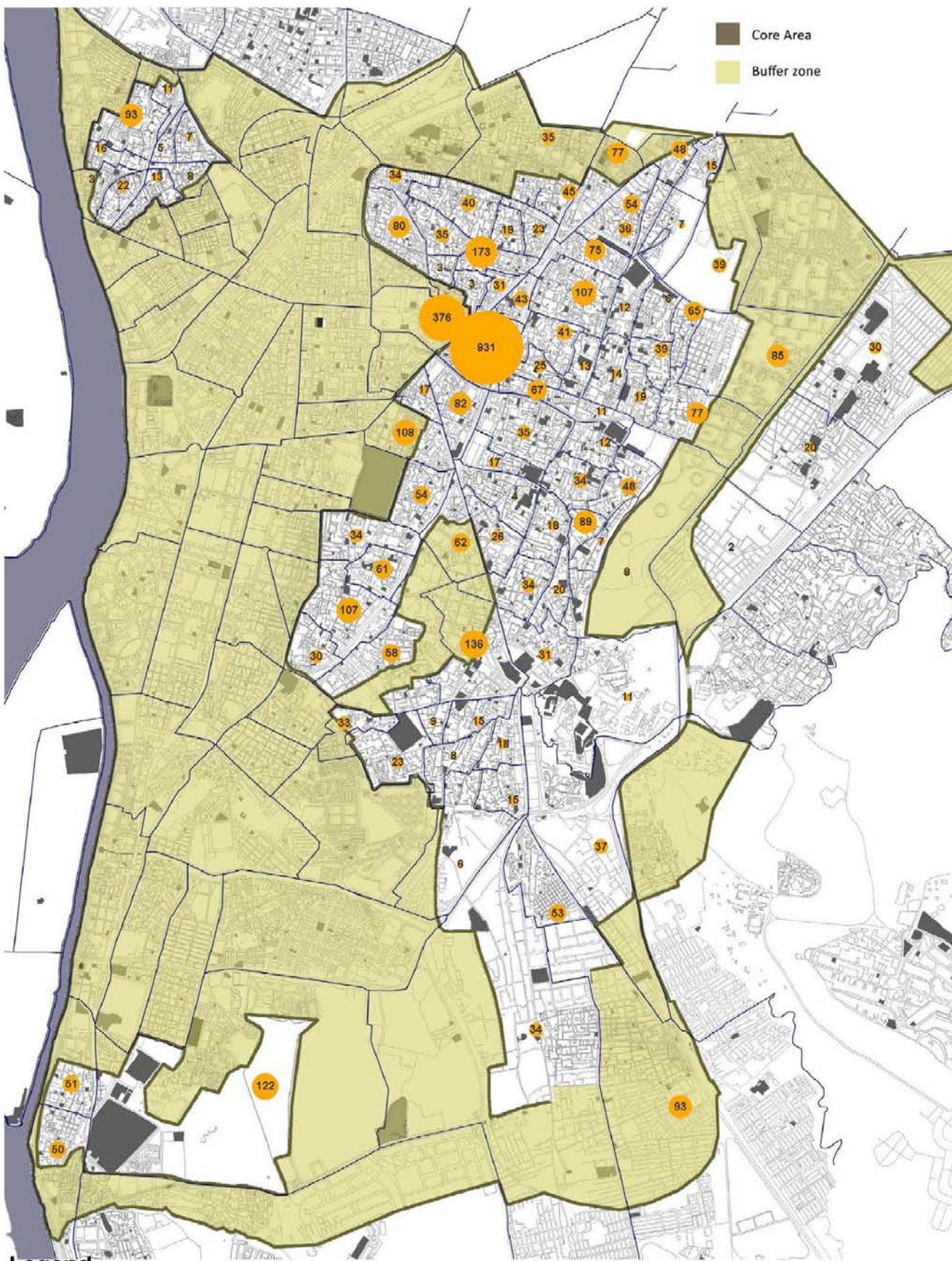
• 10

• 100

• 1,000

* Dot size is proportional to count of locations which is written in black on top of point

Map 2. Distribution of manufacturing activities based on 2006 Census land use data



Legend

Free Enterprises Distribution

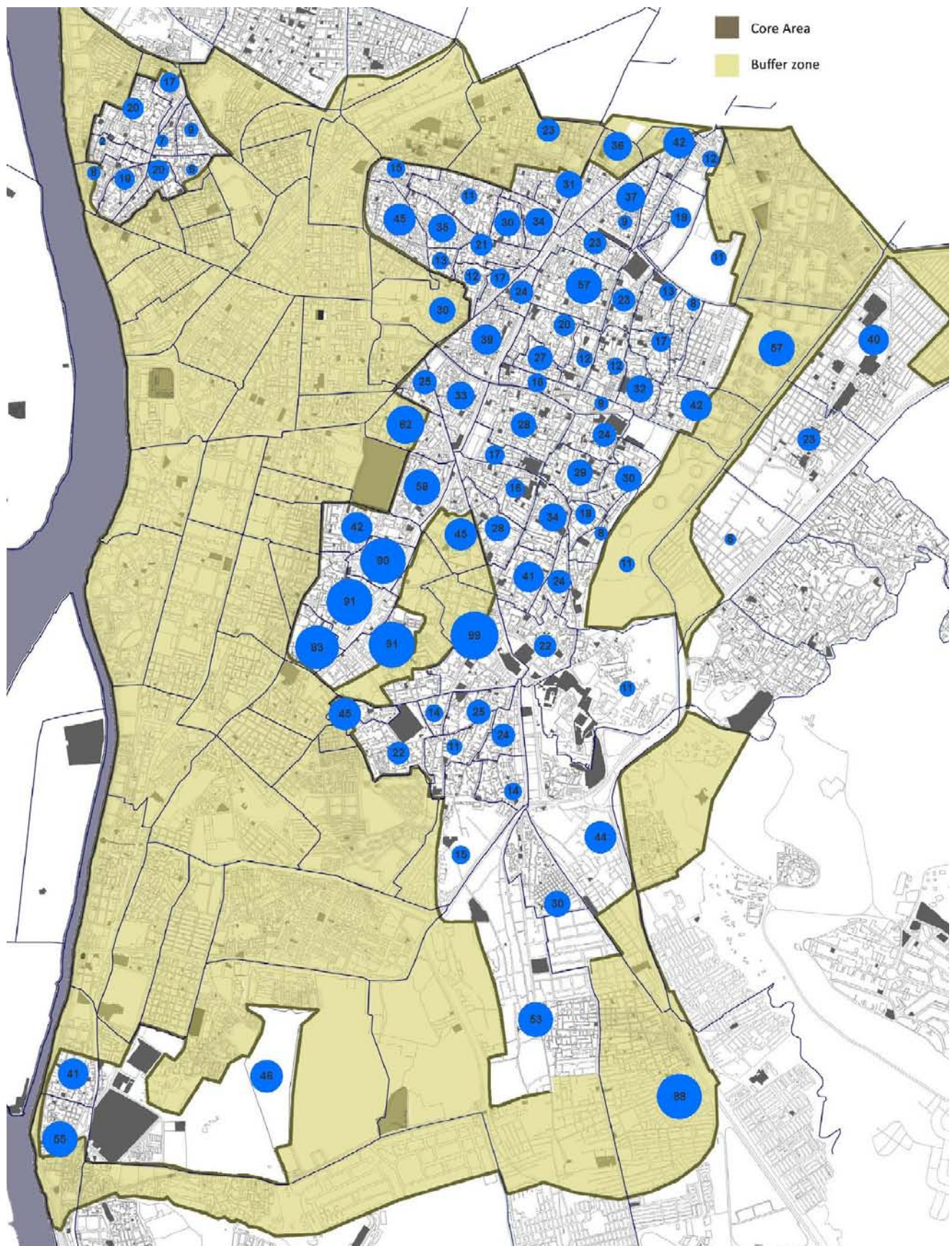
1
10



1,000

* Dot size is proportional to count of locations which is written in black on top of point

Map 3. Distribution of free enterprise based on 2006 Census land use data



Legend

Public Services Distribution

• 1

● 10
● 100

* Dot size is proportional to count of locations which is written in black on top of point

Map 4. Distribution of public services based on 2006 Census land use data

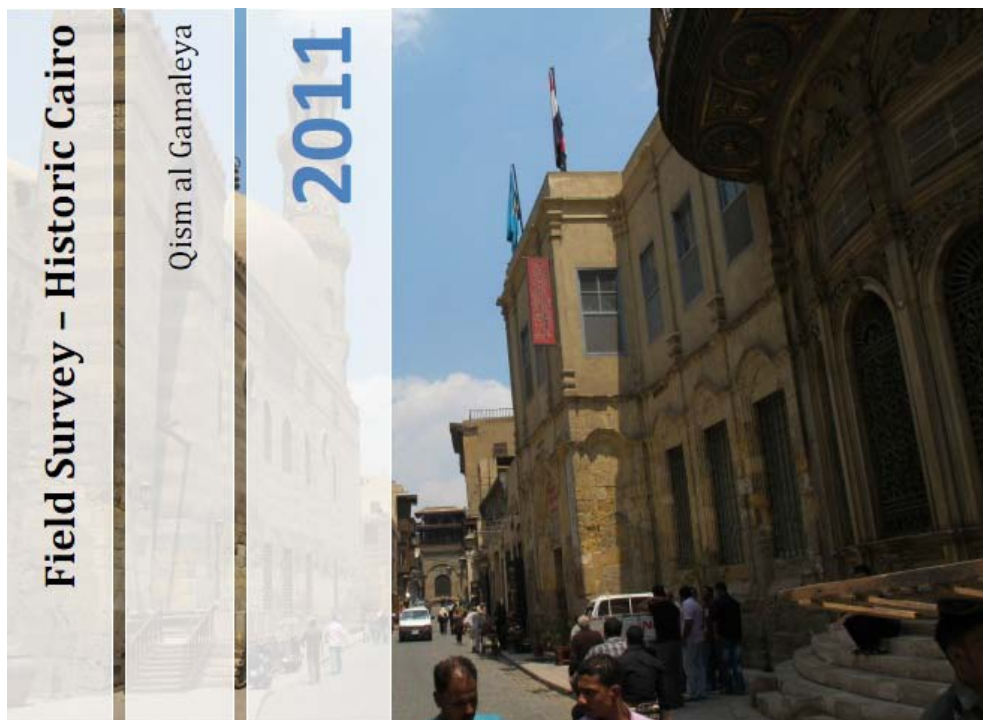
It is evident from the maps that manufacturing-related activities are a strong characteristic of HC. Especially in the districts of Al-Gammaleya, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar and Bab Al-She'reya. It is also evident that concentrations of commercial 'sales' activities are in close proximity to concentrations of manufacturing-related activities.

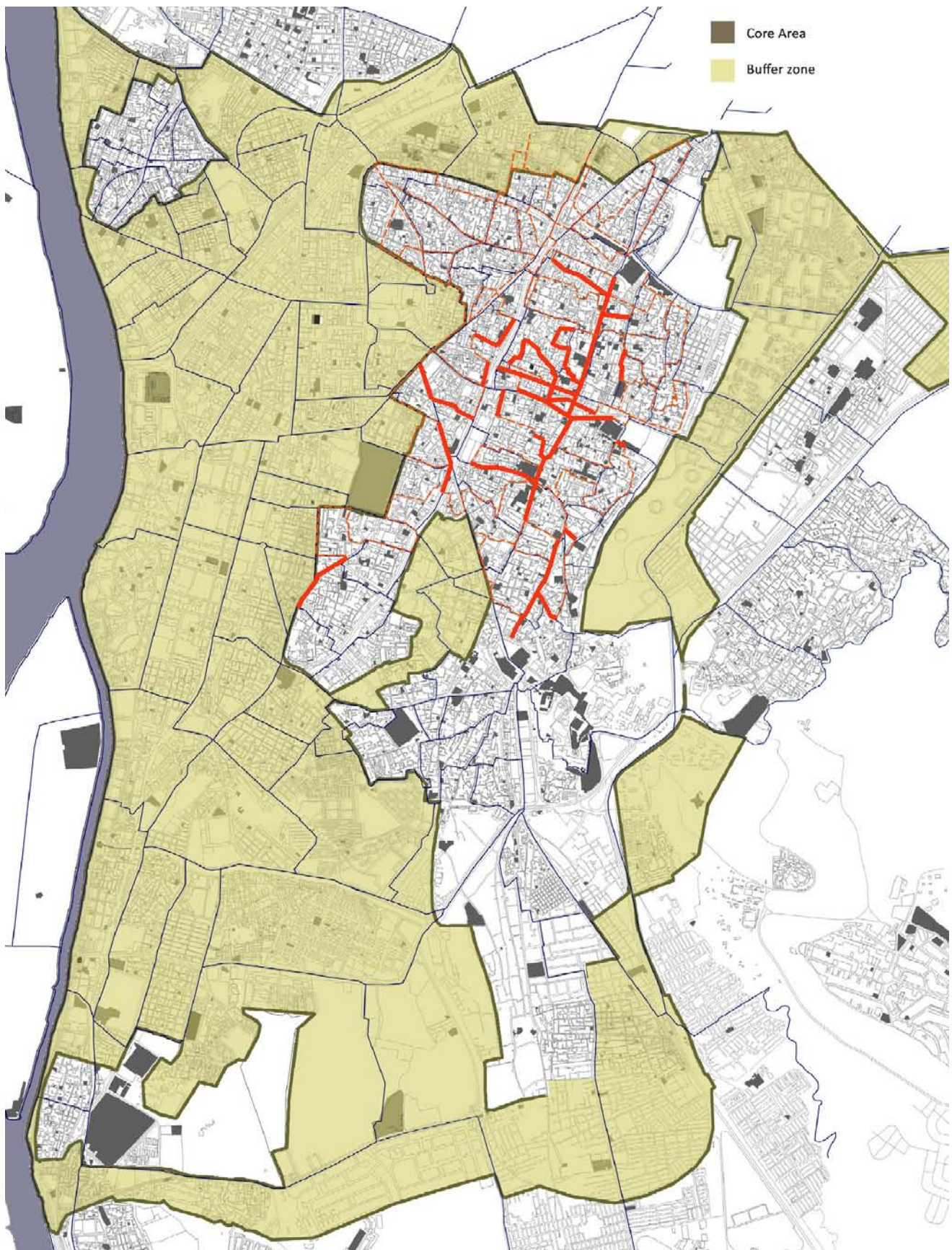
Another source was the URHC Street Field Survey (2011), where each street surveyed was assessed across five measures, one measure being the level of nonresidential activity visible in that street. The scale of assessment ranged from 1 (low activity) to 3 (high activity). Streets that were assigned a score of 3 were mapped on the Core Area map for all 58 shiakhas that were surveyed so far by the URHC team (see map 5). However, this data source is limited to the streets that the URHC team chose to survey in each shiakhha.

Although far from conclusive, this measure of concentration of community-oriented activity patterns in public space confirms that many streets in Al-Gammaleya and Al-Darb Al-Ahmar have a significantly high concentration of community-oriented activity patterns (street segments with a score 3 or 4). It adds spatial knowledge to the statistics presented by the CAPMAS data. For example, while Al-Muski district houses a high number of commercial and manufacturing activities those activities are concentrated along fewer streets than in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. However, the survey is strongly biased due to the time of day it was implemented in (starting 9:00am) since most shops and workshops operate around noon, moreover, some activity patterns intensify mainly in the evening.

Table (2) Assessment of activity level on streets in URHC Street Field Survey (URHC, 2011)

District "Qesm"	Count of Shiakhha	Count of Street Segments (0)	Count of Street Segments (1)	Count of Street Segments (2)	Count of Street Segments (3)	Total Count of Street Segments
Abdien	3	2	7	6	2	17
Al-Azbakeyya	2	0	3	5	0	8
Al-Darb Al Ahmar	14	0	30	26	23	79
Al-Gammaleya	14	12	24	17	25	78
Al-Muski	8	1	8	15	6	30
Al-Sayyeda Zeinab	5	6	16	3	2	27
Bab Al- She'reya	12	7	30	13	0	50
Totals	58	28	118	85	58	289





Legend

- Street recorded as high activities
- Survey not complete

Map 5. Summarizing CAPMAS 2006 land use activities into categories

The AKTC land use map of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district (see Figure 2) shows that the spatial distribution of manufacturing and commercial activities is highly integrated with the residential fabric. However, this integration followed a socio-spatial logic that manifested itself in certain activity patterns with varying degrees of publicness. This logic is increasingly challenged in the past decades where a key transformation in use and/or modality of appropriation of public space triggers a series of changes that would eventually weaken, or completely replace, one activity pattern by another.

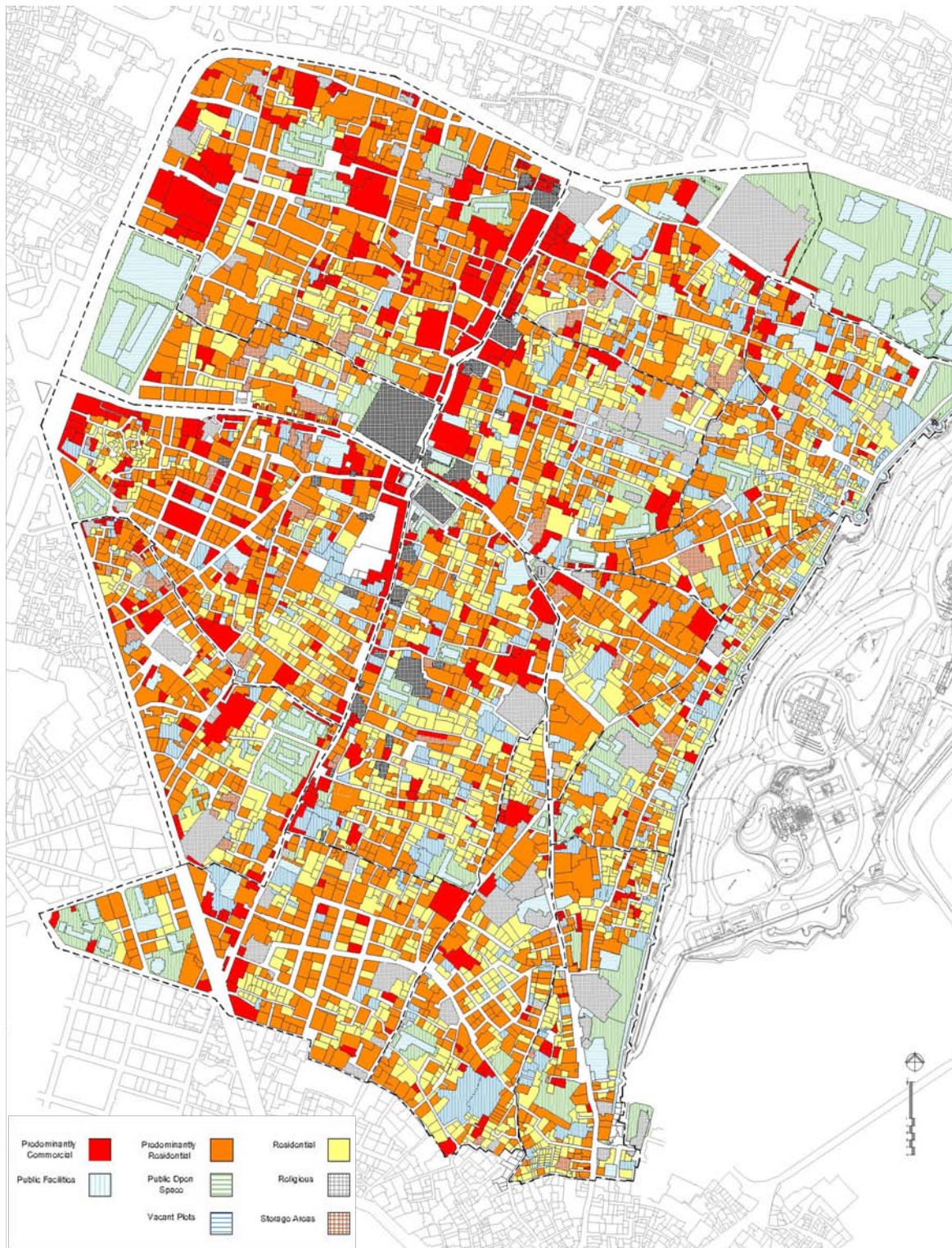


Figure 2. Land Use Map of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar based on a 2007 Survey (AKTC, 2009). The predominantly residential fabric consists of workshops/shops in the ground floor of residential buildings, while the predominantly commercial plots are mostly clustered workshops either in large plots/ruins or a new multi-storey building completely occupied by manufacturing activity (e.g. shoe-making).

More detailed data exists for some shiakhnas of certain districts Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, where all streets in seven shiakhnas were surveyed in 2010 indicating the detailed activity of each ground floor use along each street but without actually locating it on a map (Map 6 indicates the number and type of establishments at street level by name of street). Another limitation of this survey is that it is limited to the ground floor uses only and does not include nonresidential uses in upper floors of buildings or those occupying an entire building but with no particular street frontage beyond the building entrance.

All above assessments of concentration of community-oriented activities are punctuated by the case study areas that document and analyse the spatial distribution of seminal community-oriented activity patterns in selected districts of Historic Cairo. From those case studies one may conclude that **small and medium-sized workshops are spatially distributed in a dispersed manner within the urban fabric of districts whereas commercial and sales activities are usually concentrated along the main paths.** The degree of 'publicness' of those commercial paths increases towards the more accessible ends where those paths meet the city-scale multi-modal mobility routes as is the case with the outer segments of Suq Al-Selah Street and Ahmad Maher Street in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, and Bab Al-Bahr Street in Bab Al-She'reya. Al-Mu'izz Street, being the main commercial spine; the "qassaba" throughout history, it sustains its high concentration of commercial activity. However, although Al-Mu'izz also maintains a high degree of publicness throughout its length, the degree of publicness increases towards the two ends; with Al-Ghoureyya Clothing, Shoes and Bedding Market from the Northern end and Al-Megharbeleen Food Market from the Southern end.



Figure 3. The two main commercial paths in Bab Al-She'reya showing the location of wholesale markets

3. Use of Public Space

3. a. Modalities of Appropriation of Public Space

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the different modalities of appropriation of public space, whether it is an aerial/nodal or linear space; a street (share' or hara), a dead-end alley (zoqaq, atfa...) or an open space (midan). Several case study spaces are selected, in addition to the activity patterns discussed earlier, to demonstrate the variation in those modalities.

By looking at similarities and differences in the modality of use and appropriation of public space across activity settings and patterns, we were able to identify a few key factors that, together, create the opportunity for each modality of appropriation to occur. **This would serve to understand forces of transformation in the urban fabric of Historic Cairo and better predict the possible dynamics that may take place as a consequence to certain interventions. Looked at differently, understanding these dynamics would guide interventions towards sustainable solutions.**

Key Factors

Factors influencing the modality of appropriation of public space include:

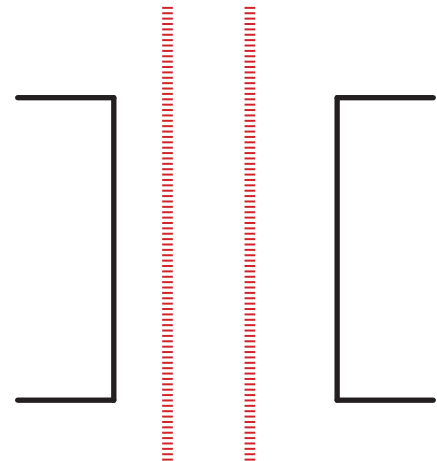
- Right of Way – RoW (associated numbers, who?, pedestrian, vehicular...etc..)
- Space
- Affordances / Anchor(s)
- Need (in the surrounding area)
- Rules

Right of Way – RoW:

The physical component of the right-of-way is the unobstructed space left clear to allow the passage of pedestrians or vehicles or both. This description is complemented by a more social component that involves describing the following:

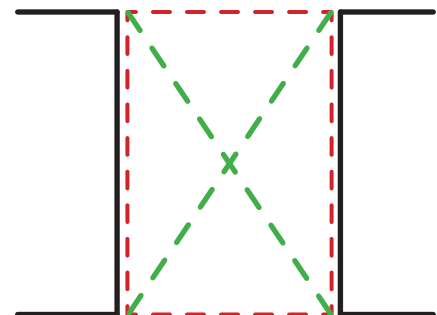
- The numbers of passersby,
- Their diversity (where do they come from: immediate locale – within the district – several surrounding districts – entire metro city and beyond.
- Their destination (within the Space – outside the Space).

The variation in the origin of passersby is considered to be associated with the degree of 'publicness' of the space; it is assumed that the farther they come from, the wider their diversity, the greater the degree of 'publicness' of the public space. It should not be overlooked that the numbers and diversity of passersby in a RoW is a manifestation of the characteristics of the urban fabric.



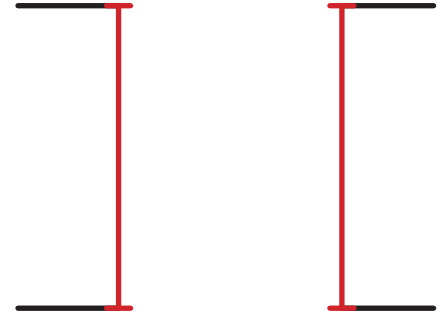
Space:

The characteristics of the physical space; its dimensions, proportions, as well as the permeability of the edges and what uses lay beyond them are determinants of the affordances of the space. In other words, the space characteristic sets the possibilities or potential opportunities for different activities to occur.



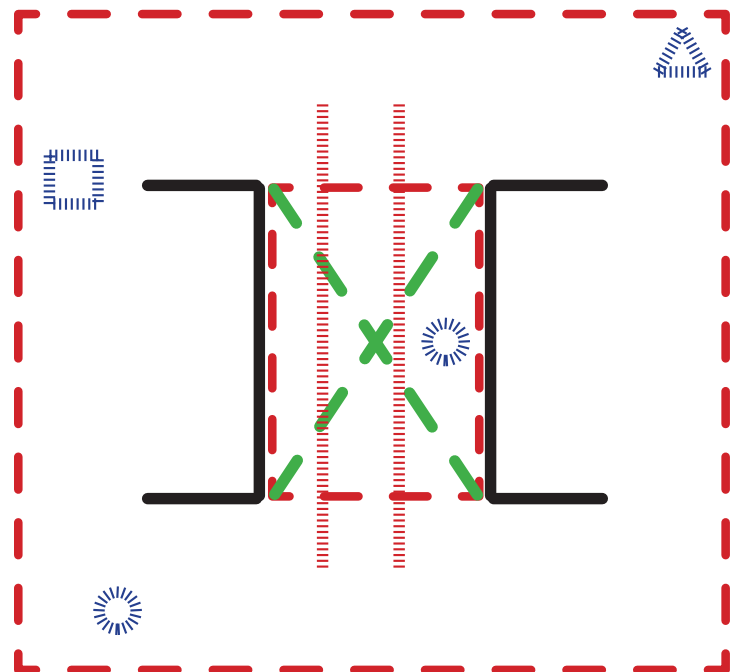
Anchor(s):

The “affordances” in the physical environment are those particular elements that are perceived and utilized by the actors to support an activity setting. Most critical are physical elements that act as an “anchor” to stationary behaviour. They attract a spectrum of stationary behaviours, both negative and positive. The analysis aims at discerning the role played by certain characteristics of the fixed or semi-fixed feature elements of the built environment against which a certain activity takes place.



Need:

Wherever there is a number of passersby (a RoW), an anchor that affords support to stationary behavior, and a space to accommodate such behavior an activity pattern has the opportunity to appear in a public space. Depending of the conditions of each of the above factors, number of passersby, width of space... etc. the possibilities differ. The last factor that influences WHAT activity would appear in the public space is the **need** in the surrounding areas. The need for income generation opportunities is high among most of the residents of HC, and therefore it comes as no surprise that, more often than not, the activity settings that appear in public spaces involve at least one actor who makes an income out of it. Furthermore, the activity itself responds to yet another **need** of the surrounding community; a need for a certain service for example.



Rules:

Appropriation of public space follows certain rules. These rules are partly rooted in **socio-cultural norms and value systems shared by the collective** in every community, and partly influenced by the practiced mode of governance and people’s reaction to it (laws and regulations...etc.). It is beyond the scope of this study to discern and discuss these value systems, but it is useful to address their manifestations and so in the analysis of the case studies, rules themselves will not be discussed but rather their proxy manifestations such as:

1. Who appropriates? From the EDGE of the space – from OUTSIDE the space.
2. Degree of control – appropriate part of the space or the entire space, or even the RoW.
3. Degree of ‘publicness’ of adjacent spaces.

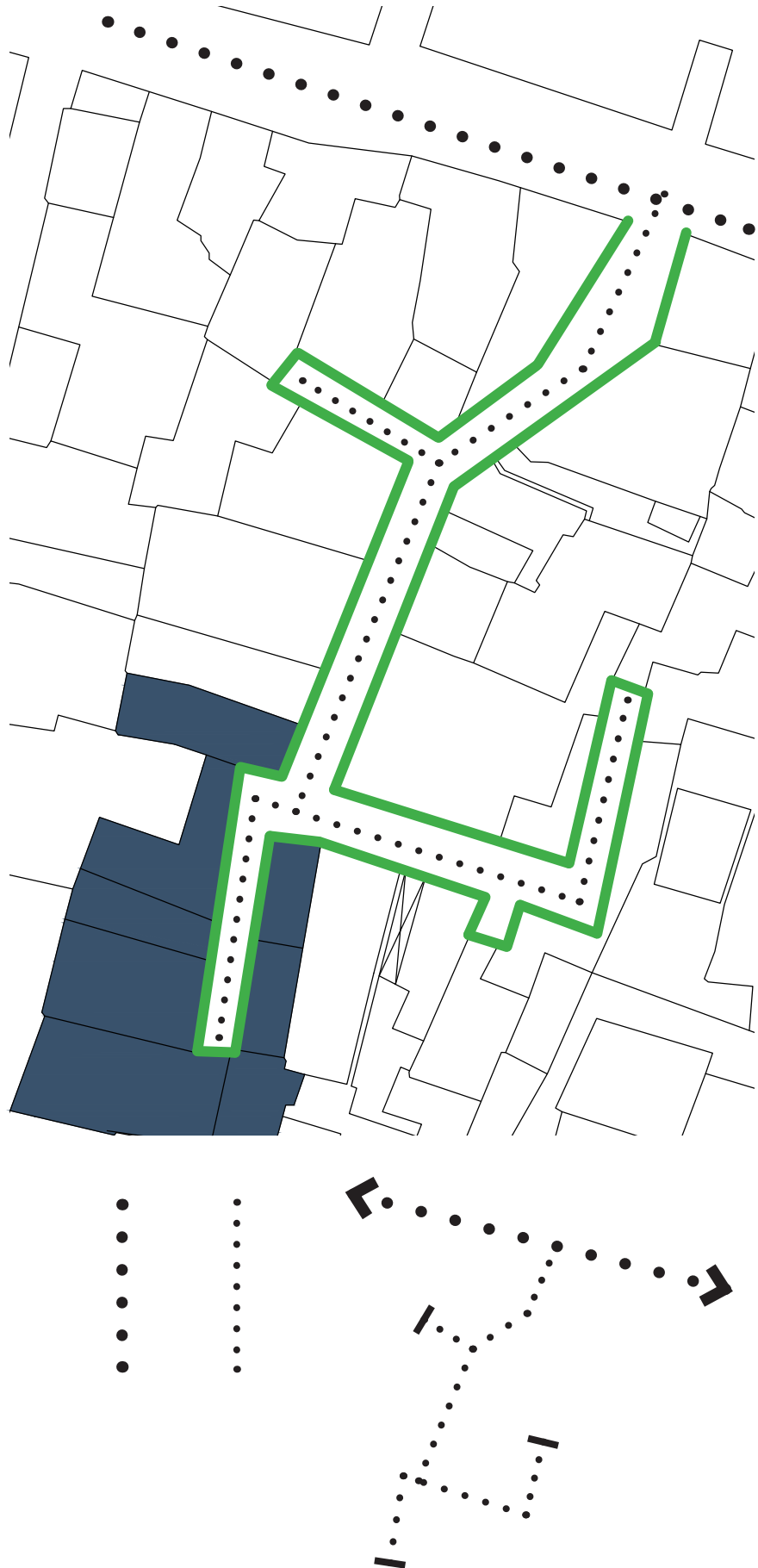
ANALYSIS OF CASES

MODALITIES OF APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN
HISTORIC CAIRO

Modality of Appropriation of public space

Darb Al-Assal is one of the well-known branching alleys from the main thoroughfare Al-Shambaky / Tawash / Al-Sabban Street. It is marked by the cigarette kiosk, the coffee/tea shack and the honey merchant's shop and building in its entrance. Until the 1980s, Darb Al-Assal maintained a family atmosphere. The wealthy honey merchant takes up the role of guardian towards the alley; he would pay for garbage collection and any major repair in any of the dwelling occupied by poor residents. There was even a time when he erected a temporary shelter in the alley for a household whose old residence had collapsed. In the 1980s, a new eight-storey building was constructed inside one of the three dead-end alleys inside the Darb to be occupied by shoe making workshops. Although these workshops do not attract any clients, they still introduce employees into the residential Darb; a fact which decreases the level of privacy for residents and changes the modality of appropriation of public space.

In 2011, the Darb was found to be strongly dominated by workshops and old traditional buildings, with 3-4 households each, were replaced by newer, larger apartment buildings 5-6 storey high. What happened was a total transformation of the Darb, its activity patterns and modalities of appropriation of public space.



Case Study: Darb Al-Assal

SPACE

The funnel-shaped entrance of the alley leads to three dead-end alleys and one central wider space. The broken access shields the remaining spaces of the Darb from the passersby along the main thoroughfare.

RIGHT-of-WAY

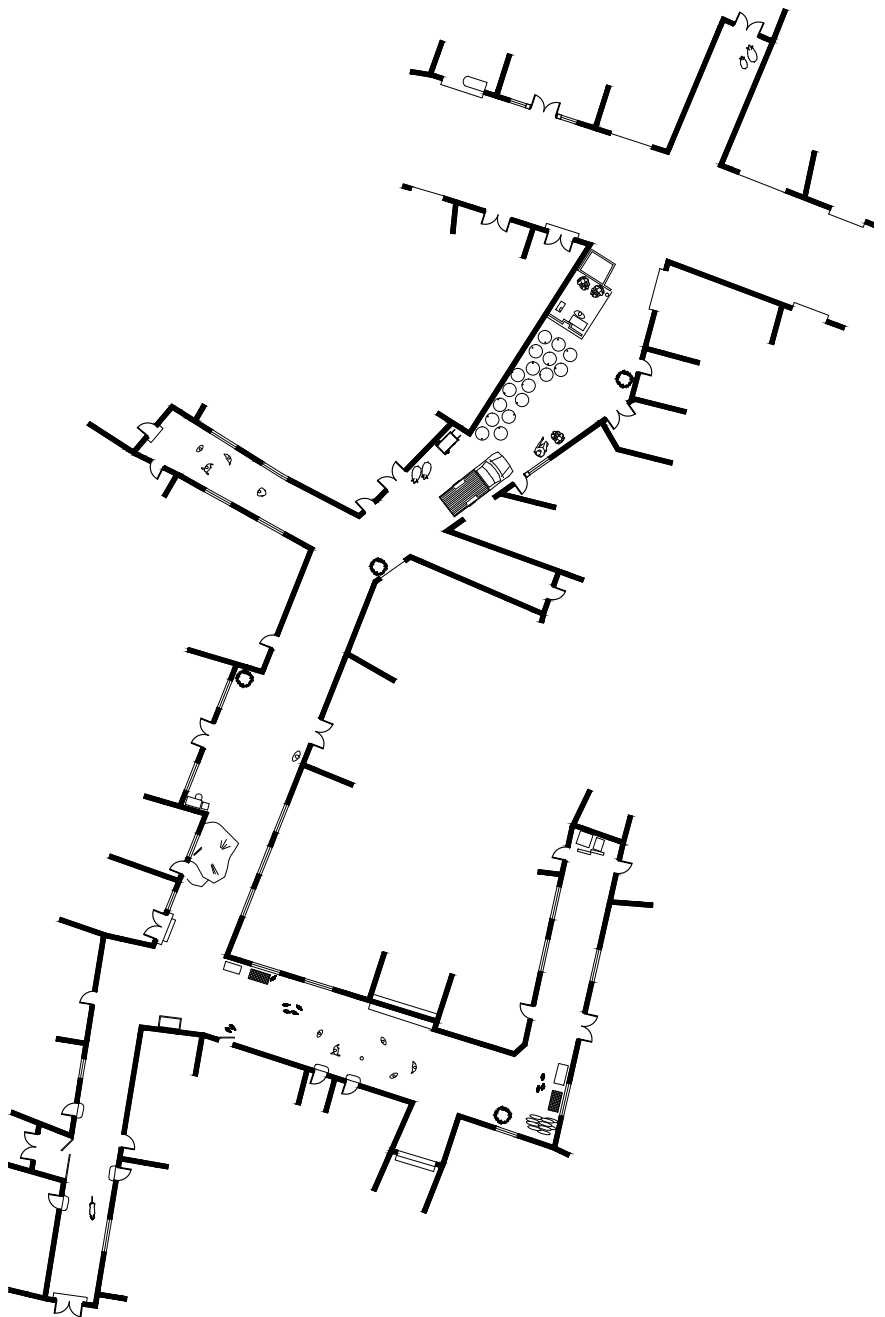
In 1987, no one would have entered the Darb without being asked who he wanted; first by the honey merchant, and then by any resident looking out of a ground floor window. Inside the alleys, the **RoW** is defused within the activity settings in the public space and there is no category 'passersby' since all destinations are within the spaces. By 2011, the diffusion of **RoW** still persists but the number and diversity of people who enter the Darb has significantly increased and the control over the **RoW** decreased. Vehicles ventured deeper almost occupying the central space of the Darb.

ANCHOR

Solid walls of the traditional residential buildings are still the main anchors against which all activity settings develop. This was especially evident at the funnel-shaped entrance that was completely appropriated by the honey merchant.

NEED

The transformation of Darb Al-Assal may as well reflect a transformation of perception from "use value" to "exchange value". It may be that when the appropriation of the public space for domestic activities was disrupted, the perceived value of living in the Darb decreased, thus facilitating the displacement of the traditional residential buildings of the edge by more financially profitable patterns of residence and income generation such as workshops.



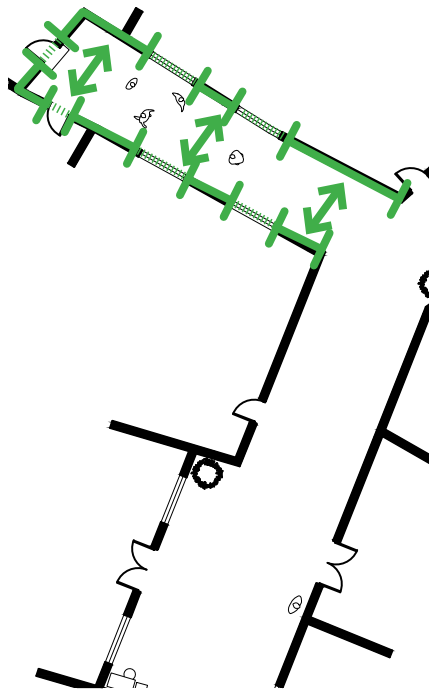
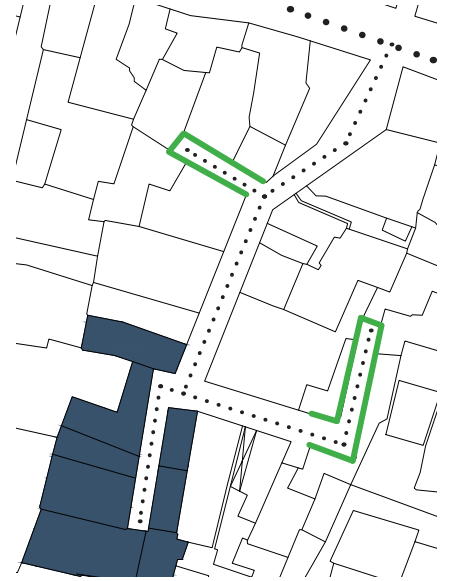
RULES

In earlier days, the use of the inner alleys of "Darb Al-Assal" as a space for spill-out of dwelling activities; a playground for young children, a place to raise poultry and women to move freely in their 'home' clothes. Started only beyond the bend which visually screens it from the main spine. Nowadays, the actors from the edge of the space who appropriate the public space have changed and the dominance is by workshops rather than residents who shyly pass beside the parked trucks and the piles of stored workshop products.

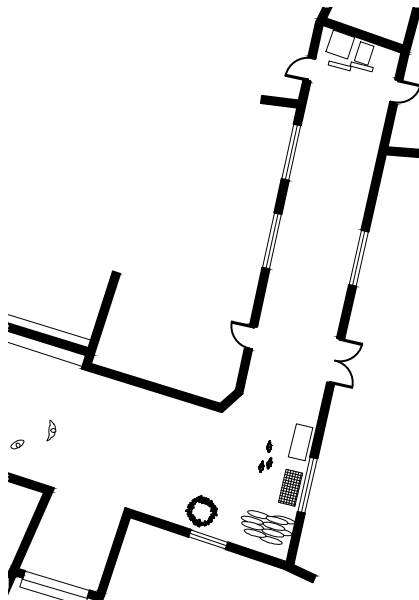
Case Study: Darb Al-Assal

Setting (b): Residential dead-ends

In 1987, two of the three dead-end alleys were still flanked by two-to-three-storey traditional buildings and used as extensions of home activities by different neighbours. This spill-out of dwelling activities included sitting in summer with neighbours, receiving guests, young children playing safely, women sitting in their home clothes preparing food, keeping poultry or storing old furniture, etc. These activities occurred in the central space as well since it enjoyed equal visual privacy from the Darb's entrance. Women used to dress more formally as soon as they go beyond the bend at the entrance of the Darb out to the public domain; Al-Shambaky street.



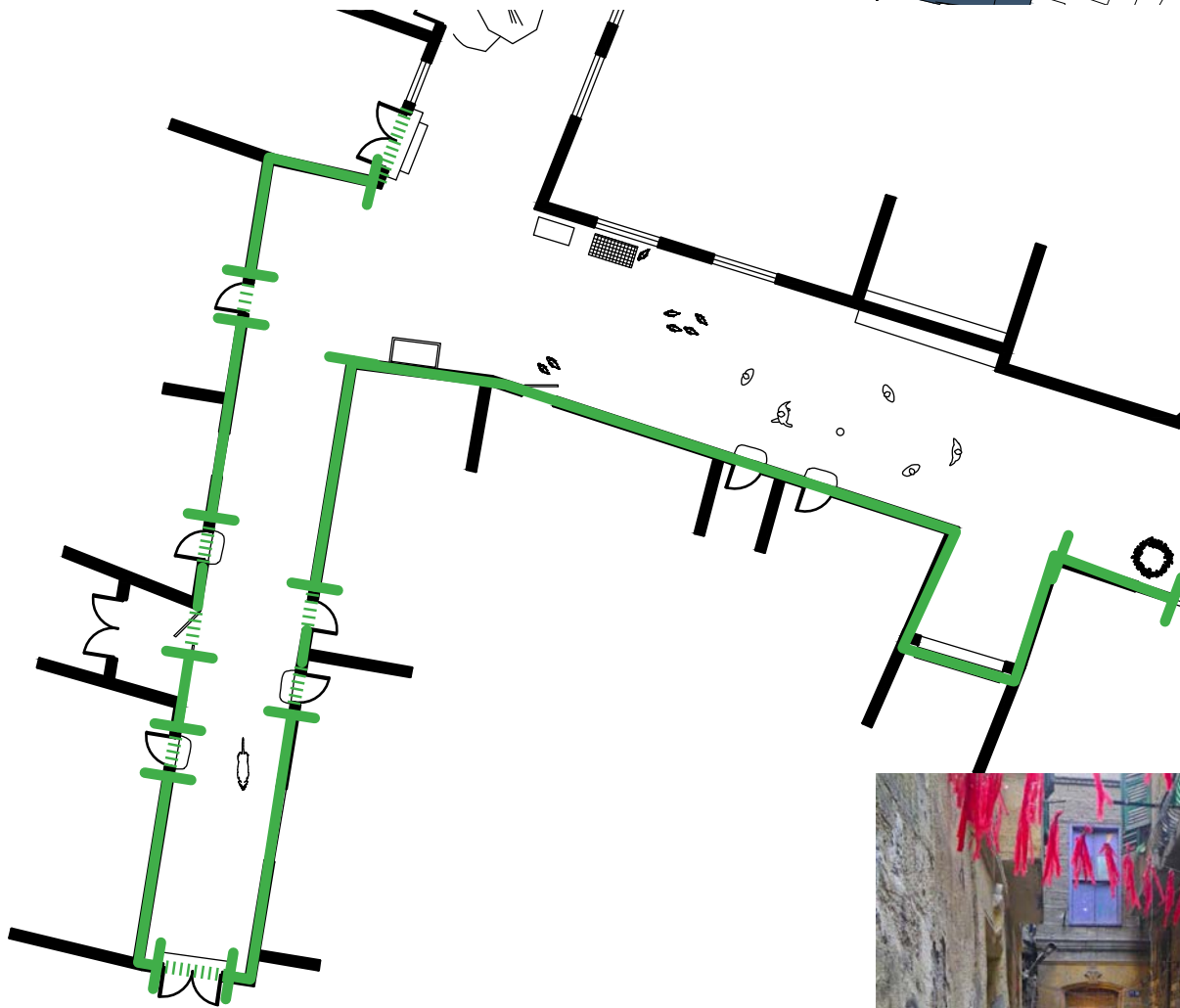
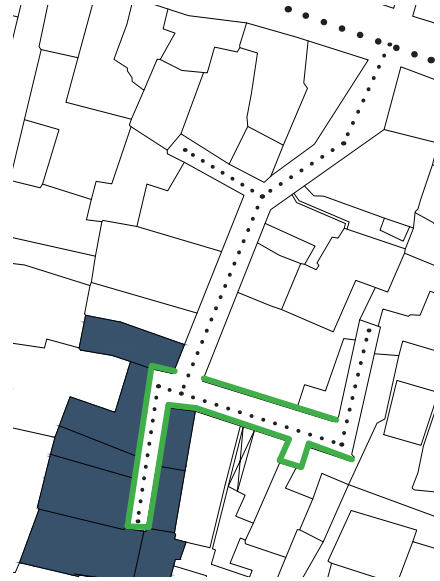
In 2011, while the two dead-end alleys still maintain some of the dwelling spill-out activity pattern. Car parking appears as a need, and takes place where space allows it. The central space, however, has totally changed.



Modality of Appropriation of public space

Setting (c): Space in Transformation

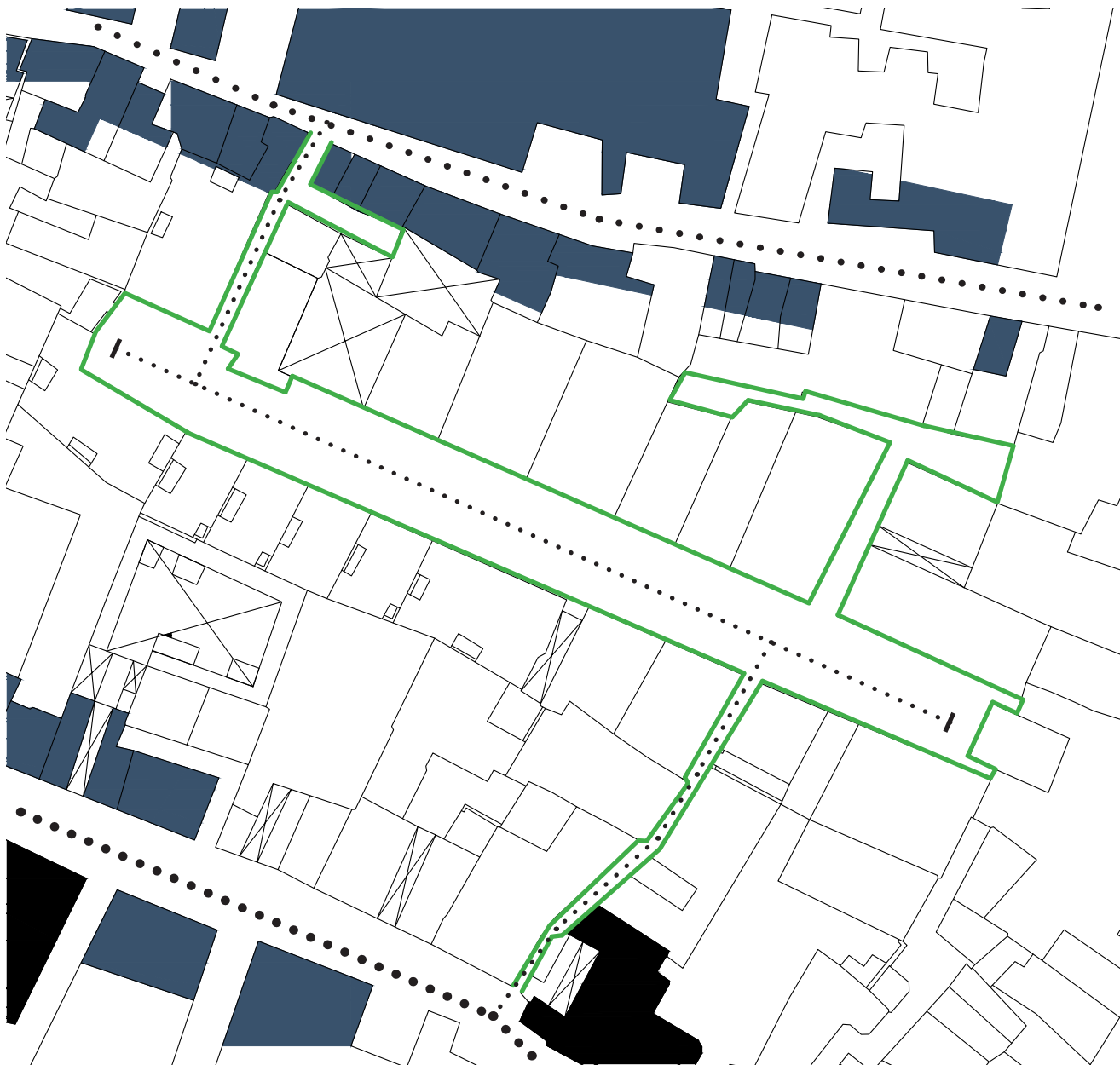
The third dead-end alley, although similar in width and length of space, had witnessed the first trigger of transformation as early as the 1980's. The increase in density of households (new apartment buildings with more households) which makes it harder to manage the use of the shared space, and the introduction of a vertical cluster of workshops brought strangers into the alley; shoemakers shared the **RoW**. This factor over the years, caused the activity pattern that used to occur in the central space of Darb Al-Assal to gradually disappear. Dwelling spill-out activities are not seen anymore and parked trucks, workshop products occupy the space the ground floors of new structures have commercial spaces, mostly for storage and workshops use, they do not function as **anchor** for dwelling activities as they used to. Appropriation is still by actors from the edge, but the actors themselves have been replaced.



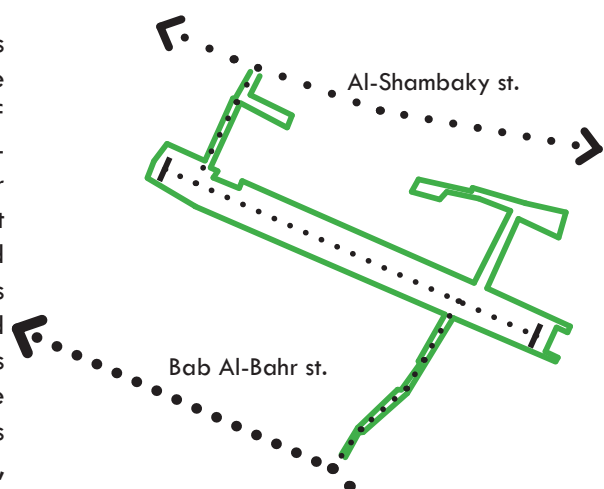
Case Study: Darb Al-Assal



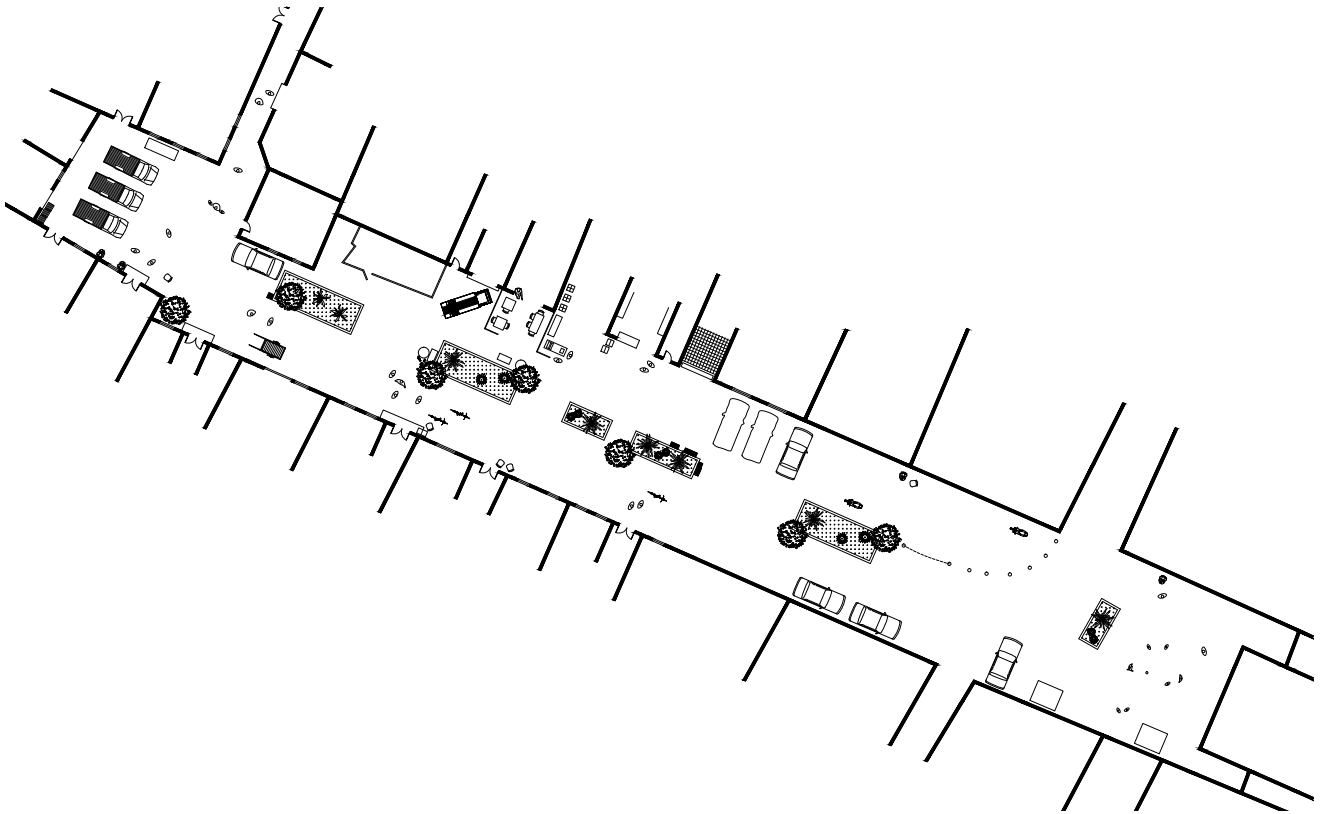
Modality of Appropriation of public space



“Genenet Moftah” or the garden of “Moftah” as it translates from Arabic, is distinguished for being the largest open space in the district; like an island in the compact urban pattern of Bab Al-She’reya. It is one of the few connecting spaces between the two main thoroughfares in the district (Bab Al-Bahr and Al- Shambaky / Tawash / Al-Sabban Street). Apart from the few large warehouse plots used for storing wood and sweets the general atmosphere of “Genenet Moftah” is residential with apartment buildings, a few neighbourhood shops and a few workshops. What is particular about this space is the introduction of several physical elements to the space through collective action by residents and workshops from the surrounding buildings. The purpose was two-fold, beautification and more importantly, the spatial organization of activities within the space.



Case Study: Genenet Mofteh



SPACE

The planters that were added in the 1980s along the middle of the space, divide it into two linear spaces; one for the **RoW**, and one for more stationary activities such as parking cars. Football playing, which used to occupy the entire space before this addition and was a nuisance to all, became limited to the rectangular space at the western dead-end. Later, more planters were added and other territorial markers to reinforce the division between the two linear spaces expressing a need to better control the stationary activity space and add more **anchors** to intensify the activity settings within it.

RIGHT-of-WAY

Although accessible from both sides and connecting two busy district streets, the constricted access to the space does not encourage much through-traffic and helps sustain the introvert feeling perceived by residents. There are hardly any visitors from outside the district who would walk this route. The degree of 'publicness' is therefore much less than the two streets it connects with their thematic markets. The small fast food restaurant that had opened up in the mid 1980s did not last long probably because the number of users of the space was not large enough and diverse enough to sustain this business economically.

ANCHOR:

The planters are pivotal in the transformation of the space; beyond the demarcation of **RoW** and appropriated space; they themselves serve as anchors for appropriation. **Anchors** around which to store goods related to the workshops, to park cars, or to place garbage collection receptacles (easily accessible from one side by pedestrians to fill them and from the other side by trucks to empty them).

NEED:

Located in the midst of several wholesale thematic markets, the need that arises from the surroundings is more for storage space than it is for retail shops. In accord with the traditional pattern of having small workshops integrated within the residential fabric, all spaces other than the unobstructed **RoW** are appropriated to fulfil the need for storage or car parking from workshops, warehouses and residential buildings located along the edge.

RULES:

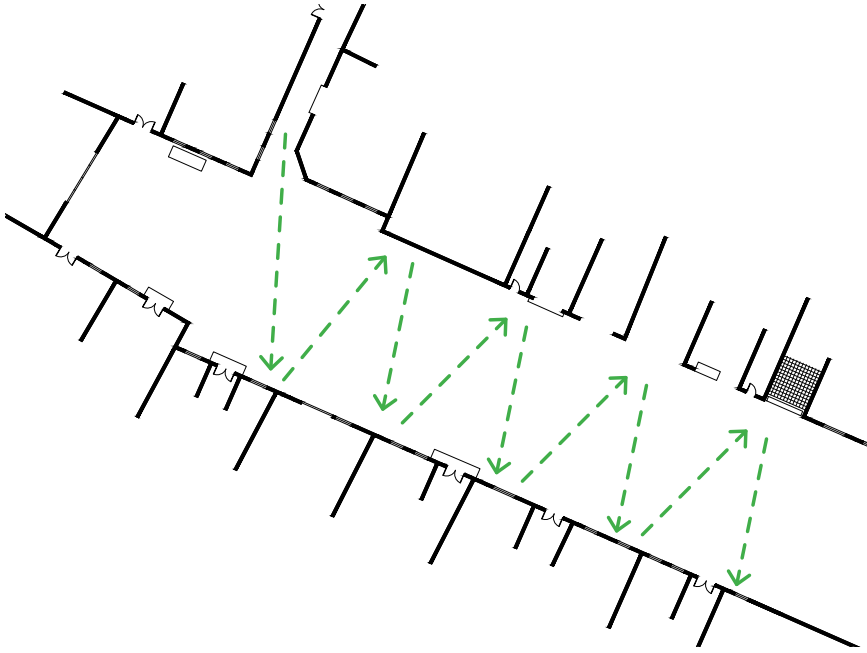
The first planters are proof that community collective action is not uncommon; they were paid for, by affluent residents of "Genenet Mofteh". The addition of more planters reveals a tendency of reinforcing the demarcation of appropriated space probably as an indicator of perceived benefits and a need for space. Like a chain effect, these changes push for more additions of territorial markers.

Modality of Appropriation of public space

The Central Space

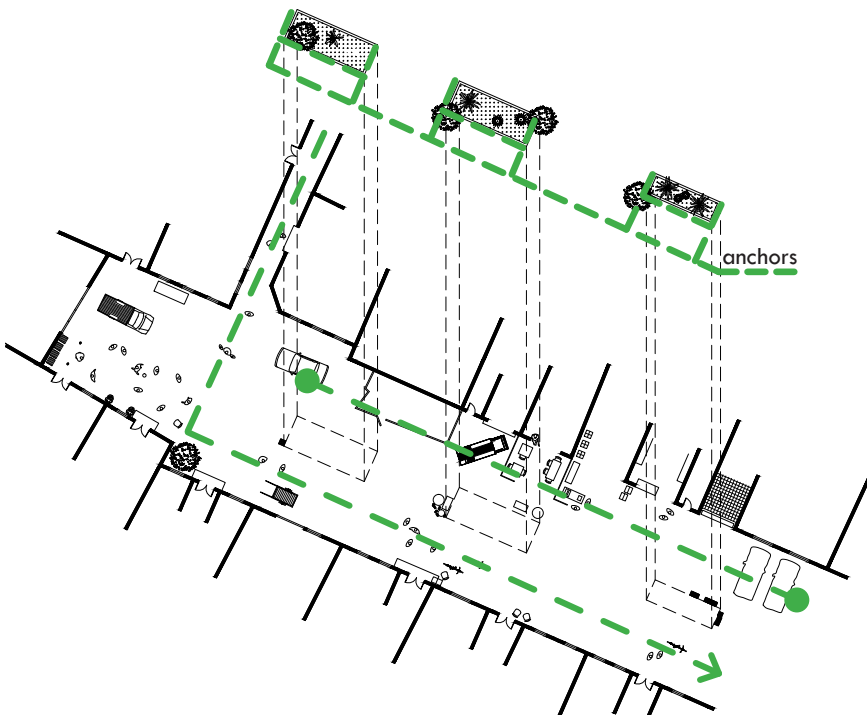
Before 1980s

The scale of the space encouraged its use as several football fields which were a threat to the few shops and workshops and the parked cars as well as the people and children using the space; there was no demarcation of **RoW** or spatial articulation of the different activity settings; shop extensions, parking space, play areas for children...etc..

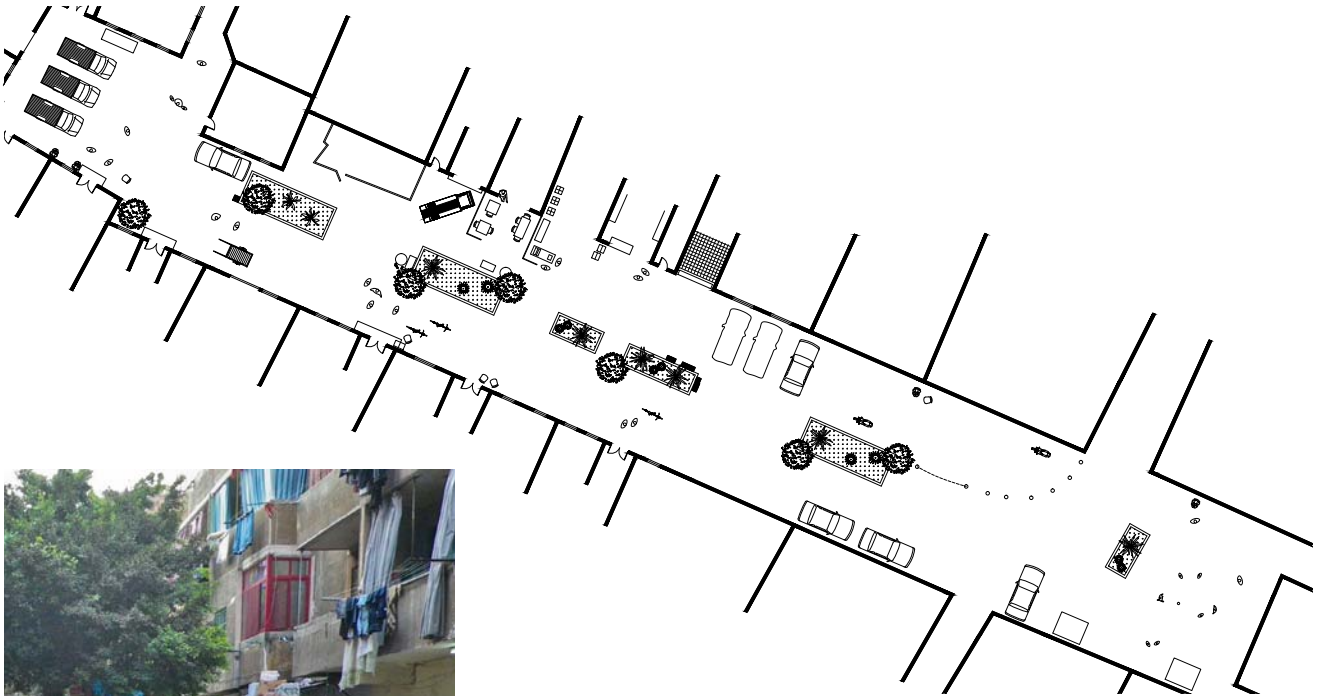


After first addition (1987)

After adding the three planters in the middle, activities became spatially organized without any conflicting overlaps: the linear **space** flanked by workshops and building entrances is appropriated as extensions to workshops and parking place for cars owned by residents. The planters act as demarcators as well as **anchors** for the new activity settings; car parks, garbage collection points...etc.. The other half is more dynamic where the **RoW** is left unobstructed for pedestrians and car use as a circulation path with only a thin strip along the residential buildings at the edge where one would occasionally witness young children playing or elderly men, or women, sitting on chairs outside their home's as they watch the activity in the space.



Case Study: Genenet Moftah



After more additions (2011)

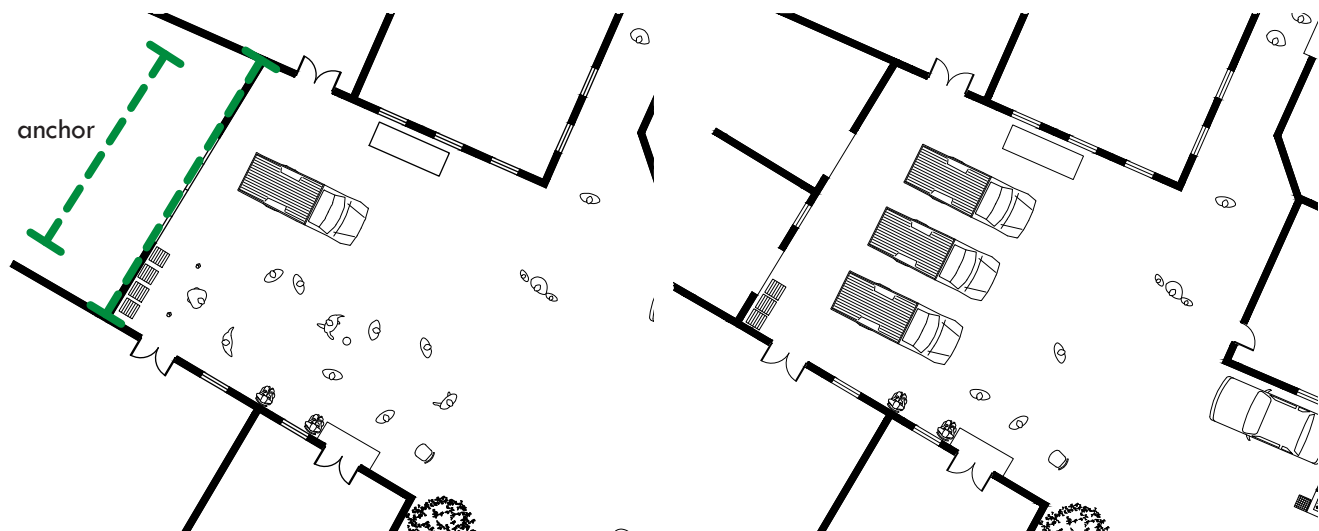
More territorial markers are added by actors from the edge to emphasize the appropriated linear space. A room is built to completely block access to the linear space with stationary activities from the western edge. RoW to the edge is restricted to small space between the planters. From the other end a number of iron poles secure a clearing in front of the warehouse for sweets reflecting the **need** to ensure space for loading and unloading trucks. Similar appropriation reflects the growing **need** for parking space residential use along the edge.



Modality of Appropriation of public space

The “Football field”

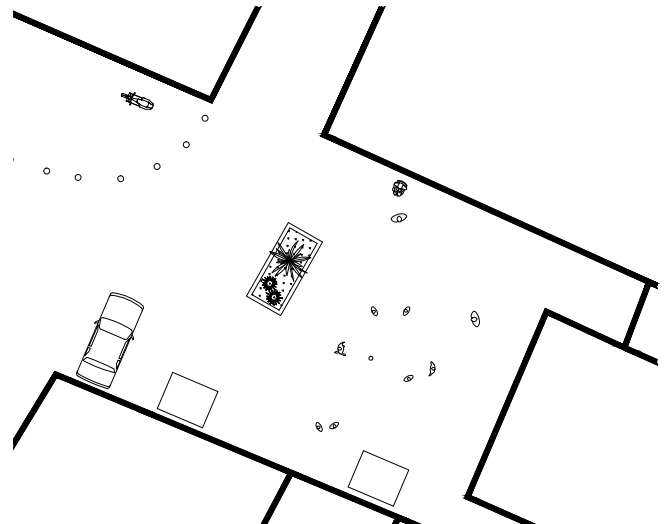
Since the addition of the planters, football playing has been pushed to one side of the space, the dead-end then with only entrance to a wood storage plot and two residential buildings. Football playing caused fewer disturbances than to shops and passersby. In 2011, two new apartment buildings replace the warehouse for wood planks and the space where teens used to play football is almost always occupied by parked cars and trucks; the football field setting disappears! The transformation in the modality of appropriation of public space is associated to the transformation in the built environment along the edge of the space.



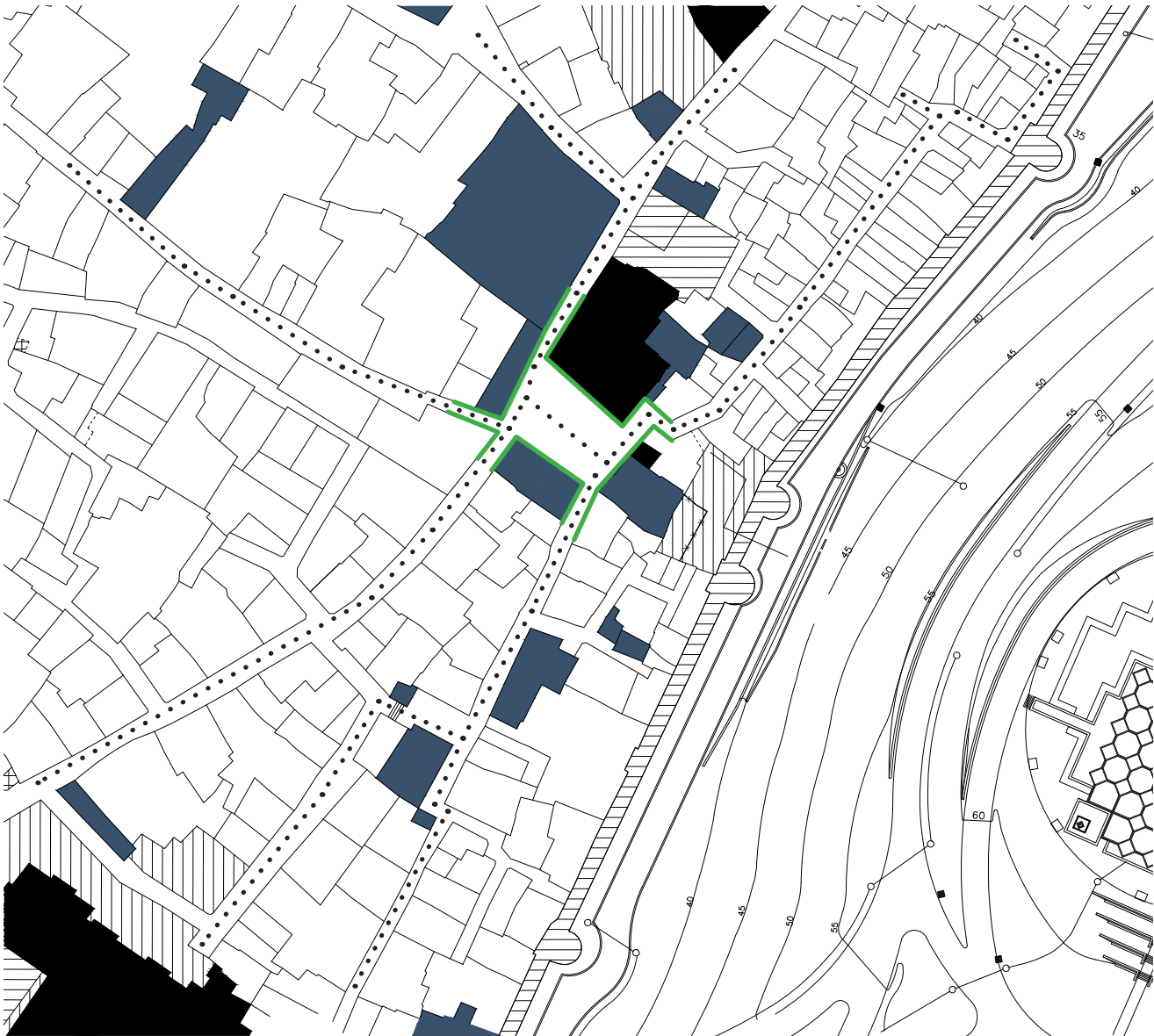
Case Study: Genenet Moftah

Securing “Residential spill-out”

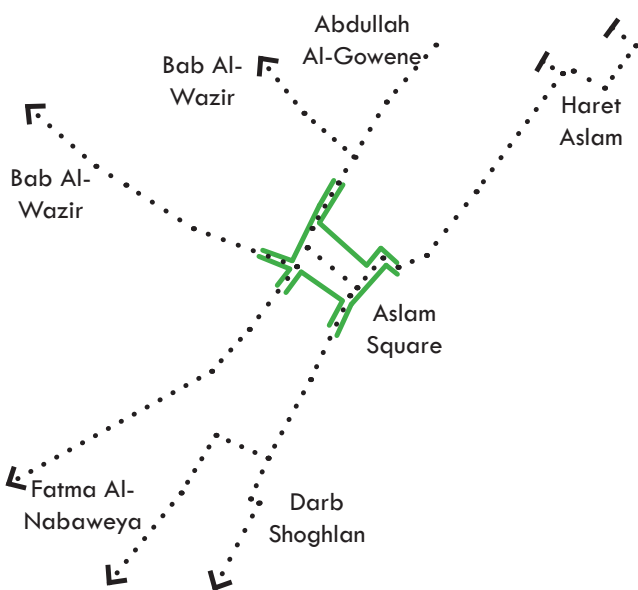
The eastern dead-end also witnessed the addition of a planter at a later stage (inspired by the central space) for the same purpose of organizing the use of the public space. In this case the planter does not take on the role of an **anchor** but only serves to demarcate the **space** for appropriation by the residents around. Women sit and children play without conflicting with the more public portion of the space on the other side of the planter where a large bakery has its raw materials entrance and distribution point. The **need** displayed here is for outdoor dwelling activity settings; “residential spill-out” which used to be the case in the other dead-end but has disappeared due to the dominance of the need for parking.



Modality of Appropriation of public space



Aslam Square is one of the few public open spaces in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district, quite deep close to the Historic Ayyubid Wall and the new Azhar Park, connected to the main artery of vehicular circulation (Al-Tabbana/Al-Darb Al-Ahmar/Bab Al-Wazir Street) only through a narrow and long residential alley. In the locale, it is a pivotal node, providing access to the inner-most thoroughfare Darb Shoghlan which runs south till the Citadel, Haret Aslam to the north which is one of the longest residential dead-ends, and is connected to the locally famous Fatma Al-Nabaweya space with its revered shrine, mosque and neighbourhood primary school. Besides passersby, Aslam square is a destination in itself with its neighbourhood shops and only two workshops, a cobbler and a an upholstery maker. Aslam square is a space that accommodates several community activity settings such as swings for neighbourhood children and parking for Suzuki's hired by the workshops as well as seasonal cultural ones such as the Moulid festivities (see Moulid pattern). It was renovated by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture between 2006 and 2009 so that the space can continue allowing these appropriations to take place.



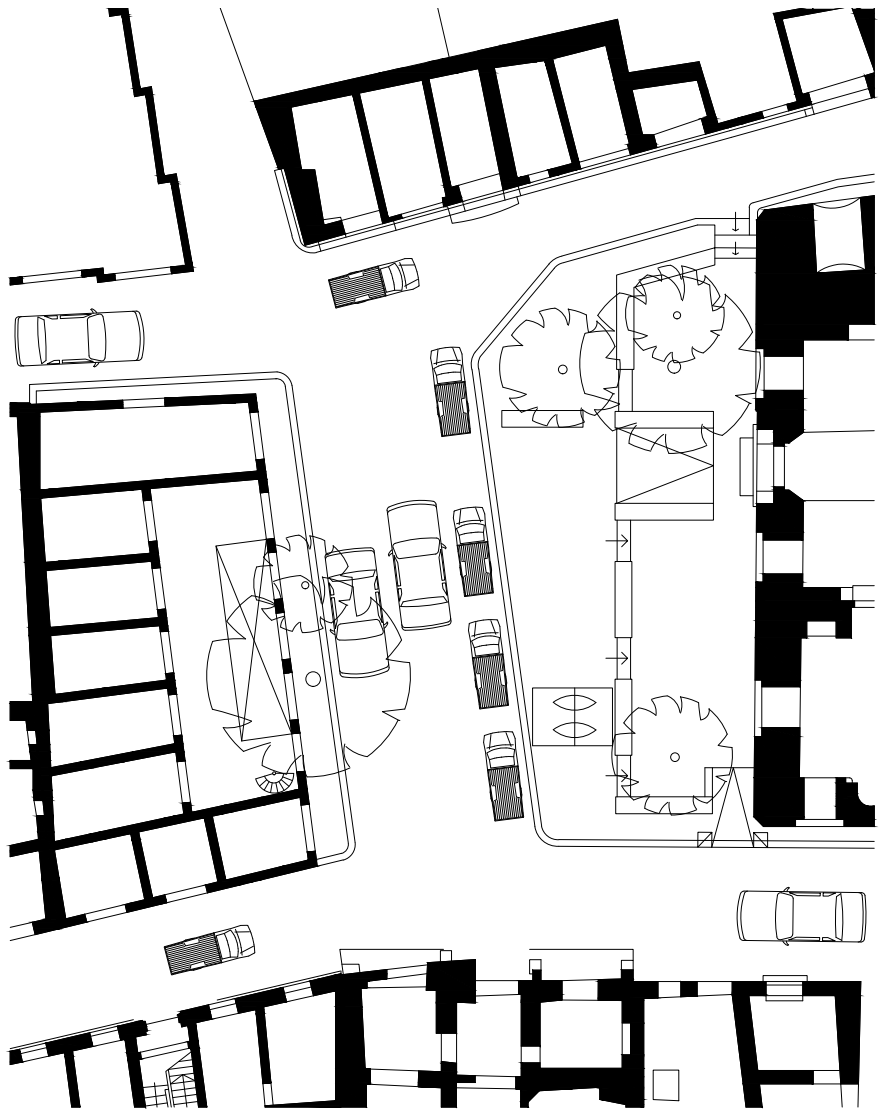
Case Study: Aslam Square

SPACE

The width of the space is beyond that which is traditionally left unobstructed for the **RoW** in pedestrian-dominant urban fabrics such as the one in HC; usually not more than 4.0m. The result is appropriation of the public space by different modalities leaving only the **RoW** that is the norm. Over the years different activity settings appeared and disappeared, but the swings and parking space remain in constant demand.

RIGHT-of-WAY

The sheer number of residents and workshop staff who pass through Aslam Square because it provides the shortest, most convenient and sometimes only access route to their premises is large; children walk to and from school, workshops occasionally move raw materials and products, and some regular street vendors catering to the residents pass through there (roasted sweet potatoes, liquorice drink, some vegetable vendors). Although relatively public, Aslam square is not frequented except by those living and working in its vicinity. After the opening of the community gate to the Azhar Park this may start changing...



ANCHOR

The Aslam Mosque with its monumental façade and tiled forecourt provides an **anchor** to various activity settings; young boys playing football, Friday prayers, and the seasonal Moulid tent. Details in the square's fixed and semi-fixed features before and after renovation played an additional role in supporting those activity settings; short walls to play against, a step to sit on, an iron fence, a tree.... etc.. Although not religiously significant as Fatma Al-Nabaweya, residents feel attachment to Aslam mosque, mainly for aesthetic reasons. It is backdrop for the life scene in the square.

NEED

Most appropriation that happens in Aslam Square is income generating for someone. It also expresses the need of residents, namely outdoor leisure (the café and the swings) and the need for parking.

RULES

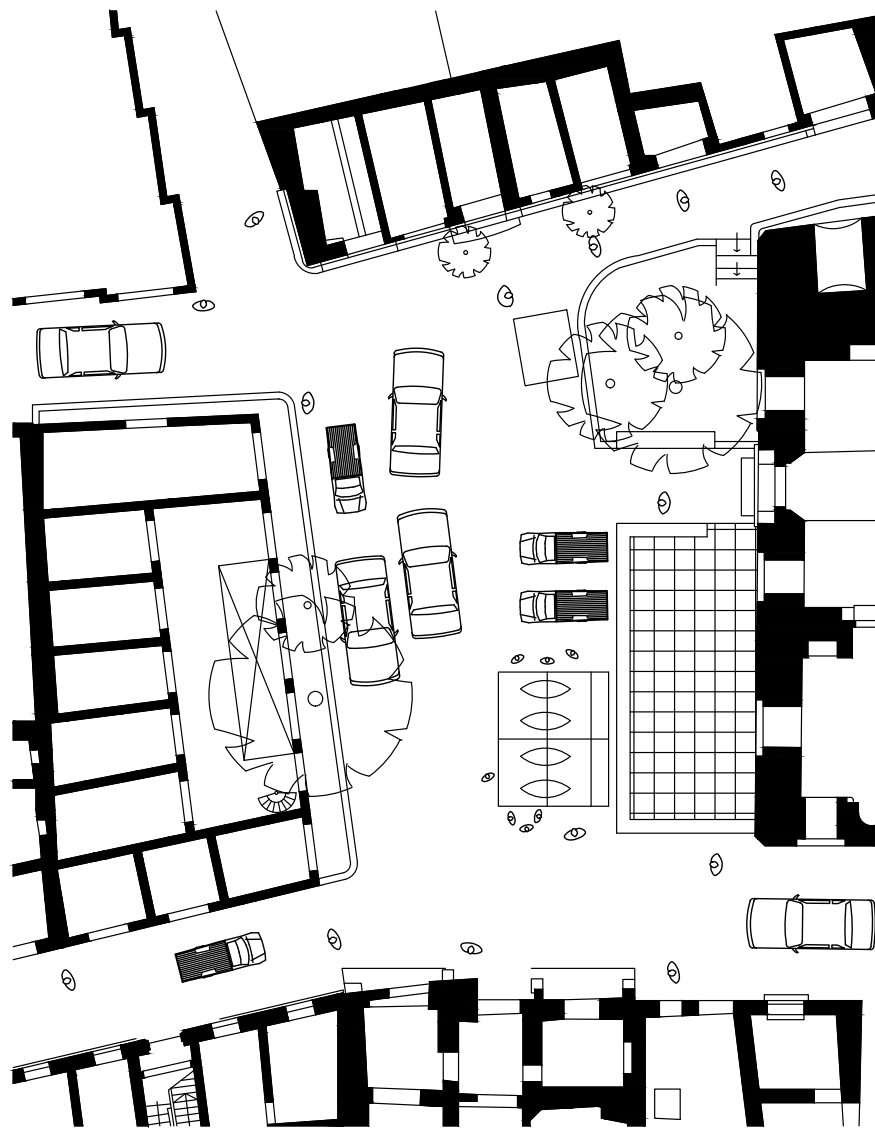
Aslam square is a neighbourhood commercial node, with shops such as Zizo the grocer, a hairdresser, a ful and falafel and cassette shops and the traditional coffee house. Zizo planted the two trees in the little fenced garden in front of Aslam mosque. His storefront lights are the main source of lighting in the square. The public space between the tiled forecourt of the mosque is appropriated by actors from outside the edge of the square, but all residents of the district.

Modality of Appropriation of public space

Neighbourhood “Breathing Space”

Before renovation (pre 2009)

The tiled forecourt of the mosque had a short wall from one end to shelter those who pray on Friday from the **RoW**. The rest of the week the same space serves as a mini football field for younger boys. The other end had a small fence around two trees built by the grocer in the square. A step along the outer edge of the fence facing the entrance to Abdallah Al-Geweny Street was used to sit on and watch passersby; the fence acted as an **anchor**. Beyond the edge of the tiled area was where the swing operators would park one or two swings. Children would swing and pay him on their way back from school. Beside the swings is used for parking cars, small pick-up trucks, for some years a car body repair man put up shop there. Another few years, members from the community built up a kiosk for an old woman to earn a living from. This appropriation and the appropriation by shops from the opposite side never intruded on the 4.0 meter **RoW**.



Case Study: Aslam Square

After renovation (post 2009)

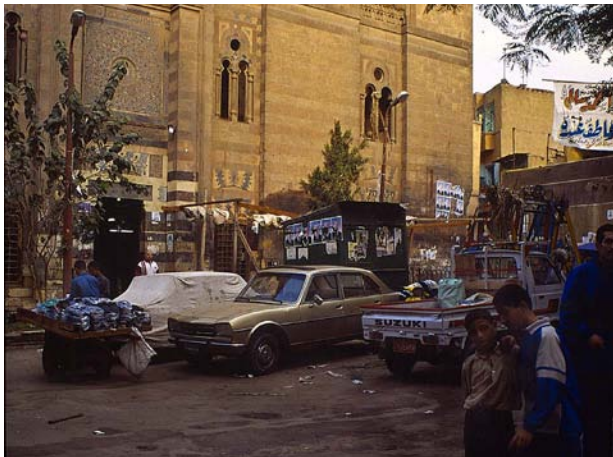
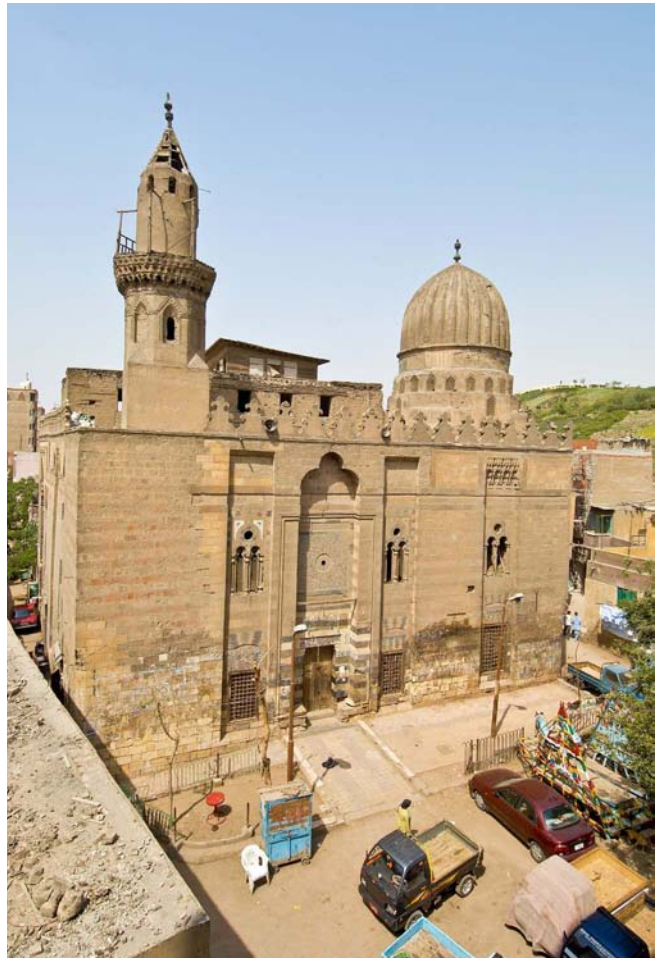
As part of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Revitalization Project, Aslam Square upgrading was designed and implemented in 2009 by the Aga Khan Cultural Services – Egypt. This renovation was based on research and a lengthy participatory process with residents and business owners from the area. The implemented design was eager to include in the renovation the affordances that act as **anchors** to habitual community activity settings. Benches were placed to provide enclosure to spaces that can accommodate the need for different forms of children's play; especially the appreciated swings despite the hesitation of the historic conservation experts. The edge of the new paved area intended to prevent cars from parking but the width of the remaining space could accommodate a row of parallel parking alongside the **RoW**.



Modality of Appropriation of public space

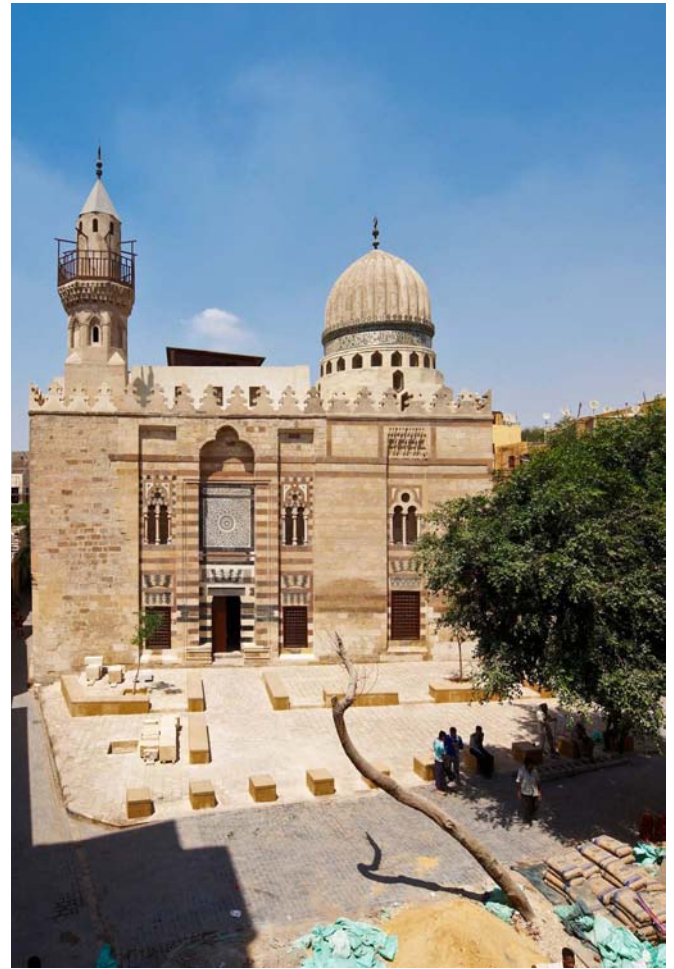
Neighbourhood “Breathing Space”

Before renovation (pre 2009)



Case Study: Aslam Square

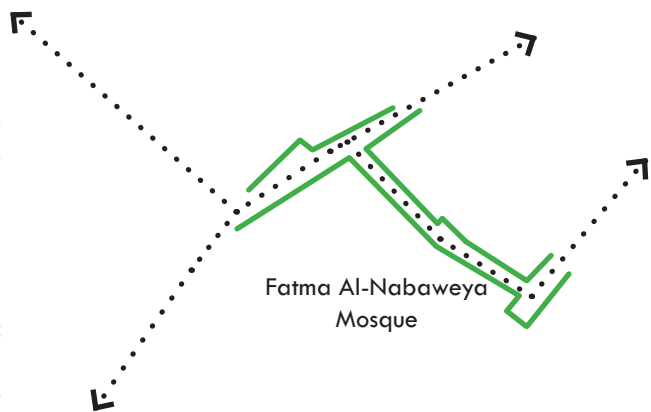
After renovation (post 2009)



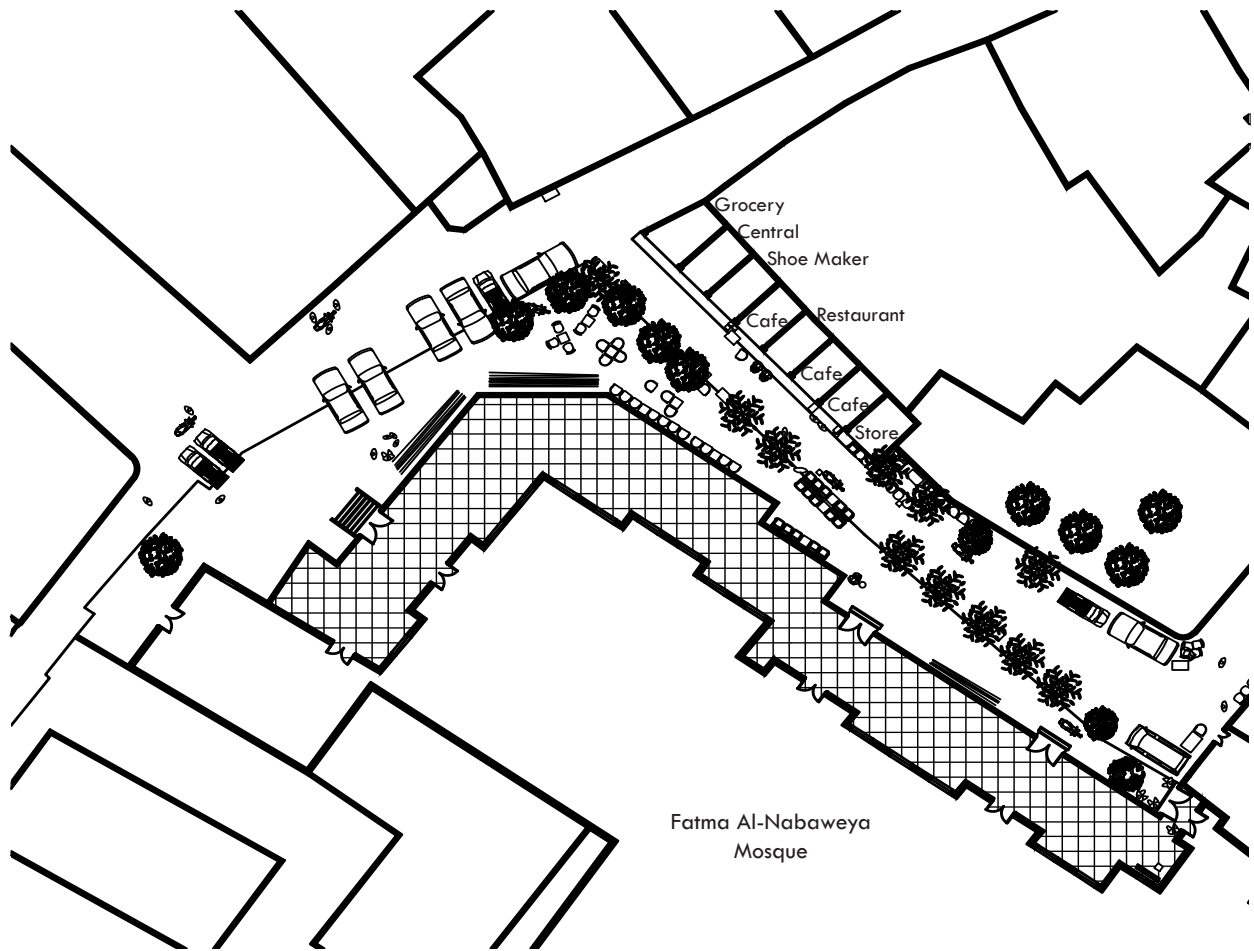
Modality of Appropriation of public space



The public space around the historic shrine of the revered Fatma Al-Nabaweya is a relatively new addition to Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. The Ministry of Awqaf decides to demolish the old Fatma Al-Nabaweya mosque, restore the shrine and build a new bigger mosque. In parallel, the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development decides to widen the access to that new mosque, demolishes several valuable residential buildings, and compensates their occupants who move out of the neighbourhood. The reason behind this intervention remains unclear; one scenario is “security/control by the state”; where accessibility is enhanced to one of the deepest areas in HC. The other is “social”; where the creation of a larger public space and wider access from the main vehicular spine through the district (Bab Al-Wazir/ Al-Darb Al-Ahmar Street) would better accommodate the celebrations of Mould Fatma Al-Nabaweya. However, the latter is a lame scenario, since the state abolished all Mould celebrations almost a decade ago.



Case Study: Fatma Al-Nabaweya



SPACE

The added public space is wider than the width required for the **RoW** that passes through it in regular days and therefore affords the opportunity of appropriation of public space. Actors from the edge of the space extend outside their shops, leave an appropriate unobstructed **RoW**, and then appropriate the rest of the space.

RIGHT-of-WAY

Fatma Al-Nabaweya shrine and mosque has always attracted a diversity of users from districts near and far because of their religious meaning. The enhanced connectivity to the main vehicular spine in the district increases the ease with which visitors can reach the space. Also, the current visual exposure of the old traditional café attracted other people to come for the café as destination. All the above factors combined contribute to the increased 'publicness' of the public space.

ANCHOR

The new mosque affords multiple fixed feature elements that serve as an **anchor** to various activity settings; the continuous fence with only one operating entrance, the aesthetic view of the monumental new mosque as a backdrop, and the sidewalk curb that demarcates and secures the **RoW** for both vehicles and pedestrians.

NEED

The space is still in transformation; its potentials not all utilized. Appropriation of space so far confirms the local community's desire to be close to the blessed Fatma Al-Nabaweya and the need for leisure activity in public space.

RULES

The actors from the edge of the space are the ones who appropriate the public space. They extend outside their shops, cross over the **RoW** and appropriate the space along the opposite edge, the fence of the new mosque (**anchor**).

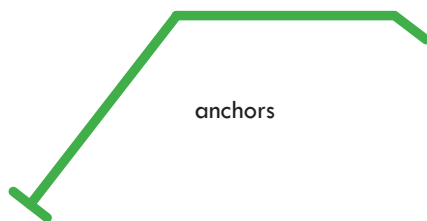
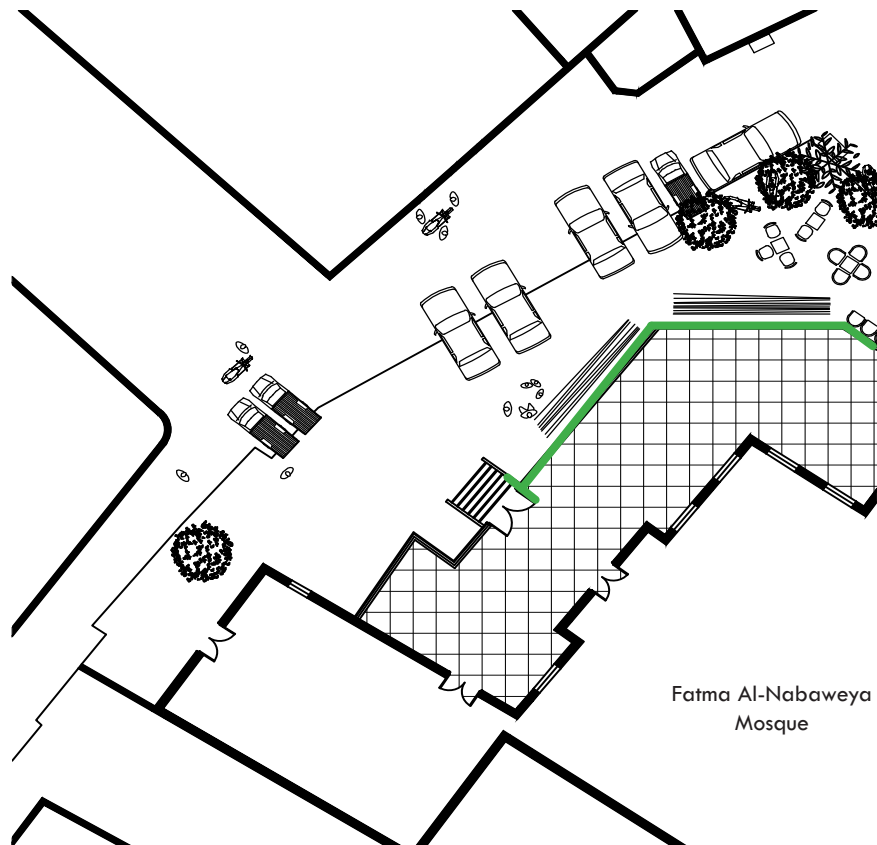
Modality of Appropriation of public space

Workshop Storage

From the western side of the mosque, the fence is again an **anchor** to a different activity setting; the wide sidewalk space accommodates temporary storage of their products of the workshops across and affords parking space for pick-up trucks that cater to their needs.

Storing half-finished products in an outdoor, not secured space, continuously visible and accessible to a larger number of visitors more diverse than ever before, poses a situation of **CONFLICT**. The products are exposed to a more public **RoW** in contrast to the situation in the past when it was more private from outside visitors except during Moulid days during which workshops would be closed and all their products secured.

For visitors, there is also **CONFLICT** between the revered mosque that is perceived to add aesthetic value to the public space and the half-finished products of the carpentry workshop.



Case Study: Fatma Al-Nabaweya

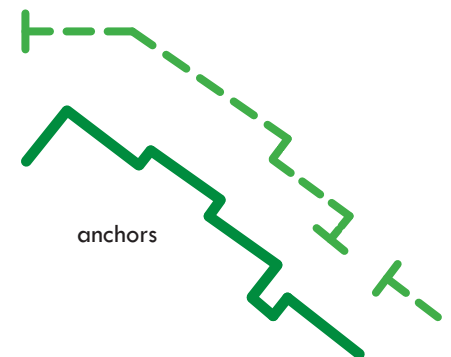
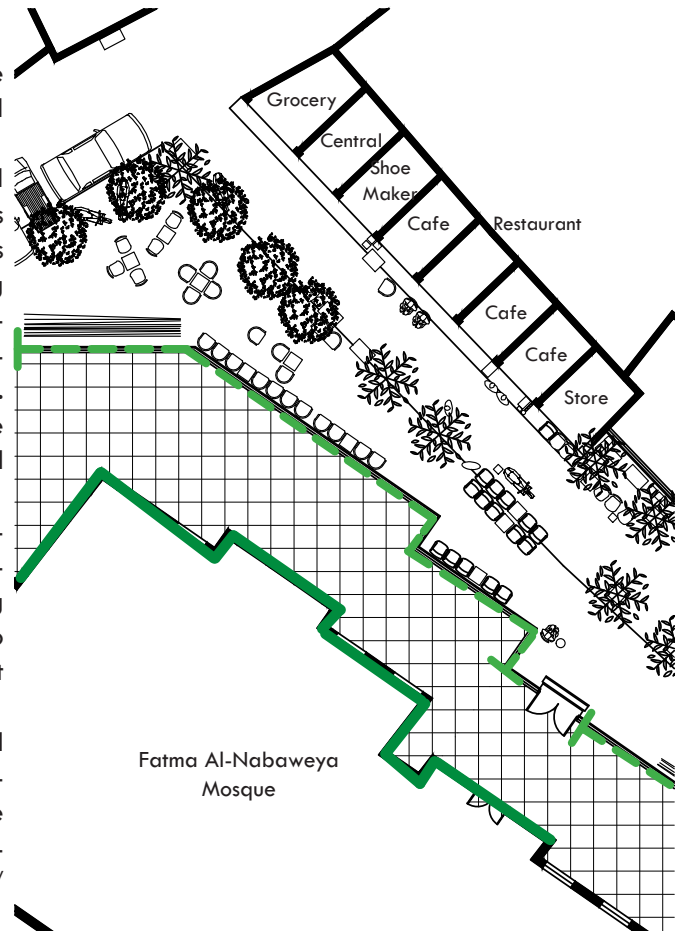
Sidewalk Café

The sidewalk space along the fence accommodates the seating of two traditional cafés where the fence and the mosque act as **anchors**.

The two traditional café owners exercise their perceived control by adding two rows of trees in raised planters all along the fences on both sides of the space. Besides enhancing the quality of the public space by providing shade and aesthetic value, those trees serve as territorial markers to demarcate the boundaries of their territorial claim; that is the activity setting “sidewalk café”. The café owners are residents of the immediate locale for generations; a fact that reinforces their territorial behaviour and nurtures their place attachment.

The high degree of ‘publicness’ of the space is the reason why the cafés do not appropriate the **RoW** despite their appropriation of both its sides. Combining the pedestrian **RoW** with the vehicular one comes as no surprise; it actually confirms the pedestrian dominant pattern of mobility traditional to HC.

The traditional café activity setting that flourishes and multiplies reflects a community need for “leisure” spaces. It also caters to the perceived value of being close to the blessed Fatma Al-Nabaweya. The café as income generating activity is in accord with the skills/competence of the local population.

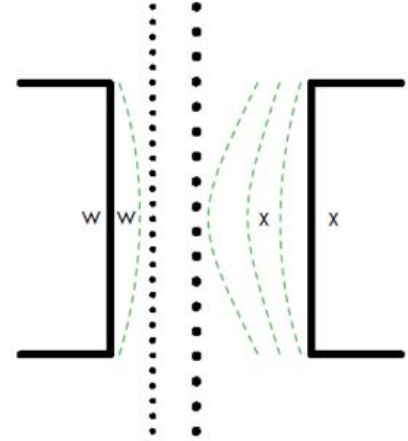


Typology of Public Space according to modality of appropriation

The variables associated to the **RoW** play the most critical role in shaping the modality of appropriation of public space. The simplest categorization of public space can be according to the condition of each variable starting with the 'number of users', followed by 'diversity', or in other words 'where they come from' (immediate locale – within the district – several districts around – city and beyond), followed by whether 'their Destination is INSIDE or OUTSIDE the space' in question. The possible combinations will be discussed below drawing upon the cases that were presented in the analysis section above.

Destination OUTSIDE space (passing through) + Space > RoW

When the space available is wider than the required **RoW**, and irrespective of the number, or diversity, of the passersby, public space is appropriated by actors from the uses in the built-up edge of the space until the limit of the **RoW**. This is the most commonly witnessed modality of appropriation of public space in Historic Cairo. This is the case of almost all streets, alleys and thoroughfares that are a passage to destinations beyond them.



LARGE numbers – Destination OUTSIDE space (passing through) – Diversity

In these conditions, depending on the diversity of the passersby, the main activity pattern that dominates the public space will be determined:

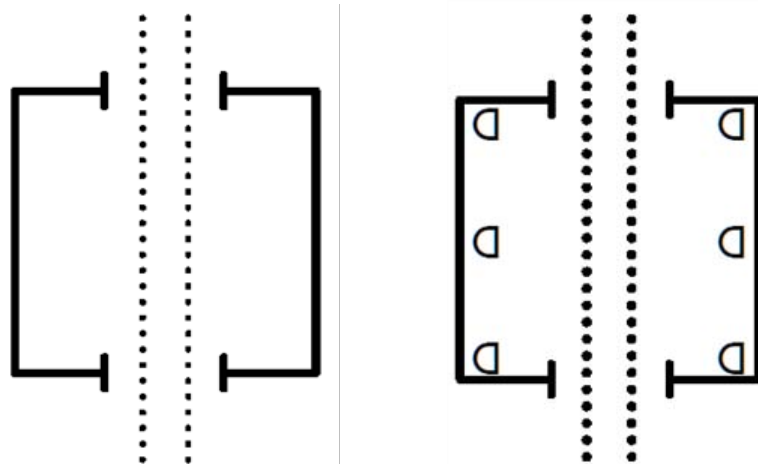
- When the '**diversity**' of these passersby is **low**, the activity pattern that appears will reflect what these passersby need most (e.g. Aslam Square).
- When the '**diversity**' of these passersby is **high**, the activity pattern that appears will reflect what the local community can offer most to the passersby (e.g. Bab Al-Bahr).

In the case of **Aslam Square** where the large numbers of passersby are from the immediate locale including both residents and workshop owners and employees taking into consideration that in this part of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar the traditional Work-Home proximity pattern is very much alive and so the 'diversity' of the passersby is low.

The result is that Aslam Square shops as well as the activity settings that appear within the space itself all belong to the activity pattern "**neighbourhood street**". In this case, it is a node not a street, but it equally houses neighbourhood shops and services; the swings, the car park, the grocery, the hairdresser...etc.. The providers of the need as well as the clientele are both from the immediate locale; from the neighbourhood to the neighbourhood.

This may explain why the intervention efforts of the Aga Khan project to draw visitors to the square did not meet much success (the permanent exhibition of workshop products and the gate to the Azhar Park). The reasons behind Aslam Square's resilience may be:

- 1) The **RoW** through Aslam square is NOT a choice for most of the passersby therefore the number of neighbourhood users remains high even if outside visitors infiltrate this relatively private community space.
- 2) The degree of 'publicness' of Aslam square is well situated between a "more public" space (Fatma Al-Nabaweya) and a "less public" space (Darb Shoghlan and all the private dead-ends that branch from it).

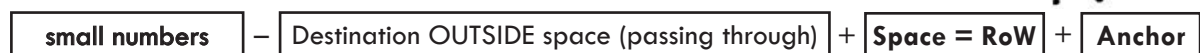


Whenever the **RoW** has large numbers passing through, irrespective of the diversity of passersby, there will be the tendency for additional activity settings to fill the public space as long as they do not obstruct the minimum required **RoW**. These additional activity settings become new ‘destinations’ within the space itself. The type of setting depends on the width of the available space beyond the **RoW**. Street vendors along market streets are evidence of such a combination.

- When the ‘space’ is **large**, the additional activity setting in the appropriated public space is more likely to be divorced from the use of the built-up edge of the space (e.g. Aslam Square).
- When the ‘space’ is **small**, the additional activity setting in the appropriated public space is more likely to be in accordance with the use of the built-up edge of the space (e.g. Bab Al-Bahr, Tablita Market).

If the space is not wide enough and the additional activity settings are not in accord with the uses of the built-up edge of the space, there will be potential for **conflict**.

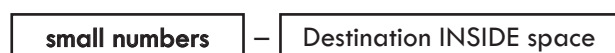
One variation to the above combination is having an **anchor** on the opposite side of the **RoW**; this **anchor** can be a monument like in the case of Fatma Al-Nabaweya “sidewalk café” where the shops appropriated the space across the **RoW** but without appropriating the **RoW** itself, due to the large numbers and high **diversity** of passersby.



When the number of passersby is small, and the space available is barely equal to the required **RoW**, and **irrespective** of **diversity** of the passersby, the **RoW** in the public space may be totally appropriated.

In the case of the funnel entrance of Darb Al-Assal total appropriation of **RoW** was possible when the **numbers** were **small** and ‘**diversity**’ of the passersby used to be **low**. The Assal could not practice this anymore when the dead-end changed activity patterns.

In the cases of the Toraby office “sitting/meeting” setting – Mohammed Hanafy and Om Hany Sa’doun, they both chose locations where the width of the space is smallest to allow them to utilize the **anchor** and totally appropriate the **RoW**, despite the **high** ‘**diversity**’ of the passersby. This is due to the very small numbers of passersby.



This is the case of the residential dead-end alley so common to HC. There are no passersby and the number of people who use the **RoW** is very small. The public space is almost entirely appropriated as **dwelling activity spill-out pattern**; the **RoW** is not demarcated, the **RoW** is diffused. Darb Al-Assal until the 1980s was an example of such a modality.

Handicraft production activity patterns seek refuge in such spaces. Several reasons present themselves:

- They have no need to be connected to a **RoW** with large numbers and high diversity of passersby.
- The need open space, and would seek maximum opportunity to appropriate public space.
- They may be avoiding the authorities since many of them are not registered and do not file legal taxes.

What happened in Darb Al-Assal and many residential public spaces in HC, is that the intrusion of the first workshop changes the **RoW** in terms of **numbers** and **diversity**.

3. b. Assessment of current practices: Conflicts and Gains.

The analysis of the different activity patterns and the modalities of appropriation of public space discussed in the previous sections pave the way to understanding the 'triggers' or initiators of change and transformation in the urban fabric that is taking place in Historic Cairo. Consequently, this leads to revealing the conflicts and gains as well as the threats and potentials for sustainable conservation of the historic value of the place.

Conflicts

The following is a brief discussion of the "conflicts" resulting from certain existing activity patterns that either negatively impact the sustainability of one or more value of HC, or impede the sustainability of an activity pattern with positive impact or potential.

Conflict 1: Pollution - solid waste disposal

Solid waste management is nationwide problem in Egypt. Large piles of garbage and garbage strewn streets are seen even in expensive formal neighbourhoods of the capital. It comes as no surprise that districts with a challenging urban fabric such as HC would be impacted more by this failure in urban governance. Wherever, there is an unclaimed space, a pile of garbage would accumulate and grow. Unfortunately, unclaimed space in HC exists in the form of vacant lots and ruins of a dilapidated historic fabric. The solid walls of monuments; especially those with no high social and cultural value to the local community also attract the accumulation of garbage if not used as an anchor for other community-oriented activity patterns.

Another factor specific to community-oriented activity pattern that characterise HC is the presence of workshops that produce non-product waste outputs in addition to the domestic garbage produced by the resident population. Thematic Markets, equally characteristic of the historic city, manage their waste removal because the accumulation of garbage interferes with their primary function, whereas in the case of workshops where clients are infrequent, the sight of garbage piles does not.

Many workshops do not see immediate recycling value for their waste output, so they bag them and put them out on the street for the garbage collector to pick up, or throw them in the nearest pile of garbage. However, a recent study in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar reveals that more than 50% of the workshops have waste outputs with high recycling potential (AKDN-CDC, 2011). In the case of woodwork workshops some workshops adopt positive practices to resolve the solid waste problem, either: (1) the workshop commits all its waste to one recycler for fixed fee, and in this case the workshop owner is not free to dispose of this NPO in any other way; or (2) the workshop owner has regular beneficiaries who pass periodically and help themselves to the wood chips or sawdust without paying the workshop owner.

Workshop owners, more as residents than as business owners are willing to discuss collective coordination actions if a feasible and realistic plan is suggested to them; a plan that is going to reflect on minimizing the piles of garbage and solid waste and the pollution arising from burning some of them occasionally (AKDN, 2011).



Burning solid waste in a collapsed heritage building along Haret al-Maredany

Conflict 2: Pollution – Ambient (air – water – noise)

The perception of ‘outsiders’ towards workshops in HC as a source of pollution is higher than the actual objective measure of the pollution caused by their presence. Several research studies that accused HC workshops of being polluting were not founded on sound scientific assessment of the matter (e.g. UNDP report 1996; Yosry et al., 2003). A rare environmental assessment study conducted for the Aga Khan funded Neighbourhood Revitalization Project of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, covering 600 plots in the 3 Action Areas along the historic wall revealed that out of the hundreds of workshops studied in this area, only one was actually polluting; a small metal melting workshop. The remaining multitude of carpenters, upholstery makers, even fabric dyeing facilities were found to be non-polluting and the reason was that the dispersion of workshops among the residential fabric did not allow high concentration of waste outputs that can be polluting either to the air or water around.

However, the potential threat lies in the fact that workshop owners do not know the contents of the official environmental regulations. Communication with workshops through the housing rehabilitation program implementation period between 2001 and 2010, as well as the BLS 2003 and 2010, have consistently shown that workshop owners’ only knowledge is that these regulations are mentioned by the District officials as a threat they would use against workshops; District officials often use them as a threat to file a law-violation charge against any workshop as means to get regular payment (a common way of hustling that most businesses in popular districts are exposed to). This explains why District officials do not care to make these guidelines known.

Strategy: to maintain the balance between workshop and residential use, not allowing for any increase, or spatial concentration, of potentially polluting workshop activity. Also, it is empowering as well as preventive, to raise the awareness of workshop owners with regard to environmental law and regulations and inform them of ways to meet those regulations with minimum disruption of the production process currently followed.

Traditionally, workshop operating hours were considerate to lifestyle pattern of the residential. During the past 10 years, there has been a gradual shift towards staying up later in the evening by both residents and workshops; until the 1990s workshops (especially those with power tools and therefore causing much noise) would stop operation at around 7:00pm when the head of the household would go back to have the main meal with his family. Nowadays, operation often extends till midnight and beyond. This is due to the financial crisis facing these small and medium businesses. Still, in most areas in HC, residents would not complain from workshop ‘noise’. Surveys and qualitative studies in one of the areas with the highest concentration of workshops, Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, reveal that most residents eye the presence of workshops in the district with tolerance if not favourably. This is because workshops are perceived as the main income generating activity for the resident population; their friends, their neighbours, and maybe their own family members (AKCS-E, 2004; CDC 2009). In some pockets where transformation in the built environment has brought about a resident population from outside the district, namely white collar middle class families, the perception of workshop noise as a nuisance is higher.

Strategy: (1) Maintain the residential population associated with the production and sales of handicrafts particular of HC by sustaining the residential alleys and appropriated dead-ends that increase the perceived value of living in such districts. (2) Economically revitalize traditional and handicraft businesses of small and medium size to avoid working longer hours and avoid the excessive appropriation of public space that displaces more dwelling-related activities (see AKDN-CDC, 2011 to crystallize challenges and needs).

Conflict 3: Workshop appropriation of Public Space displacing dwelling spill-out activity pattern

The spatial distribution of manufacturing and commercial activities is highly integrated with the residential fabric. Until recently, this integration followed a socio-spatial logic that respected the varying degrees of ‘publicness’ necessary to sustain certain desired activity patterns.

Workshops in a residential community where the majority of the working population is involved in handicraft production were usually in close proximity to dwellings, but they were mostly located along neighbourhood streets, pedestrian dominant where certain appropriation of public space in possible for the workshop to extend. The few workshops that infiltrated the residential dead-end did not being strangers inside. Workshop owners and employees were all from the district and therefore did not disturb the degree of ‘publicness’ of the public space. After 1990’s, with the economic trouble facing all handicraft production business and the availability of new space (vacant lots and ruins) after the 1992 earthquake, many more workshops entered residential dead-end, the employment profile started changing spoiling the amenity residents enjoyed of appropriating public space for dwelling spill-out activity pattern.

Conflict 4 – to – THREAT: Transformation of the built environment

This socio-spatial logic that used to govern the distribution of workshop and sales activities within the districts of HC is increasingly challenged during the past two decades.

The pattern of dwelling in traditional housing stock of HC includes as part of its components activity settings in the immediate surrounding public space; usually a residential dead-end. This modality of appropriation of public space fulfils several needs and raises the perceived value of residing in such buildings over the few nuisances caused by their poor physical condition (see Darb Al-Assal) when a certain intervention or change prevent this dwelling spill-out pattern from occurring, the value of dwelling in heritage buildings diminishes. A key transformation in use and/or modality of appropriation of public space triggers a series of changes that eventually weakens, or completely replaces, one activity pattern by another.

Fixed-feature elements of the edge are transformed as a result of change in the modality of appropriation of public space (the activity pattern – the RoW – the ‘publicness’...) that eventually change the perception of Potentials Functional Opportunities of the surrounding built environment. Financial gains from demolishing old rent traditional residential buildings and constructing the new patterns (factories or modern higher apartment buildings) is tempting to entrepreneurs to varying degrees (usually outsiders perceives only the financial gain whereas the insiders often balance that with other perceived values related to residing and working in HC).

Eventually the built environment is completely transformed to higher densities and public space becomes more public, pedestrian dominance decreases and dwelling in HC loses the pattern that nurtured the development and sustainability of strong social ties so characteristic of its population.

Conflict 5 – to – POTENTIAL: Appropriation of Monuments

The case of Qassabet Radwan is a case where handicraft workshops have filled the void created by a collapsed historic mansion. The CONFLICT comes from the neglect that the historic building remains suffer and its occupation by squatters. Because it is said not to have connections to electricity, it is highly probable that cooking and heating are fuelled by burning wood, which poses fire hazard in addition. The POTENTIAL lays in the architectural value that exists still in the remaining ruins, and in the workshops that produce handmade products (both traditional and conventional).

The remaining ruins still have potential to become transformed into settings for income generation by providing sitting, resting, eating and even maybe lodging facilities to tourists and visitors depending on the structural condition. The craftsmen themselves in the Qassaba see this potential and realize that their handicraft can be a main attraction. They expect many tourists and local visitors to be interested to watch handmade production as long as it does not include heavy machinery or produce polluting waste outputs .

Gains

The following is a brief discussion of the positive “gains” resulting from certain existing activity patterns that in effect serve the sustainability of one or more value of HC; either tangible or intangible or both.

Activity Pattern	Sustainable GAIN to the Values of Historic Cairo
Mosque as community centre	- protects the monument from complete neglect
Sabeel	- intangible heritage in search of a typology (evolution of the past)
Dwelling spill-out	- sustains pedestrian dominance - sustains traditional housing and consequently the traditional fabric
Materials – Production – Market proximity	- saves energy (environmental sustainability) - sustains social networks / support (social sustainability) - saves money (economic sustainability)
Home – Work proximity	- saves energy (environmental sustainability) - sustains social networks / support (social sustainability) - saves money (economic sustainability)
Walkability	- slowing down vehicular traffic - minimizing traffic pollution - increased perceived and actual safety

3. c. Assessment of Threats and Potentials:

Something like the pedestrian dominance in HC streets and public space is a characteristic sought after in sustainable development. One of the latest strategies advocated to tame the car is combining the pedestrian RoW with the vehicular RoW. It already exists in most of HC. The fear is that without acknowledgement, such gains would be lost due to interventions or contextual factors that supposedly aim for the development, improvement, or modernization of the historic fabric (Shehayeb & Sedky, 2010).

Threats

The following is a brief discussion of the negative “threats” that may jeopardize the sustainability of one or more activity patterns that contribute to the value of HC.

Threat 1: Contextual factors – global market value

Global economic trends are putting pressure on societies in general, but more so, on developing countries, to focus on monetary value of things and undermine, to the degree of ridicule, the social and cultural value. The Egyptian society is no exception. In cases where the perceived value of the monument decreases, community members end up only perceiving their manifest value; the monetary worth of their material elements. This is a growing threat to monuments especially with the increasing need for money as means of fulfilling life goals, and the parallel neglect by the state and evident depreciation.

The tendency of contemporary urban development plans, and recently of heritage conservation plans as well, to adopt global economic views, to compliment the classic historic and aesthetic value, in assessing the perceived value of historic districts would be unfair to the situation in HC. The impact on society of the narrow global economic perspective is delayed with the significant role played by religion in people’s everyday life in Egypt. Many monuments in Historic Cairo are associated with Islamic culture and therefore have cognitive value to some community members as symbols from which they extend their identity. Traditional craftsmen perceive the aesthetic value in them more than others. Some community members attribute them social value because they are use them in their daily lives, and others have development a strong sense of attachment to them as a component of their attachment to their home environment (childhood memories...etc.). The analysis reveals that monuments in Historic Cairo that are associated with community perceived values have a better chance of survival, even if their historic integrity is often jeopardized. This threat could therefore be counter balanced by the potential in the local community who perceives multi-dimensional values beyond the economic one.

Threat 2: Lack of societal acknowledgement / valorisation of heritage

What is witnessed on the public streets of Historic Cairo reflects not only the values of those populations, but also the values of the society at large. The neglect suffered by the physical built environment in HC is usually attributed to the ignorance of the populations who use the place; those who live, work and shop there. However, the analysis and previous research shows that while these people may not perceive the historic or architectural value of the place, they do perceive other values in it; social, cultural and economic (see Potentials). What is also evident is the state’s lack of interest in safeguarding this heritage; social institutions, such as banks, do not acknowledge traditional residential buildings as assets, tax incentives are not given to owners of such buildings, occupants of such buildings are punished not encouraged to maintain them (heritage buildings are denied natural gas connections in some areas).

Lack of societal valorisation of the heritage is also apparent in the disinterest of the Egyptian elite in the traditional handicrafts produced in HC. With the younger generations of this class of Egyptians knowing less and less about their history and heritage, and living further away, the sheer knowledge of the existence of such crafts is diminishing fast. Furthermore, with the current suburbanization of the upper income groups, many of the quality traditional handicrafts of HC are available in other modern centres of Greater Cairo closer to where those groups spend their time. They have no reason left to visit HC.

The same is witnessed in the policies and practices related to tourism. Bussed tourism and controlling the mobility of tourists in the city was the policy since the attacks against tourists in the 1990s. Overlooking the fact that hostility was not targeting the tourists themselves, but rather intended to economically hurt the governing powers that were in exclusive control of the tourist industry, the government prohibited tourist buses to deposit tourists anywhere outside Al-Hussein Square in HC. This regulation reflects the little value the state has for HC beyond the Khan Al-Khalili Bazaar.

Threat 3: State policies and regulations: urban planning – urban management – tourism policies

Portions of the historic fabric were demolished in 2003/4 to make way for the implementation of a traffic plan of the 1970s (Al-Sabban Street in Bab Al-She'rya). The demolitions in the North of Al-Gammaleya where a clearing along the Historic Wall replaces 86 heritage buildings and famous alleys reflect the narrow view of the state (in this case it was the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development) as to the value of the urban fabric ensemble. The most recent renovations of Al-Mu'izz Street, stripping it of much of its meaning and intangible heritage value is another example of the narrow perspective that the state and experts have of the value of HC. Whenever a monument is renovated it is lamented by the resident population and resentment against tourists is fuelled because the government clears away all community-oriented activities around the renovated monument with the excuse of making it more suitable for tourists. Community members feel robbed. This happened around Bab Zueila when street vendors selling fruits were driven away and instead, because of it being an unclaimed anchor, the wall by the doorway became a garbage dumping site. This de-appropriation did not occur in the renovation of Aslam Square (see Aslam Square case) because the project experts understood, respected and deliberately sustained the physical affordances of the space in the new design to accommodate those community-oriented activity patterns that existed in the locality before renovation.

Threat 4: Contextual factors – global economy vs. merchant economy of handicrafts

The analysis shows that the production and sales of handicrafts in HC and their relation to the resident population, go hand-in-hand with the spatial distribution of those activity patterns in the historic urban fabric. Any change in the equation may disrupt this fit. With the current situation across the influencing factors, many of these small and medium enterprises are facing challenges in economic development. Individual attempts to overcome these challenges may lead to the destruction of this delicate ecological balance between activity and built form.

Legalizing and modernizing the businesses, developing business plans, providing better living and working conditions to employees, reaching out to new prospective markets, institutionalizing collective efforts are all needed steps to be taken. What is necessary is deliberate support from state, societal institutions as well as civic society, based on a deep understanding of the interrelations, to assist in the evolution of these socio-economic activity patterns without losing their historic value and spatial roots.

Potentials

The following is a brief discussion of the “potentials” inherent in certain existing activity patterns that may serve the sustainability of one or more value of HC; either tangible or intangible or both. Unblocking these potentials may necessitate a certain degree of intervention, modification of contextual factors including regulatory and institutional frameworks, as well as awareness-raising of all parties involved.

Potential 1: Monuments as Anchors to Community-oriented Activity Patterns

Monuments often act as anchors that attract stationary activity settings. They can be anchors for settings of negative impact such as garbage collection sites, but more often, they are anchors to community-oriented activity patterns that mediate people's positive relation to those monuments.

This affordance should be taken into consideration in cases of monument restoration. Abolishing community-oriented activity patterns or demolishing valued fabric around them for protection purposes, not only depletes the monument of part of its meaning; its living heritage value, but also, prevents the monument from any associations with the community; from being part of it.

Potential 2: Handicraft production as heritage and attraction for economic revitalization

This notion of traditional handicraft production as tourist attraction is not unusual. Furthermore, the fact that families historically associated with some of these crafts still live in HC is a potential that has disappeared in many other cities.

The analysis reveals that interrelation between families of activity patterns retains an almost medieval trait. The spatial proximity of Raw materials – Production – Sales is a socio-economic pattern that, if broken, would rupture the fragile economic balance that sustains the very survival of traditional handicrafts. According to a recent qualitative study (AKDN, 2011), the economy of scale of such businesses involves a delicate balance among components of its production process, namely: access to raw materials; availability and willingness of skilled labour; competition from imported products; and the type of market; namely reaching the kind of client who appreciates the worth of such handicraft products. This pattern needs support from the authorities at different stages and intervention at all levels of civic society to restore knowledge and appreciation of this heritage.

Potential 3: People Participation / investment / territorial claim is a potential for partnership between people and State in financing protective measures

The local community is aware of most of the problems facing the historic city. In Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, residents have expressed the desire for improved traffic regulations and vehicular access control especially of motorcycles and 'vespas' mainly for the hazard they pose to pedestrians particularly community children in the streets less frequented by outside visitors. Retailers expressed how vehicular traffic along the 'qassaba' is a main source of nuisance to shoppers. Residents as well as business owners have contributed to slowing down vehicular traffic in many streets of Al-Darb Al-Ahmar by adding improvised "speed bumpers." Similar collective action takes place to overcome shortcomings in the performance of the government in fulfilling its role such as contributing to street lighting and garbage collection.

Sometimes with the slack governance and poor investment of the state, community members intervene to maintain historic monuments or other elements in the historic urban fabric. However, given the lack of technical knowledge and low awareness of the historic value, they may harm its historic integrity and thus some of its value doing so. In the case of Al-Maridani mosque, refrigerated water dispensers are added by community members to provide drinking water to passersby. This form of 'modern' *sabeel* where the running cost of water and electricity is picked up by a community member as charity often occurs in association with mosques.

The most vivid proof of the community's propensity to invest in the safeguard of the built environment is witnessed in the housing rehabilitation work that occurred in partnership with the Aga Khan Cultural Services – Egypt office in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar district. This was a unique case where interveners gained the trust of the local community enough to establish financial partnership and implement participatory intervention in the community.

Potential 4: Multi-dimensional perceived value of Historic fabric

The analysis of activity patterns, especially where appropriation of public space was discussed, reflects the different perceived values that community members attribute to monuments. For example their aesthetic value was capitalized upon as a backdrop for leisure and social activities, and referred to as an inspiration to craftsmen; "so often we would go look at the designs on the monuments to do the same" said a master brass carver. Residents express their concern about the rapid loss of features characterising Historic Cairo, namely the derelict conditions of monuments, and the demolition of traditional buildings to be replaced by the new breed of contemporary apartment buildings that exceed the dominant building heights and block the view to cherished monuments (minarets and domes of surrounding mosques).

Religious value is also perceived by much of the local community, such as living in proximity to the shrines and mosques of revered religious figures such as Al-Hussein, Al-Sayyeda Zeinab and Set Fatma Al-Nabaweya. Even those sons and daughters who had to move out to find housing, they would come back to HC to spend the entire holy month of Ramadan in the vicinity of those shrines and mosques; regarding them as a blessing.

Other social values include the appreciation of the strong social ties, the proximity to relatives and acquaintances, the safety afforded by the urban pattern that is impregnable by strangers. The proximity to markets and services, the walkability and opportunity to appropriate public space and the consequential strength of social ties among residents are all characteristics of the historic urban fabric that translate into free child care, better opportunity for girls education, better nutrition for the poorer households...etc.. All these are advantages mentioned by the residents of HC and if sustained, would contribute to the conservation of both monuments as well as historic fabric.

In conclusion, the existence of many socio-physical patterns discussed in this report is the result of the fit or synergy between the affordances of the physical morphology of HC and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the residing population; the closer the fit, the least the conflict between residents' lifestyle and needs, and the built environment (Shehayeb & Sedky, 2010). In cases of fit, the residing population perceives multiple values in the built environment; social, psychological as well as cultural values that compliment the expected economic value (Shehayeb & Mikawy, 2003).

This case is the closest to a natural mechanism of safeguarding the historic value of the city.

On the other hand, in cases of conflict between activity patterns initiated or desired by the resident population and physical morphology of the place, two scenarios may occur:

- 1) The resident population abandons the built environment and resident-associated activity patterns are replaced by other activity patterns usually based solely on economic value perceived by others with no attachment to the place; or
- 2) The built environment is deliberately transformed to other forms that can better accommodate the changing needs and lifestyle activity patterns of the resident population.

Both scenarios lead to the decrease in the value of the historic built form and require more deliberate effort and bigger resources to safeguard it.

4. Critical Issues and Potential for Revitalization:

The potential for revitalisation with reference to the socio-economic community-oriented activity patterns, the socio-cultural community-oriented activity patterns, and the spatial characteristics of the urban fabric is **high** in HC. What has been outlined so far in this research is summarized below as the critical issues that serve as a background reference for the preparation the Historic Cairo WH site Management Plan.

Critical Issue 1:

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

Critical Issue 2:

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

Critical Issue 3:

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

Critical Issue 4:

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

Critical Issue 5:

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

5. Conclusion: Future Research and Outcomes:

The relation between the socio-cultural patterns and the socio-economic patterns is equally critical to the survival of HC. The **Home-Work** proximity pattern is sustained by the pedestrian-dominant urban fabric, safe from cars and strangers where modalities of appropriation of public space sustain the delicate balance of the scale of uses within and the corresponding degree of 'publicness' that can maintain or repel the residential use from HC.

Future research studies should target exploring the economic dynamics of the transformation that is occurring to the built environment based on an understanding of, and not divorced from, the non-economic values that are still perceived and appreciated by the resident population including the remaining portion that still lives and works in HC. It should clearly outline the different energies in action and the constraints that block existing potentials. In this study, there should be a clear distinction between outsiders and insiders to the community; the research should avoid non-aggregation of actors and blind statistics. Qualitative data and analysis should compliment sensitive and articulate quantitative data collection. Only then would experts have a complete picture of the basis upon which people weigh trades-off, make decisions, and act. Only then, can experts better predict the reaction that any intervention would trigger, and only then would intervention be able to capitalize on the potentials and avoid the threats inherent in the physical and social fabric of HC.

Possible outcomes should feed into directing the management plan towards adopting alternative and innovative economic assessment criteria that reflect multidimensional values and would consequently lead to economic development scenarios that are not destructive to the large potential that HC has over other historic cities.

Future research should also include more in-depth studies of community-oriented activity patterns and modalities of appropriation of public space that are related to conflicts, gains, potentials and threats identified in this report. There are also a few patterns that were not covered by the sample in this study which, if explored, may reveal some additional critical issues to address in the targeted Conservation Plan. (e.g. the scrap metal business in Bou-laq Abul-Ela, the musical instruments and entertainers market in Mohammed Aly Street, the Attaba/Rowe'y street vendor markets...etc.). This is necessary to draw comprehensive strategies and detailed action plans that would sustain and enable the positive, and resolve and minimize/neutralize the negative influences of these patterns. It may also serve to recognize the intangible heritage value still alive in HC; an added value to HC that compensates for the weakening in its tangible measures.

Possible outcomes may include a complete catalogue of the handicrafts as living heritage tying social, physical, economic and cultural aspects together. It can capture that certain crafts are still tied to a few families whose descendents still reside and work in proximity in HC. This precious and historic characteristic of living and working in a traditional craft in the same urban fabric for generations can be a powerful value adding basis upon which to develop cultural tourism in HC.

Future research is needed that focuses on methods of raising awareness and valorizing current community practices and potentials for conservation. It should explain to all involved in the shaping of the built environment (local community, local government and experts) the relation between elements of the urban fabric (street alignment, building height, building ratio, land use...etc.) and the advantages perceived and utilized in HC today such as the strong social ties, the high perceived safety, the appropriation of public space, the proximity to work... etc.. This would pave the way to mobilize local community as well as society at large to invest and actively participate in the rehabilitation, development and conservation of HC. Substantive material and strategies for advocacy and training purposes should be prepared such as workshops, media releases and published guidelines targeted to different groups. One outcome should be to delineate domains of partnership between the local community and other societal agencies to be part of the Conservation Plan.

Possible outcomes may include a Sustainability Guide aimed at local citizens and local government concerning the built cultural heritage that informs them, in simple words, about:

- 1. Use/performance value of the historical they occupy; highlights benefits of building design quality and people's practices.*
- 2. Threats to sustainability and potentials to reap more benefits as a result of adopting and applying sustainable conservation measures (this Guide).*
- 3. Innovative methods for green regeneration; the possibilities for "greening" a building in the HA.*
- 4. Legal and strategic framework that should be followed (enabling).*

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