

Remaking urban spaces in Egypt

A study of Bulaq Abul Ela planning schemes 1960-2005

**A thesis submitted to the University of Sheffield
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By

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**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS
ORIGINAL**

CONTAINS

PULLOUTS

To my beloved family

To the people of Bulaq Abul Ela

To the Egyptian Revolution

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the shifting politics of remaking the urban experience in post-colonial Cairo, through investigating the account of remaking an old historical district, namely, Bulaq Abul Ela. It examines the extent to which planning approaches and ambitions to improve the quality of the built environment have achieved their objectives and attended to people's changing needs. To achieve this aim, critical analysis of the chronological development of the remaking process, planning institutions and legislation in Egypt has been undertaken in the context of three re-planning schemes for Bulaq, drafted between 1966 and 2005. Understanding spatial quality, in this context, indicates an intersection between two realms: spatial settings and social needs, which both influence the process of space reproduction in Cairo.

The schemes are investigated on two levels; first, there is a careful study of the planning institution's ambitions for improving Bulaq's spatial qualities; second, there is critical analysis of how such visions were imposed on the schemes, and how this affected their credibility in terms of improving the district. Through each scheme, the district's conditions, approved re-planning actions, proposed physical attributes and land uses will be discussed and analyzed. The study is based on detailed accounts of original reports, meetings, decrees, correspondents' archives, interviews and fieldwork that took place between 2008 and 2009, and has relied on original documents from various planning institutions, and local newspapers in Egypt.

The investigated schemes revealed a consistent clarity of the planning institution's visions towards remaking old districts, but alongside this, there is evidence of a lack of coherent processes in planning and of implementing these visions. Not only was there an apparent conflict between the planning institution's underlying objectives towards re-planning Bulaq, and people's needs, but within the planning institution itself there was a lack of reliability and consistency in performing its role, in which respect it was impeded by the absence of an effective legislative framework to guide planning practices in Egypt. The study revealed that Bulaq's spatial qualities are grounded in the historical authenticity of the district, its physical attributes, and the vibrant mix of activities and land usage practised in Bulaq's urban spaces. Thus, investigating Bulaq re-planning schemes has allowed the research to find new meanings, images, stories, and places to replace the increasingly undesirable authentic fabric of the district. Against this background, continuous dialogue for participation, shared commitments, and flexible planning approaches, have emerged as necessary and, indeed, the only tools through which improvement of the built environment and creation of a successful remaking project may be achieved.

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IMPORTANT NOTES

Notes on Arabic Transliterations and Translation

When quoting, citing or otherwise using Arabic materials, one must strike a balance between transparency and simplicity. Therefore, well-known names will be spelt as they appear in English-language and secondary resources, for example, Nasser not Abd el-Naser. The same principle will be also applied to Cairo places names, for example Bulaq Abul Ela /Bulaq rather than Boulq Abu el Ela or Boulac. Some names are transliterated as their owners do when writing in English.

As this thesis is widely Cairo focused, Arabic names and words will be transliterated in a way to reflect the Cairene colloquial pronunciation in the text, for example, *manatek mutahalka*, or the pronunciation of the 'ka' sound which will be a *hamza* in Arabic.

Arabic terminologies and names are shown in italic format the first time they appear in the text, and a translation will follow. Also, the thesis will provide the Arabic translation of none commonly translated phrases in the secondary literature, such as the *Muhafzah* instead of the governorate, or *Hay* rather than the municipal unit.

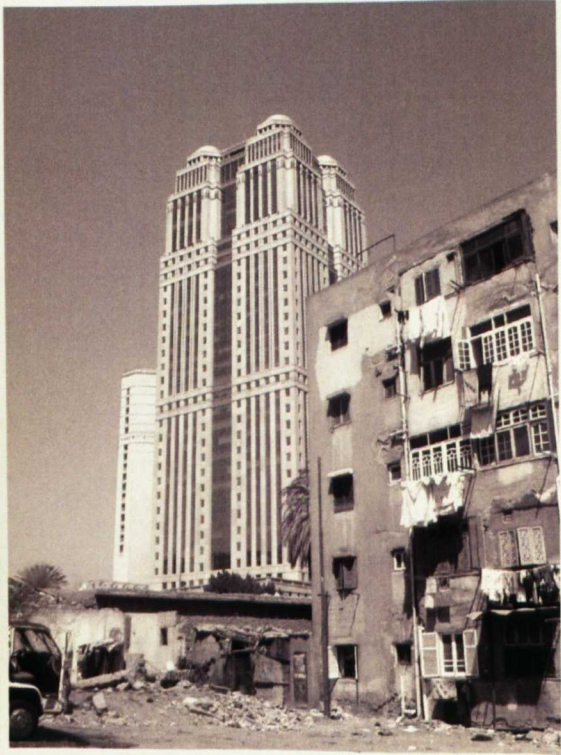
Other notes

All pictures, drawings and diagrams included in this thesis are the researcher's work unless otherwise specified in relevant locations

All interviewees are coded based on the coding systems attached in Appendix A. The standard code used in this thesis is [Rx.n.yy], where Rx refers the resident code in the attached list of interviews; n refers to the number of the interview; and yy the year when the interview took place. Intellectuals inclusive of scholars, planners and officials have similar system, but R is replaced with I (intellectuals).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION



Bulaq Abul Ela.

Left Map: the district of Bulaq Abul Ela in Cairo.

Right Image: Nile City Towers, newly constructed in the riverfront zone of Bulaq in 2004. This building is directly attached to un-cleared sections of the district.

1.1. Introduction: Remaking Places on Scope

'There is now a concentrated attempt to re-engineer the experience of cities, one which is on a par with the construction of Haussmann's boulevards- but happening in many cities around the world'¹.

Remaking places is a practice that emerged out of the need to incorporate particular political, economic and socio-cultural conditions in providing improved living environments for citizens². By definition, it occurs in existing parts of the built environments, where the remaking context, in planning terms, mostly involves reshaping, urban renewal, and urban redevelopment operations. It is perceived as a tool that contributes to the city's future demands through either reconstruction or clearance. This approach appears to have had a significant effect on different regions, wherein large areas of urban districts have been demolished in order to create a new public face of the city³. Mona Abaza described this process as '*the aggressive reshaping of the cityscape*'⁴ whereby the creation of new physical boundaries tends to widen the gap between the rich and the poor, the new and the old, the public and the private.

In the debate on modern urban planning, Steven Marshall has argued that 'the issue of planning is not just about the built environment, but relates to wider issues of political economy: the preference for more or less state intervention in industry, education, health, and any other sector'⁵. From this point of view, remaking becomes an urban planning and design practice involved in managing the spatial and functional structures of areas in relation to the society. While historical remaking attempts focused on improving the visual and physical attributes in inner sections of cities, recent attempts had broadened their scope to include further problems of housing and infrastructure implications, mostly when previous outcomes had proved inadequate. In particular, unsuccessful outcomes were recorded when the authorities had failed to learn the lessons of the past, and adopted top-down strategies which proved to show an unsuccessfully remaking agenda.

In the context of Cairo, global processes of transformation have made a visible impact on the urban environment and its built forms. Modernizing the city has led to the rapid growth of business districts and luxury residential zones in its various parts, leaving its core areas in a

¹ Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity. p. 56.

² Bohl, C. (2002) *Place Making: developing town centers, main streets, and urban villages*. Washington D.C.

³ Gavin, A. (2004) Renewal of Central Beirut: The BCD Master Plan and the Shaping of Architectural Form. In: *Architecture Re-introduced: New Projects in Societies in Change*. Jamal Abed (ed). Geneva: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture. Hamouche, M. (2004) *The Changing Morphology of the Gulf Cities in the Age of Globalization: the case of Bahrain*. Habitat International. 28:4. 521 - 540.

⁴ Abaza, M. (2006) Egyptianizing the American Dream: Nasr City's Shopping Malls, Public Order, and Privatized Military. In D Singerman and P Amar (eds.) *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press. p. 193 - 220.

⁵ Marshall, S. (2009) *Cities Design and Evolution*. Routledge. p. 8.

world of neglect. This has coincided with the state's⁶ tendency of improving the city as a policy process for allocation of alternative land uses and embarkation on improvements that support its ambitious visions; a reform activity for managing and controlling the quality of the built environment. For this reason, Cairo, as a mega city⁷, became a reasonable exemplar for exploring the substantial impacts of such policies based on local responses to global problems such as pollution, inadequate infrastructure, housing problems, increase in poverty, and the accelerating physical decline. Indeed, these problems have been aggravated in Cairo by its radical shift towards globalization⁸, to complete an ambitious 'project of modernity', where planning practices have become its elementary products⁹. This modernity originally emerged in Europe¹⁰ and was subsequently imposed on Middle Eastern cities¹¹, with Europe providing the established model. For example, in examining Delhi's 'indigenous modernity', Hosagrahar claims that in non-western cities, modernity was associated with colonialism. It was therefore an external imposition, not a native enterprise emerging from existing structures¹². She wrote that:

'The definition of modernity was based on differences: to be modern was to be not traditional... for those who regard the forms of Europe's modernity to be the only ones that are valid; all others were transitory, incomplete, inadequate or traditional'¹³.

In addition, remaking acts in Cairo mostly regarded clearance of entire areas as the only effective strategy to get rid of the symptoms of inherent aging and deterioration problems, with renovation attempts no longer considered effectual. Some researchers such as Lisa Findley have discussed the idea of imposing new uses to existing spaces as a useful tool for creating new ideologies, imaginaries, and power relations in these contexts¹⁴. Others argue that such planning approaches are positive and somehow essential instruments for generating new urban economies and heritage as 'competitive places' for economic prosperity¹⁵. Trends towards theming the city's urban experience are, therefore, evident¹⁶.

⁶ The 'state' will be defined to integrate the president, the cabinet and public sector bodies represented in ministries and public sector firms which dominated Egypt's development from the 1960s.

⁷ This terminology is based on Mike Davis classification .see Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of slums*. London. Verso.

⁸ Yousry, M. (ed) (1998). Cairo as a World City: The Impact of Cairo's Orientation Towards Globalization. In: *Globalization and the world of large cities*. United Nations University Press. p. 27.

⁹ Habermas, J. (1983) *Modernity: An unfinished project*. The Anti-Aesthetic, Bay Press, Batsford. p. 5 - 15.

¹⁰ Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press. Berman, M. (1988) *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Penguin. King, A. (1995) The Times and Spaces of Modernity: or Who Needs Postmodernism? In: Featherstone, M. (ed) *Global Modernities*. SAGE.

¹¹ See Mitchell, T. (1991) *Colonising Egypt*. The University of California Press.; Mitchell, T. (2002) *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity*. The University of California Press.; Elsheshtawy, Y. (2004) *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope in a Globalizing World*. London. Routledge.; Elsheshtawy, Y. (2008) *The Evolving Arab City: Tradition, modernity & urban development*, London. Routledge.; Owen. R. (2004) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*: Routledge.; Marcus, A. (2000) *The Middle East on the eve of modernity: Aleppo in the eighteenth century*. New York. Colombia University Press.; Kusno, A. (2000) *Behind the postcolonial: architectures, urban space and political cultures in Indonesia*. Routledge.; Isenstadt, S. and, Rizvi K. (2008) *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. University of Washington Press.

¹² Hosagrahar, J. (2005) *Indigenous modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Routledge. New York.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁴ Findley, L. (2005) *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency*. London. Routledge. p. 5.

¹⁵ Amin and Thrift, *Cities*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Gottlener, M. (1997) *The theming of America: dreams, visions and commercial spaces*. Boulder. Colo.; Oxford, Westview Press.

Hannigan explains that the rise of the 'urban entertainment' industry in the post-industrial city incorporates restructuring particular qualities of urban imaginaries, where complete sites and neighbourhoods are re-made according to strategic re-planning visions of development completely 'blind to its context', and which apparently furthered the city's destruction¹⁷.

Moreover, recent visions of remaking have tended to develop certain areas in isolation from adjacent contexts physically, socially and economically, resulting in a divided environment. Such division creates what has been called a 'city of illusion': that disregards problems of homelessness and unemployment while simultaneously transforming sites into 'promotional spaces'¹⁸. In the Netherlands, for example, reduction of spatial isolation, greater urban integration, human scale, size, and variety were among the many reasons for the success of planning attempts to promote the urban context¹⁹. However, while social problems certainly contribute to decline, we cannot deny that re-planning attempts sometimes fail to rise to the task of making attractive living spaces for the people. In this regard, planners bear the weight the responsibility of understanding the actual causes of deterioration and then proposing solutions. While these proposals may involve drafting wider streets, taller buildings, and new land uses, they are rarely successful in addressing the actual causes of decline.

Planning practices in Cairo are nowhere more clearly apparent than in Bulaq Abul Ela district: the prominent and strategic Cairene waterfront zone with long-term problems of deterioration, neglect and problematic planning conditions. Consideration of the extensive planning attempts, legislation and structure reveals the fundamental concepts, visions and strategies that have underpinned the improvement policies in Egyptian planning for most of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty first century. For a long time, this has been part of a strategic long-term planning vision to transform the traditional fabric of Bulaq into a luxury district, with the high-rise buildings of a truly modern Central Business District (CBD). Such intentions required the controversial demolition and replacement of many areas for replacing old areas with physical and visual forms for new perceptions of space and time²⁰.

In the context of this thesis, remaking tends to be described as change to the built environment aimed at improving the already built-up spaces. However, it appears that there is no simple solution or prescriptive strategy for creating more liveable and desirable neighbourhoods, or, within such complex (and sometimes confrontational) contexts, a simple straightforward process of taking decisions about refilling a site. Rather, a process of investigation, analysis and study of existing problems, their roots and local powers is required before any possible implementation of remedial action to rectify the problems of the

¹⁷ Hannigan, J. (1998) *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*. London. Routledge.

¹⁸ Boyer, C. (1993) The city of illusion: New York's public places. In Knox, P. (ed) *The Restless Urban Landscape*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall. p. 111 - 126.

¹⁹ Gruis, V. et al (2005) *Sustainable neighbourhood transformation*. IOS Press. p. 9.

²⁰ Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Los Angeles. Calif.: University of California Press.

physical and spatial built environment. This thesis will draw on the invisible memories of places, their rooted problems, activities, and associative identities. In addition, it will build a body of evidence on the detailed accounts of planning approaches, legislation and planning institutions that have left their mark on the projects of remaking Bulaq urban spaces that has been going on continuously since the early twentieth century. Since the early days of the planning of modern Cairo, remaking the city's old districts has been both central and a corner stone in the state's perspective of its capital. The practice of attempting to re-produce the city's squares, buildings, parks, streets and waterfronts to create more liveable, active, and vibrant spaces, was, to a large extent, beyond our field of knowledge, but is now, more than ever, an area of vital concern.

1.2. Research Background

Historical and traditional old districts in Cairo have played a crucial role in shaping the urban core of Islamic Cairo, which served to characterize its principal identity through its traditional urban patterns. Historical districts of Cairo, as emerges from its name, are also places where memories of the past could be found, in districts such as *al-Sayyda zainab*, *al- Hussein*, and Bulaq Abul Ela. Such areas have grown and been transformed over the centuries, and so have their urban patterns. Mostly, historical and sociological studies have described these districts as discrete entities, characterized by their clear physical boundaries and narrow and tight *hawari* (sing. *harah*)²¹ which constituted the primary urban units of Islamic Cairo²². Old districts are today typified by poor lower class population and mixed activities which have been dominant features since the mid twentieth century²³. In these districts, it is common to see a *hara* or a *shari* / street (Pl. *shawar'i*) named in accordance with a certain type of local activity, such as *haret al-Nahaseen* (coppersmiths), or Shari al-Sukkariyyah (sugar-traders) in al-Gammaliyyah in Old Cairo. The *shawar'i* are dominated by a compact glued tissue of houses, buildings of two or three storeys, which are busy with noisy commercial and light industrial activities, causing commercial traffic day and night.

Since the 1960s, the national shortage of adequate job opportunities and unbalanced distribution of development projects has led to an increase in the migration of the rural population into the city in search of a better life. The population increase and lack of housing regulations have been crucial in the proliferation of decline, particularly in old districts, which later led to some of its sections being characterized as collectively *manatek mutahalka*²⁴, or deteriorated areas. According to the UN-HABITAT report published in 2006, this situation

²¹ The *Hara* is a narrow zigzag alleyway (mostly dead ends) that has formed the basic urban unit of the medieval city since its foundation back in 969 AD.

²² Abu-Lughod, J.L (1987) *The Islamic City: Historic myth, Islamic essence, and contemporary Relevance*. The International Journal of Middle East Studies. (19). 155 - 176.

²³ Abada, G. (2004) *Heterogeneity within Homogeneity: Fragmentation and the Possible Re-Coherence of Traditional Urban Forms in Cairo*. GBER 4:1. 3 - 14.

²⁴ An Arabic term used to refer to deterioration in the built environment in undeveloped districts. This term has become a synonym for slums in the private and popular language, and it carried negative implications. Government officials and the national press frequently distinguished these areas as 'black stains' and ascribed to them a set of social tribulations such as crime, drugs, and backward behaviour.

arose within a context of neglect in the state provision for subsidised housing, in addition to the high rates of real estate prices in other zones of the city²⁵. Its urban and physical conditions reflected high rates of informality, poverty, and urban decline²⁶ as 'unregulated housing became the solution for millions in the Greater Cairo Region, especially residents of old Cairo, migrants from rural areas, and newly married couples who were all trying to meet a basic and essential need'²⁷ (Figure 1.1). However, they collectively compose a characteristic element of the recent landscape through their unique physical organization and spatial association with the city as a whole²⁸ (Figure 1.2).

Active conservation organizations reported in 1996 that thirty-four per cent of Egypt's urban population were living in *manatek mutahalka*. Estimates that are more recent are closer to sixty per cent of Greater Cairo's residents²⁹. These problems contributed further to the deterioration of the spatial settings and urban appearance of structures in the old fabric, especially the eastern sections of old Cairo³⁰. In addition, the abject failure of the local planning authority to provide the citizens with the sufficient resources needed to improve the quality of their living spaces was evident as will be explained in the thesis. In this regard, the planning authority in Cairo has acknowledged that a national program to end problems of deterioration in the capital by 2025, is on the way, its target being to ensure the clearance of the identified areas by this date.

Today, most of these districts have lost their authentic urban qualities and witnessed huge changes in their spatial settings. It is possible that this change could be accepted as part of our acknowledgment that urban environments are predictably and naturally forced to change in accordance to certain needs. As such, the physical, social, and economical arrangements serve to distinguish old districts from the outside world, whereas their spatial and social settings are subject to rearrangement through state authorized actions³¹. In old districts of Cairo, when it comes to remaking such closed entities of physical and social structures, a deep understanding of their genuine settings and their development is required. Notably, each district has its own unique spaces of homogeneity and physical characteristics which

²⁵ UN- HABITAT Report (2006) State of the worlds cities- The Millennium Development Goals and Urban Sustainability: 30 Years of Shaping the Habitat Agenda. HABITAT.

²⁶ These parts are Old Cairo, Fustat, the Citadel, South and Northern-Eastern cemeteries, Historic Cairo and Bulaq Abul Ela.

²⁷ Ismail, S. (2006) *Political life in Cairo's new Quarters: encountering the everyday state*. Minneapolis. p.1.

²⁸ Historic Cairo attracted numerous rehabilitation, preservation and restoration studies, proposals and projects through governmental bilateral and multilateral efforts. However, their success has been limited to the restoration of individual monuments by various foreign missions, whilst, more comprehensive attempts, master plan schemes or action plans, have had no implementation success to date. For example, the conservation of the old city of Cairo project (UNESCO 1980) was the first study to address the specific needs of the historic core, but its implementation was hampered by failure to create the main overseeing body, the Cairo Conservation Agency. Also, the Arab Bureau generated two studies: in 1980 for revitalization of Fatimid Cairo and in 1984 for the rehabilitation and upgrading of the Gamaliyya district, and neither was implemented. In 1988, two projects were approved by the GOPP/IAURIF for the rehabilitation of north *Gamaliyya, al-Darb al-Asfar*, however, they were detailed urban planning studies, and they lacked funding resources.

²⁹ Sabry, S. (2008) *Lost in the slums: Social policy failure is deepening inequality, particularly among Egypt's youth*. Al-Ahram Weekly. Cairo. Egypt. 893.

³⁰ Examples include *al- Darb al- Ahmar, al- Gamalia, parts of Misr al- Qadima* and *al- Khalifa* quarters. In addition to historic villages such as *Qait Bey* and *al Tonsa* which serve the vast historical cemetery areas in Egypt.

³¹ Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic City*.

create a certain degree of integration with the public life, as well as a degree of integration within its constituent physical settings.



Figure 1.1 Map of Greater Cairo region.
The location of slums and deteriorated areas in Cairo.
Source: UN-Habitat 2003.



Figure 1.2 The *hara* as a lived space in Bulaq Abul Ela.

They collectively compose a characteristic element of the recent landscape through their unique physical organization and spatial association with the city as a whole

Bulaq Abul Ela, remarkably, experienced a persistent preconception of deteriorated urban spaces which had proved to be inappropriate in the contemporary discourse of urban planning practices. The most commonly cited reasons for drafting new schemes were the problems of physical decline, reflected in the negative visual appearance of unmaintained historical monuments mixed in with old buildings, slums, and homeless people; the insufficient and complex street network of the *hawari* and *shawar'i*; and the unbalanced land uses. But the question now is whether it is possible or not to afford a realistic remaking practice that assimilates all the uniqueness, solidity, and coherence found in such places, despite their deterioration. It is believed that improving the urban and physical quality requires planners to become connected with such specific contexts through their intellectual perspectives and to consider the effects their intervention might have on the lives of many people.

In 2007, Zaha Hadid Architects designed an iconic structure to be built on the east bank of the Nile, called The Nile Tower project³². The project included a hotel and apartment high-rise to occupy a total area of 120000 m² of the river frontage section located in the old district of Bulaq.

'The new 70 storey tower was designed as a gracious volume that elegantly borders the Nile River in the heart of Cairo. The main structural elements of the tower are that they rotate gently over the full height of the tower generating a wide selection of orientations for the hotel rooms and apartments, particularly at the upper floors. On the east side, the tower is pulled out as a triangle on the lower floors to offer maximum

³² See <http://www.zaha-hadid.com/offices-and-towers/nile-tower>. (Accessed 22 January 2011).

stability. These opposite extensions make the overall tower seemingly lean over towards the Nile³³.

This statement discloses an important issue. It places great emphasis on the aspects of appearance and view, which become problematic in a place like Bulaq. While the project has been lauded in terms of its visual form and unique structure, at least in Cairo, it has become apparent that the designs were based on inaccurate and general information about the typical physical configuration of its context. In other words, it is entirely disconnected and isolated from the local social and spatial context. Further corruption in the quality of the urban fabric, as a result, comes under pressure from a hostile structure that undermines its collective integrity. This neglect of the context allowed the architects greater freedom of imagination to manipulate the reality of the situation in favour of an authentically motivated design. While the association between the project and the context remained vague and ambiguous, the designer's description failed to explain the fact that some of the proposed views faced onto the district not the Nile, as if the project lacked a rear façade (Figure 1.3). Such project, and others, appeared to be setting a future trend for displaying a 'liquid modernity' in Bulaq, whereby remote powers of globalization are shaping the future of our living spaces³⁴ (Figure 1.4).

There is no doubt that globalization and new strands of knowledge and IT will lead the practice of planning and design to create images that suit its agenda. Looking at the Nile Tower project, two lines of questioning are raised. The first line, targeted at the designers, is to question what the outcomes would have been if the orientation and views of the project had taken account of the local historical context within the locality. Perhaps if this aspect had been considered, the project could have been designed to integrate with their locality in terms of improving the urban quality of the district and responding to the real needs of the poor people living in Bulaq. The second line of enquiry targets the local planning authority; do these designs contribute to and positively integrate with the wider scope of remaking the physical quality of urban space in Bulaq? Is this trend meant to become the overriding future image in Bulaq; to attempt to make the district's appearance fit into the suit of a modern high class quarter? There is no doubt that these projects have become separated from the social and economic realities of the district, in supplying a perceived desire for luxury rather than fulfilling a need.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p.188.

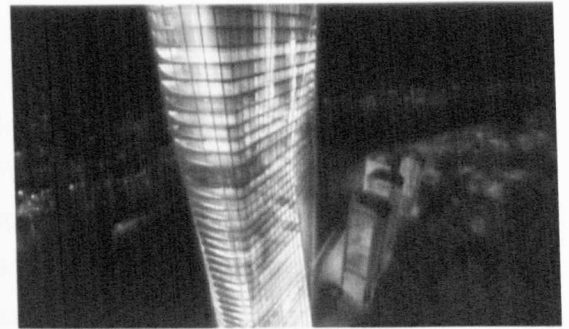
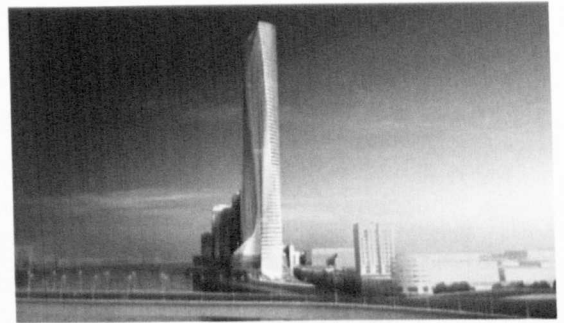
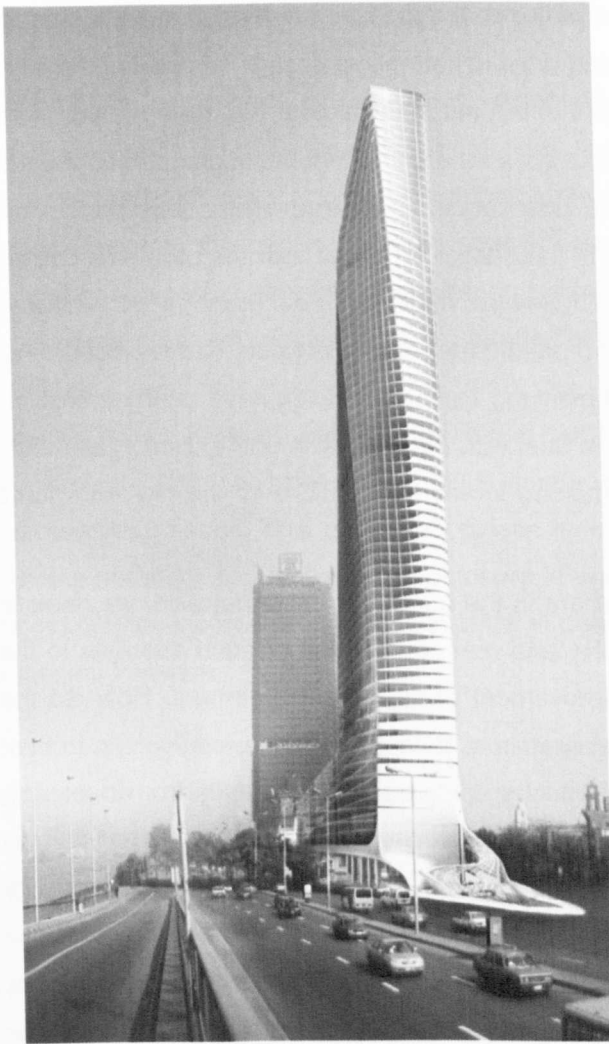


Figure 1.3 The high-rise Nile Tower project in Bulaq Abul Ela.

The location of the project in the river frontage zone of Bulaq, showing the existing Cairo Plaza. What is obvious in the image is that there is minimal physical representation of the context of Bulaq, and an extremely wide *street* on its rear side, which also takes no account of the real context.

Source: <http://www.zaha-hadid.com/offices-and-towers/nile-tower>.



Figure 1.4 The new complex of *al-Diar* Qatari project.

This project is located in the same area next to the Nile towers project and still (under construction).

While my intention is to study the power of the desire to implement a modern discourse in Cairo's urban places, the old district of Bulaq drew my attention since it was part of the city's official remaking schemes. This was evident in the set objectives of the three master plans introduced in this study. Evidently, the district inspired utopian modernist planners in the first half of the twentieth century and later the post modernists, when Bulaq was part of the creative destruction practised by the state in their policies to deal with the problems caused by neglect and subsequent decline. In 1979, several parts of its old urban fabric had been bulldozed and luxury high-rise buildings and private investment projects had replaced other zones. However, the urban conditions and planning settings in Bulaq have been extensively criticized as a symbol of the state's failure to deal with the problems of the district, although, other remaking projects have been implemented in several sections of the city with some signs of success.

Whilst more projects like the Nile Tower are in the queue for implementation, we need to further our understanding about the feasibility and real contribution of such attempts to the urban quality in Bulaq and the spatial improvement of its built environment. How did the planning authority perceive the vibrant living spaces of Bulaq's hawari in relationship to their inhabitants; what are the driving forces behind the improvement tendency from one side, how are these ambitions translated into replanning schemes, and what type of built environment quality could best fit Bulaq? Over the centuries, Bulaq has developed very gradually, but it has also deteriorated in a short period of time. What we see today in Bulaq exemplifies a lack of understanding of the real dynamics of remaking for such an authentic historical context and its people. It would have been insufficient to understand how the above projects were approved for construction in Bulaq without investigating the type of urban quality which the planning authority intended to impose on the district. Behind the drafting of each re-planning scheme there were ambitions which evolved from the immediate response to the political and economic conditions of the city. Each scheme represented a shift in political ideology, a shift in planning trends, and a shift in the people's needs.

This research is not only targeted towards contemporary planners and urban designers in Egypt and around the world, particularly those associated with remaking historical contexts and old cities, but it is also targeted towards the higher authority involved in structuring the planning system and design control in order to possibly provide them with a live example for a positive understanding and utilization of space during remaking. Scholars and readers would be interested in understanding the politics of remaking cities within the Middle Eastern context, since this subject has barely been tackled in books or articles on this region, and the thesis offers various documentary resources and the spatial analysis of old and traditional districts of Cairo.

1.3. Research Problem

In Egypt, the early years of the 1990s witnessed a major focus on improving the urban quality through large-scale projects. At that time, the planning authority made great strides in implementing such projects, yet the outcomes have proven sometimes to be disappointing, particularly when the quality of urban spaces has been compromised in the face of other political or economic priorities. Apparently, behind these efforts are specialized teams of professional planners, equipped to make effective, open-minded and tolerant decisions on re-planning proposals. However, they were not always able to achieve the targeted and favoured urban environment. On the other hand, there are great expectations from the people's side that such attempts should restore a vibrant living environment that responds to their everyday needs. This dichotomy places a serious responsibility upon members of the planning authority and professional planners to ensure that remaking places, particularly, in the old district, incorporates high standards of quality, which correspond to the social needs in the first instance.

Not surprisingly, remaking in such a context as Cairo has tended to focus on the visual appearance rather than considering the social prospects and changing needs of the era. Exemplar cases from around the world have shown that re-planning schemes of the past were successful in adopting meaningful remaking approaches, once the social structure and the ethos of modernity had been addressed³⁵. Aspects of the success of such schemes included promoting active and flexible usage or specific building forms normally related to the natural context; or controlling the buildings' volume, scale, and height; and producing an integrated plan where buildings and streets are assembled in harmony in a way that responds to the main scope of planning and design. While some writing in the remaking literature has tended to explain remaking practices through the designers', planners', and people's perspectives of the project, there has been an overall failure to look in depth at how such attempts may become controlled by other visions and ambitions. In general, investigating these attempts in such a complex social and urban context facilitates understanding of its mechanisms, driving forces and implications, as well as revealing the importance of the planning practice as an active element in shaping the people's lives and living environments. On the micro scale, this also contributes to our understanding of the role of planning as a flexible and socially effective practice that bridges physical and social circumstances, and responds to the natural context rather than subjects and visions that could prevent its success.

Remaking the built environment has been comprehensively studied on two investigative levels: as an agency of physical, social, and cultural change in our living urban contexts³⁶, or at the level of individual buildings in terms of studying the power of change and its cultural

³⁵ For various examples see Perfect, M. and Power, G. (1997) *Planning for Urban Quality: Urban Design in Towns and Cities*. Routledge.

³⁶ Schneekloth, L. and Shibley, R. (1995) *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities*. John Wiley and Sons.

implications³⁷. Both approaches highlight the importance of enhancing the quality of the relevant contexts, and therefore, there is a need to understand how remaking contributes to a sustainable transformation in the built environment, and tends to improve the lived experience. While remaking in Egypt constitutes a belief that an entire transformation of the space must accrue, this belief shows a schism with the accepted ideology of remaking that acknowledges its success as a process of restructuring the defects of the city to make a complete and sufficient structure of its spaces³⁸. Therefore, this study tends to offer different perspectives on improving the quality of Cairo's old spaces.

Hence, a critical understanding of the quality of an existing urban structure is essential to achievement of a proper social and economic route to improving the quality of its lived spaces. It is also important to establish a link between what is imagined and what has the potential to become a reality, with reference to understanding the changing social needs of communities and the relevant practical responses. This study responds to this need through an investigation of accounts of remaking Bulaq Abul Ela, one of Cairo's historical and old traditional districts, and through inclusive analysis of the spatial qualities addressed in the re-planning schemes.

1.4. The Research Question and Aim

Therefore, the research question is

To what extent have the Bulaq Abul Ela planning schemes, drafted between 1966 and 2005, for remaking the district, achieved their aim to improve the local spatial qualities in a way that responds to the actual changing needs of the people in their everyday activities?

Throughout the thesis, I argue that remaking the quality of the built environment, as a practice, plays an effective role in shaping our future environments and living spaces: spaces that are informed by the people's socio-spatial practice and daily activity. The aim of this study is to investigate the accounts of remaking Bulaq's quality of urban spaces from the mid twentieth century to recent times. At certain stages, it becomes obvious that no single approach can adequately explain the complexity of the remaking process. For that reason, I intend to situate the study within a group of ordered objectives to respond to the research question. In addition, in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the process of remaking spaces within this particular context, I will gradually develop the discussion by engaging in a constructive dialogue on two different levels, theoretical and practical.

- Constructing a comprehensive understanding of the idea of remaking in Cairo through explaining the historical development of planning practices in the general context

³⁷ Findley, *Building Change*.

³⁸ Alexander, C. (1979) *The timeless way of building*. Oxford University Press. p. 485.

since the end of its medieval history, and understanding how the quality of its urban spaces was perceived in terms of production and deterioration.

- Investigating the theoretical ground behind the process of improving the quality of the urban space. At this theoretical level, while drawing on previous literature that focused on the modern perception of space, I intend to designate a point of convergence to utilize the notion of spatial quality that influences the production and reproduction of space in Cairo. By spatial quality, I indicate a region of space that lies at the intersection of two major constructions: the physical attributes and use of space, and the social needs. Thus, I will use this concept to investigate the shifting dynamics of the intertwined relationships between both constructs of space.

- Analyzing the process of remaking through the political and socio-economic shifts in Cairo, and the way they influenced the proposed spatial qualities. At the practical level, I attempt to investigate the detailed narratives of Bulaq's remaking to reveal its active story and intertwined dynamics, as this appears to be the most effective means of achieving the aim of the thesis. The case study examines whether remaking derived from the intention to improve a visual image, a physical space, or a practice. It also constructs chronological narratives which pinpoint certain ideological shifts in practice, policies, and institutions in the remaking of Cairo, and specifically in Bulaq, which correspond with an intense ambition to improve the city's planning conditions

- Investigating the role of the planning institution and the relevant planning legislation in achieving a successful remaking atmosphere in Egypt. This is achieved by questioning the reliability of planning institutions in Egypt in managing and controlling tasks of improving the built environment, and the effectiveness of the legislative and regulatory laws and acts in supporting this task.

- Investigating quality and the practice of remaking through the local voices. This requires an understanding of the people's views on what constitutes remaking the district's spatial qualities. In addition, the planners' perceptions are crucial to determining the challenges that face the remaking of Cairo at present.

Therefore, three planning schemes, drafted to improve Bulaq, will be investigated through an in-depth explanation of the remaking process in terms of describing the physical decline of Bulaq, the planning institution's reaction towards this decline, and step-by-step analysis of the detailed accounts of the schemes' preparation and drafting. Investigating the schemes' objectives and outcomes will explain how remaking was anticipated and produced, and how planning ideologies have shaped the urban imaginary spaces' of the district. The inside story of this process introduces ambitions and uncertainties of the regimes and institutions which instigated this change. Thus, this study does not intend to provide a set of planning and urban design guidelines nor it is about the vision of individual planners, but it is

about a process of change: and about broader visions of development. It is essential to explain how the planning institution and planning legislation influenced the production of urban places during the different phases of the schemes.

1.5. Research Methodology

In the course of architectural research, it is important to differentiate between theoretical research and its practical approaches. For instance, it is significant to distinguish between the design process and its quality outcome on one side, and people's responses and perceptions on the other. In this sense, theoretical research could be distinguished by identifying its qualitative and practice-led strands³⁹. Interpretive-historical, qualitative, correlational and logical argumentation are other primary approaches specifically connected to architectural research⁴⁰.

While the thesis aims to investigate the active account of remaking Bulaq's quality of urban space, it also intends to exploit analysis of physical evidence and human interactions through in-depth interviews⁴¹. In this case, utilizing qualitative research methods could make a significant contribution to the thesis objectives. Qualitative methods provide research with wide flexibility to study particular cases in depth, and overcome others and handle them in a pilot manner: they are informative in terms of explaining certain information extracted from the available resources⁴².

On the other hand, qualitative methods allow the utilization of data in a flexible way, which then allows the researcher to fill in the unanswered gaps in questions during the investigation; it helps to form a smooth account based on the logical ongoing information. It is here then that the researcher's responsibility to construct a sensible overview of the study's context: its rational logic, and its embedded aspects, begins. To that end, the current investigation focuses on analyzing non-determined, non-measurable information, utilizing the available materials and information resources⁴³. This facilitates the generation of the determined theory, but does not involve its evaluation⁴⁴.

It is also important to locate this study in its actual temporal and spatial setting. Although, approaching the remaking of Bulaq through documentary accounts of the role of Egypt's planning institutions has definitely been informative and supportive to the current study, it has been also problematic. On one hand, it would be inaccurate to limit the study to a narration of the institutions as the only actors, disregarding the political and social structures

³⁹ Rendell, J. (2004) *Architectural Research and Disciplinarity*. *Architectural Research Quarterly* (ARQ). 8:2. 141 - 147. p. 145.

⁴⁰ Groat, L. and Wang, D. (2002) *Architectural Research Methods*. New York: Wiley Publishers.

⁴¹ Richardson, J. T. E. (1996) Introduction. In Richardson, J.T.E. (ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research methods for psychology and the social sciences*. London: BPS Blackwell. p. 3 -10.

⁴² Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. 3rd Edition. London: Sage Publications. p. 26.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Scheuman, J. (1983) *Research and evaluation in the human services*. London: Free Press. Collier Macmillan. p.38.

of the context, and it would be ineffective in achieving the study's objectives. In this sense, Bulaq as a place would become an inappropriate focus of study since the institution's policies and actions would not critically explain the process of improving the district. On the other hand, integrating the planning schemes as the main core of the study has the support of some of the reviewed literature, which emphasized planning and designing the city streets and road networks as a critical aspect of planning practice and an important element of the remaking process⁴⁵. Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee stated that:

'We feel that the larger organization of the spatial structure of cities was often defined by critical street elements, and this approach was very much a part of the synoptic and public tradition of urban design'⁴⁶.

The study also argues that the Egyptian state adopted a centralized planning system, which claimed some success in the demolition of slums and associated creation of new public realms of modernity under high costs of resistance⁴⁷. Selecting Bulaq Abul Ela as a site for the study helps to deliver the message that the reproduction of urban spaces is not just about creating new structures, but is also linked with other political visions, formed to allow further security and efficient control in the city, although not in response to the actual social and economic needs. Therefore, remaking Bulaq and similar old districts in Cairo needs to be framed and understood within this context.

The study is based on fieldwork and regular visits to the district during the researcher's visits to Cairo in 2008 and 2009⁴⁸. Due to the sensitivity of gender interaction in *Baladi* areas in Bulaq, a male research assistant supported me on my visits by conducting interviews with male residents in Bulaq⁴⁹. Resources were divided into two main branches; first, the historical resources implicated by the historical accounts of Bulaq, and second, the contemporary conditions relevant to the study of the three schemes. There was also an investigation of the related existing historical literature and accounts. In addition, archival documents, traveller accounts, original maps, newspapers and press archival materials were examined, and the historical and current actions for remaking Bulaq were analyzed through several data sources:

⁴⁵ Southworth, M. and Ben-Joseph, E. (2003) *Streets and the Shaping of Towns and Cities*. Island Press. Moughtin, C. (2003) *Urban Design: Street and Square*. The Architectural Press.

⁴⁶ Loukaitou-Sideris, A. and Banerjee, T. (1998) *Urban design downtown: poetics and politics of form*. Berkeley; London, University of California Press. p. xxiv.

⁴⁷ Ghannam, F. (2002) *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*. Berkeley, Calif.; London, University of California Press.

⁴⁸ In 2008 and 2009, fieldwork was conducted in Cairo. Several governmental institutions were visited and accessed, such as the National Archival Centre in Cairo and the Bulaq section at the Governorate of Cairo. I was able to search out the drafted schemes, records of official minutes and original maps. Also, I conducted several interviews with planners in the GOPP who were directly involved in the preparation of the 2002 scheme. As part of the fieldwork, I arranged several visits to Bulaq. To avoid any confusion with the people, I had to explain at the beginning that I was a researcher, not a lawyer or governmental representative in order to achieve more flexibility and openness in the interviews. I also interviewed official representatives of each implemented individual project (Cairo Plaza, WTC....).

⁴⁹ The *baladi* nature of the district required the researcher to ask a male assistant to commence the interview with a couple of questions followed by the researcher's intervention in the conversation. See Early (1993) who conducted a social study in Bulaq, and Ghannam (2002) who conducted another study in *al-Zawiya al-Hamra* which is also a *baladi* district.

1. Documents and Official Reports

-The *Tanzim* Department Documents located at the National Archival Centre in Cairo. The NAC supported the study by supplying the general planning regulations and policies in Cairo during the period from 1850-1945. The documents included annual reports issued from the public works division, Prime Ministerial Decrees and archival press documents. In addition, documents relating to the *Tanzim* Department and the Ministry of Public Works during 1920-1930 were accessed and reviewed, as well as historical maps of Cairo and detailed records of the physical structure of Bulaq. This type of material had the advantage of establishing a chronological text of the historical transformation, specifically of the studied context, and the broader domain of Cairo.

-The Planning Institution Archives: these included the Governorate, the GOPP and the Archival Division of Bulaq Municipal Section. Access to documents of this institution allowed the study to introduce the approved planning policies, decrees, and regulations, starting from its establishment in 1973. This included access to the detailed schemes drafted by a team of professional Egyptian planners in 1979 and 2002. In addition, documents of the Bulaq archival section supported the study with full records of the implemented projects in the district⁵⁰, including records of minutes of municipal meetings, and approval actions.

2. Interviews

Stories and narratives of the Bulaqi people offer the study a unique account. Interviews helped to extract unknown stories of the re-planning procedures and the people's everyday struggle, which had been disrupted by private developers' and policymakers' actions. They critically discussed their relations with the planning institution regarding their ownership of the properties and compensation actions. The interviews had a non-structured format, which allowed the respondents to express their personal views freely and offered more flexibility and dialogic layout to both the researcher and respondent in exploring other areas of value to the study, wherever appropriate (Political, social, economic...). Although such dialogues could result in bias from personal opinions and one-sided accounts, they have the advantage of conveying a level of knowledge that cannot be gained from documents or maps. The interviews were conducted in two groups:

-Planners and state officials from various planning institutions in Cairo. It was crucial to understand their fundamentals and perceptions of the remaking, particularly in relation to broader actions of implementing physical modernity in Cairo⁵¹.

-Residents in Bulaq, who offered the study a realistic and true picture of the remaking project, and its implementation. These interviews represented individual voices of the Bulaqi people and their reactions in favour of and against the project, and their explanations of how

⁵⁰ These projects are the Cairo Plaza, The World Trade Center Twin Towers, the Nile City Complex and the International Coach project.

⁵¹ I need to mention that planners interviewed mainly focused on the 2005 scheme and to some extent the 1979 scheme, which was more a reflection of their memories and opinions.

they are currently forced to negotiate with the developers to sell their lands and homes in order to evacuate the district.

3. Local newspapers and press archives in Egypt were very informative, specifically on the schemes' preparatory stages (such as *al-Ahram*, *al-Akhbar*, *al-Masry al-Youm*..). In addition, reference was made to novels and recorded television meetings with state officials and planners. In general, there were difficulties in accessing data in all institutions, especially where the documents related to an ongoing project under construction or an uncompleted project. Problems of document loss and inability to locate them caused a considerable waste of time and effort. In addition, documents were sometimes inaccessible due to security matters, lack of transparency and frequent unwillingness to allow access to archival sections or to search for the data.

1.6. Research Scope and Significance

The scope of this study encompasses the spatial ambitions and powers of the state policies towards remaking and improving the spatial qualities of old districts in Cairo. It looks at the overarching policies, institutions and attitudes involved in the remaking of Bulaq, their problems and consequences; their strengths and weaknesses; and considers whether the remaking objectives have been achieved or not. Thus, planning and design, as practices, become the key players in responding to this investigation, and an understanding of the impact of such powers on the city's physical builtscape is essential.

It is also important to explain how we can place this study within the literature of urban planning and urbanism. The account of remaking Bulaq tends to be an investigation linking multi disciplines and discourses under one subject. Thus, this research is concerned with researching two main lines of investigation: remaking places as a practice and the context of Cairo. The first focus of the study connects with urban planning and design. It is an understanding of how the processes of drafting, approving and implementing the quality of urban spaces in Bulaq in the planning schemes combined with ambitions, visions and desires for making a particular image. The endeavour is to explain the remaking process from a spatial perspective in terms of the implications for the reformed environment. Exploring this scene is linked to literature related to understanding spatial transformations of places, political economies, state policies and transitional shifts, which are employed as appropriate areas to present ideological aspects of the remaking of old districts in Cairo. The second focus of the study is concerned with the context of Cairo, and particularly, Bulaq Abul Ela, as one of the oldest historical districts, as explained earlier. Notably, there is extensive discussion of sociological writings relevant to the context of Cairo and its old areas that focus on understanding communities as symbolic constructions of a collective self-identity, in which the built environment represents the idea of local identity, or what Giddens

called: *locale*⁵². In Cairo, much of this research is socially-based, such as Farha Ghannam's *Remaking the Modern*; Diane Singerman's *Avenues of Participation*; Evelyn Early's *Baladi Women of Cairo*; Heba ElKholly's *Defiance and Compliance*. While they mostly complement Michel De Certeau's notion of *Everyday Life* (a term also utilized in this thesis), they neglect to explain the spatial experiences and practices in the investigated contexts.

This research has two major concerns: first, the significance of the periods that witnessed drafting of the three schemes in terms of Cairo's shift in ideology (Figure 1.5). Bulaq's planning schemes were drafted during moments of '*paradigm shift*' in planning practices and represented profound transformations in the practice of planning and design⁵³. Second, exploration of the account of remaking Bulaq Abul Ela allows the development of a more integrated account than has ever been attempted. It introduces a type of knowledge that was meant to be concealed and unknown. The study is an initial attempt to write this account, and seeks to link it, in particular, to the political and economic sources of the broader context of Cairo. Thus, the significance of studying the remaking in Cairo lies in the ground-breaking, detailed accounts of the planning process, the planners, and the people, particularly through the consideration of its inhabitants and their daily activities and needs, which are the main players behind failure or success.

While the thesis intends to deliver an inclusive interpretation and analysis of the story of space in Cairo, urban spaces as physical contexts for remaking become central in this study. The reviewed literature on international planning policies and practices had paid more attention to the transformation of places as social or cultural practice⁵⁴, while less attention was devoted to explanation of how such spaces were formed by high status actors and powers in relation to planning other sites⁵⁵. Geographers, planners, and architects have delivered few accounts of tracing such phenomena. In addition, the context of Cairo had lacked a critical case study discussion of this process as no such attempts had previously been made. An in-depth chronological documentation of implementation will go some way towards filling this gap in scholarship.

Previous literature on Cairo has explained how the development of urban places corresponded to a reordering of global economies and social shifts, which required changes in the city's physical builtscape and the disappearance of its old patterns⁵⁶. Hisham Khairy

⁵² See Giddens, A. (1986) *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. London: Polity Press.; Cohen, A. (1998) *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.; Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social Identity*. Second edition. Key Ideas Series. London. Routledge.

⁵³ Kuhn T. S. (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, P. (1989) *Social Space and Symbolic Power*. *Sociological Theory*. 7:1.14-25. Columbia University: Middle East Institute.; Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.; Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*.

⁵⁵ Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Pre.; Dovey, K. (2005) *Fluid City: Transforming Melbourne's urban waterfront*. Sydney. UNSW Press; Abingdon: Routledge.

⁵⁶ Abu-Lughod, J. (1971) *Cairo: 1001 years of the city victorious*. Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press. Most research topics that addressed this idea were limited to the nineteenth and early twentieth century and greater focused on the planner's educations and architectural schools. See Asfour, K. (1993) *The Domestication of Knowledge: Cairo at the Turn of the Century*. *Muqarnas: Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar* 10: 125 - 137, or economic and political influences on planning practices causing this transformation. See Arnaud, J. L. (1998) *Le Caire: Mies en place d'une ville modern 1867-1907- des interest du prince aux societees privees*, Sindbad Actes

examined the main political legislative forces and actions that had influenced the construction of the built environment of urban centres in Cairo from 1952-1970, arguing that planning practices had been greatly centralized by political institutions and state interests. His study focused on presenting the sequence of regulations and laws in relation to particular events, but it lacked an investigation of a specific scheme or grand project during President Nasser's rule⁵⁷. Khaled Adham studied placemaking in *al-Sayyida Zeinab* district, another old district in Cairo, as a wider cultural critique of modernity, examining the cultural politics of constructing modern spaces in Egypt. He argues that such spaces create physical 'borders or boundaries' between the transformed domains. However, this study focused on cultural and social implications that affected the designer, his background and the intact planning process⁵⁸. In addition, Ashraf Salama's contribution discussed the contemporary conditions of the Egyptian urbanism and architectural practice in Egypt. He argued that recent developments were linked to the socioeconomic conditions of Cairo by presenting examples of contemporary projects, representing various design positions that have played a role in transforming the public face of Cairo. This study grasped the topic of place remaking in Cairo; however, it was more concerned with issues related to the involvement of architectural education and changing attitudes regarding the creation of legible environments and identities⁵⁹.

Previous research studies on Bulaq Abul Ela have discussed its social and cultural conditions⁶⁰. Nelly Hanna in 1983 introduced a comprehensive history of Bulaq during the 15th -17th centuries in her seminal work '*An Urban History of Bulaq*'. She studied the urban development and spatial patterns during the Mamluk and Ottoman regimes when most of the buildings, which gave Bulaq its character, were constructed⁶¹. Similarly, Concepcion Anorve-Tschirgi in 2001, studied two well-known historical buildings, still standing in Bulaq: *Sinan Pasha* and *Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza* mosques⁶². Violate's study in 2001 draws attention to the first town planning schemes drafted for Cairo during the 1920s. Bulaq's colonial scheme was referred to in only two paragraphs; while she pointed in her conclusion to future intentions to develop the district. Bulaq's development was also outlined in Sahar Imam's Study in 2001, which focused on tracing interaction among newly implemented

SUD. Alternatively, some discussed the architectural conditions and the making of Egyptian districts during the colonial occupation. See Volait, M. (2005) *Architectes et architectures de l'Égypte moderne (1830-1950): genèse et essor d'une expertise locale*. Maisonneuve & Larose.; Ilbert, R. (1981) *Heliopolis, 1905-1922*, Genèse d'une ville. Marseille: Editions du CNRS.

⁵⁷ Khairy, H. (2000) *Political transformations and the built environment: Cairo built environment between 1952-1970 on politics, regulations, institutions and the built environment*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Architectural Engineering, Cairo University.

⁵⁸ Adham, K. (1997) *The Building Border: A Hermeneutical Study in the Cultural Politics of Space in Egypt, The case of el-Houd el-Marsoud Park in Cairo*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Texas A&M University, USA.

⁵⁹ Salama, A. (2004) *Contemporary Architecture in Egypt*. In: *Architecture Re-introduced: New Projects in Societies in Change*. Jamal Abed (ed). Geneva: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

⁶⁰ Early, E. (1993) *Baladi Women of Cairo: Playing with an egg and a stone*, Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner.; Louca, I-M. (1984) *The culture of Bulaq as it is viewed by its children*. The American University of Cairo Press.

⁶¹ Hanna, N. (1983) *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*. The American University in Cairo.

⁶² Anorve-Tschirgi, C. (2001) *The Mosques of Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza as Reflection of Bulaq's Socio-Economic Realities*. Unpublished master thesis. The American University in Cairo. Egypt.

projects and their existing traditional contexts, and suggested a method to trace this sort of interaction between the building and its surroundings. However, Bulaq planning schemes were not considered as part of this research; rather, it offered an approach to prevent new investments in Bulaq from creating chaos among the existing urban patterns.

1.7. Research Structure

This thesis is divided into three major parts. Each part includes three chapters and covers a particular area of the argument. Part one contains Chapters Two, Three and Four, which lay down the context and methodology of the thesis. It analyzes the broader history of the urban context of Cairo, and sets the methodological strategy for remaking the spatial qualities in old districts of Cairo. Part two, in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, investigates the account of remaking Bulaq and the re-planning schemes drafted during 1966, 1978, and 2005. Part three investigates the reliability and effectiveness of the planning institution and regulatory framework in responding to the remaking process, in addition to the local people's voices.

Chapter Two: Remaking urban quality in Cairo: a historical perspective, introduces the general context of Cairo and the making of the city. It traces the shift in its urban patterns from medieval times to modernity through planning attempts from the nineteenth until the mid twentieth century, raising the question of change in the city's structure under colonization. It further, draws interconnections between the developments in urban planning practices and the city's early signs of deterioration.

Chapter Three: Spatial quality and the remaking of urban experience, constructs the analytical approach of the thesis, in which remaking is justified within the practice of maintaining and improving the physical quality of spaces. The chapter adopts the notion of spatial quality to inquire about planning as a spatial practice that responds to physical and social everyday needs. In this context, the authoritative position of remaking is challenged to create a practice of dialogue to achieve spatial quality in Cairene planning practices

Chapter Four: Redefining Bulaq Abul Ela, this chapter studies the specific context, planning and architectural development and its urban history. It also explores the significance of the historical attempt of remaking during the 1930s to this study. The account of Bulaq's urban decline in the 20th century illustrates that the case of spatial quality in Bulaq continues to form the context that represents the identity of the city, revealing the meaning of disorder and fragmentation.

Chapter Five: Bulaq Abul Ela planning scheme of 1966, explained that the political instability and the call for establishing an economic development base in Egypt put the city's planning improvements at the back of the line. It develops analysis of the spatial qualities addressed in the scheme, which reveals that problems of industrialization led to the formulation of radical and inconvenient solutions.

Chapter Six: Bulaq Abul Ela planning scheme of 1978, explains how the location and poor spatial qualities of Bulaq were perceived by the planning institution during a period of shifting politics and economy and the call for re-building a modern capital. It explains how a number of priority zones were approved, including Ishash al-Tourguman, which was the only zone that had a detailed urban design scheme for its remaking. The chapter draws on the shifting remaking visions which drove the planning institution to adopt new lines of spatial qualities thoughts that neglected the real people's needs.

Chapter Seven: Remaking for the twenty first century: Bulaq Abul Ela scheme of 2005, investigates contemporary remaking methods during the twenty first century and records the shifts in re-planning approaches. The chapter explains that for the first time people became involved in the remaking process during the stages of consultation and approval. The investigation explains the residents' frustration with regard to the gap between the contents of the plan and the city realities in terms of the poor people's needs.

Chapter Eight: Institutions of planning development in Cairo: their reliability and spatial practices, discusses the planning institution's reliability in achieving good spatial quality and its commitment to delivering visions and schemes to create liveable environments. I argued that although crucial progress towards the establishment of an appropriate planning institution in Egypt had been made, there was still a lack of full ideological understanding of its effective role regarding remaking the city's spatial qualities. The chapter also explains how the ongoing conflict of goals between its bureaucracy and the citizens' needs had never ended.

Chapter Nine: The legislative framework for planning control of spatial quality, investigates the idea of planning control in Egypt from the 19th century to the pre-liberation period. The chapter goes on to analyze legislation that control the planning and remaking in Cairo through the laws and regulations involved in improving the spatial settings, while focusing on the temporal settings of each scheme. The argument is that the failure or success to implement locally determined spatial quality in Bulaq is determined by the stability, effective production, and implementation of planning legislation in Egypt.

Chapter Ten: Revealing quality in the Cairene context: the local voices: allows for a deeper reading of the context of Bulaq through the voices of its local people and planners, either involved or not involved in the remaking process. Investigating remaking through the people's accounts reflects their understanding, acceptance and potential to contribute in this project, if they were given the chance to participate. On the other hand, the planners' voices were crucial in determining the nature of planning and remaking practices in Cairo today, and the difficulties they face in working with such complicated contexts.

Chapter Eleven: Conclusion: The politics of remaking spatial quality, provides a summary of the research, its findings and final conclusion. This chapter intends to tie up the loose ends of Bulaq's remaking narrative by focusing on certain principles. It also explains how the

outcomes of this research contribute to an improved understanding of the idea of remaking urban spaces in Cairo through the practice and the profession of urban design.

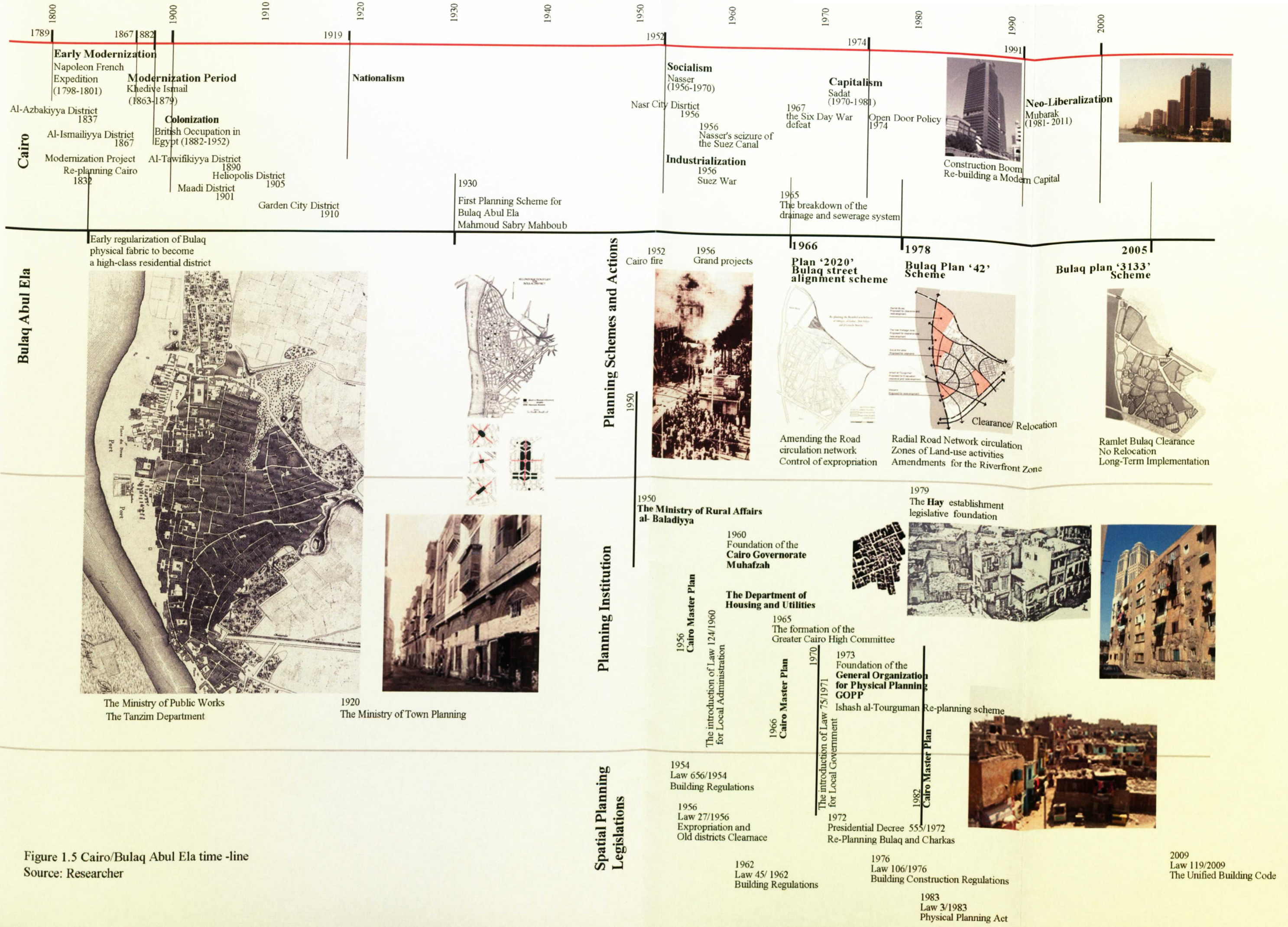


Figure 1.5 Cairo/Bulaq Abul Ela time -line
Source: Researcher

CHAPTER TWO

(RE) MAKING URBAN QUALITY IN CAIRO

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

'To the east lay the native city, still essentially reindustrialized in technology, social structure and way of life; to the west lay the 'colonial' city with its steam-powered techniques, its faster pace and wheeled traffic, and its European identification. To the east lay the labyrinth street pattern of yet unpaved *Harat* and *Durub*, although the gates had by then been dismantled and two new thoroughfares pierced the shade; to the west were broad straight streets of macadam flanked by wide walks and setbacks, militantly crossing one another at rigid right angles or converging here and there in a round point or *maydan*. The quarters of the eastern city were still dependent upon itinerant water peddlers, although residents in the western city had their water delivered through a convenient network of conduits connected with the steam pumping station near the river. Eastern quarters were plunged into darkness at nightfall, while gas lights illuminated the thoroughfares to the west. Neither parks nor street trees relieved the sand and mud tones of the medieval city; yet the city to the west was over-elaborately adorned with French formal gardens, strips of decorative flower beds or artificially-shaped trees'¹.

¹ Janet Abu-Lughod describing the dual character of Cairo at the turn of the century. Abu-Lughod, J. (1971) *Cairo: 1001 years of the city victorious*. Princeton. N.J. Princeton University Press. p.65.

2.0. Cairo: The city

'The Arab conquest, while it did not interrupt the geographic continuity, created a marked break in the cultural continuity. Contemporary Cairo stands preeminently as a Muslim City, bearing neither the physical nor the cultural imprints of its Pharaonic and Greco-Roman precursors'².

Cairo is a city which faced significant radical transformation since its early years of establishment. The history of the development of this city has always witnessed several layers of urban development following a shift of power. One of these apparent layers was during the second half of the nineteenth century. Janet Abu-Lughod unraveled how modern Cairo has emerged and described how *Muhammad 'Ali* began the necessary ordering of the city; the imposition of a new foreign elite after 1882, dominated politically by the British and culturally by the French, and went on to discuss the development of the modern Cairo until the 1960s. By that time, the rapid urban growth of the city caused by the massive migration from the countryside to Cairo had widely affected its urban fabric. Her conclusions reveal that the city has long been crucial to the well-being of Egypt, but as long as it was under powerful control, whether Muslim or Christian, its influence was at best only tolerated by the masses of Egyptians in their everyday living experience³.

While the current study intends to investigate the idea of remaking places in Cairo, it is crucial to explain the developing physical structure of the city's urban environment which would later require remaking. Therefore, introducing the general context of Cairo and its urban areas: its emergence, urban morphology, and development through time and space is essential. The spatial order of the city was established through the comprehensive incorporation of its inhabitants' socio-cultural values and everyday activities which in return characterized its distinctive spatial identity. The narrow streets of old districts of Cairo, named the *hawari*, in particular, have been structured by patterns of their people's social attitudes and daily practices which rendered those individual living spaces distinct from any others. However, since the 19th century, these areas have been seen as problematic in terms of their visual and physical representation, and over time, some have lost most of their unique historical character due to physical deterioration.

The significance of studying the history of making and remaking the physical setting of Cairo lies in two basic facts; first, the nineteenth century is considered to have witnessed a critical paradigm shift in Cairo's urban history through the challenging of the position of the superior medieval Islamic city by a competent urban planning form imported from Europe during Muhammad 'Ali's rule from 1805 to 1848; Second, by the time of the departure of the French in 1801 these urban areas were past their heyday and the *hawari* had become

² Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

saturated. This period saw the imprinting of sudden and real changes on the city which can be traced through to the present day, as will be further explained in this chapter.

This chapter discusses the idea of remaking as a historical process of planning practices aimed at maintaining the quality of the urban environment. It investigates how Cairo's geographic continuity has been structured, perceived and displayed during its critical moments of shift. This chapter further explains the factors that contributed to the disruption of this continuity over time and the deterioration of well planned areas whose spatial forms came to be seen as inappropriate during later periods. Hence, I intend to construct an understanding of the significance of political, economic and social factors in Cairo during various moments of shift: which in turn brought about the degeneration of its physical urban settings into congested living spaces. As it appears, factors such as colonization, political dependence, and economic development have wrought a considerable impact on the current image of the city.

2.1. The Making of a city

'Like any great city, Cairo is a mosaic of sub cities, each the product of a different social order, a different technological era and a different economy. Cairo is thus much more than a "new city" added to an "old city"⁴.

Cairo, the capital of Egypt, occupies a focal geographic bridge linking Africa and Asia, and it is considered the largest city of three intersecting world regions: the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Africa⁵. It is the midpoint that accomplishes contact across borders, and 'produces new transitional concern, socio political mobilization and urban solutions'⁶. The Nile River intersects the country from south to north, and along its length of some 1,600 km divides the city into the Western Desert: a broad plain punctuated by a chain of oases, which accounts for about two thirds of the country land area, and the Eastern Desert, which rises from the Nile in a plateau of sand. Almost 99% of the population lives within the Nile Valley and delta, which constitutes less than 4% of Egypt's total area.

Cairo is considered as the inheritor of a civilization dating back more than 6,000 years. The city evolved historically through a series of grand political projects. It is widely argued

⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁵ See *Ibn Manzur 1232-1311, 1956 Cairo: القاهرة, al-Qahira* is the capital city of Egypt and has a metropolitan area population of approximately 15.2 million people. While *al-Qahira* is the official name of the city, in local speech it is typically called simply by the name of the country, *Misr* (in Arabic, مصر), pronounced *Maṣr* in the local dialect. The name *al-Qahira* means to *defeat someone or something emphatically, with ultimate power, or the Victorious*. However, this word is, in Islam as in Arabic language, recognized as a holy adjective relating to God and not to be used for human beings (the Holy Quran). In brief, Egypt had been conquered by Muslim armies by 639AD when Alexandria, on the Mediterranean Sea, surrendered. Egypt, then, changed from a Christian Byzantine province to an Arab Muslim state. The culture and religion of the state changed gradually over a period of four centuries during which Egyptians were mixed with Arabs and other minorities and learned Arabic as their local language⁵. Therefore, names and terms used in Cairo were mainly either Arabic or of Arabic derivation. In addition, some other foreign terms were used.

⁶ Singerman, D. and Amar, P. (2006) *Cairo Cosmopolitan*. The American University in Cairo Press.

that Cairo is spatially divided into three realms⁷: the first realm is Pre-modern Cairo, or the Medieval-Islamic Cairo which developed between 969-1863, located in the eastern section of Cairo. It consisted of four physical formations envisioned and initiated by great military-political commanders. *Al-Fustat* was established in 641 AD, and then to the north east *al Askar* was built, whilst a third settlement, named *Al-Qataei*, was built in 870, followed by *Al Qahira*, or Cairo, established by the Fatimid *Jawhar Al Sekilli*, to the north east of these three settlements in 969⁸. In 1187 these settlements were conjoined and walled by another military commander, the *Ayyubid Salah El-Din*. It was at this point that Cairo assumed its physical unity and functional integrity as a single city. Most of the physical and socio-cultural developments occurred within the confines of this single entity, covering about five square kilometers. For three centuries the city flourished under the Mamluks, losing its political eminence with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 and subsequently entering into a state of decline which affected all walks of life. This part of Cairo is embodied by the medieval sections, represented by the narrow and compact urban forms (Figure 2.1).

The second realm comprises modern 19th century Cairo, located in the western section of the city in the downtown area and represented by the architecture of the classic *Belle Époque* style facades, its wide and paved planned streets and squares making this a dual city⁹. The third realm is the contemporary Cairo, dating from the 1952 revolution, which is the Cairo of today, characterized by its struggle to combine the two other realms, but yet making a tremendous effort to establish an authentic global identity comprised of images of a fluid modernity (Figure 2.2). Abu Lughod divided contemporary Cairo into thirteen major sub-cities based on population characteristics which affected the physical appearance of their districts in terms of the physical condition of streets and houses, facilities and land uses, and even dominant types of costumes, in ways that could have been reflections of their cultural beliefs and attitudes¹⁰.

⁷ Fahmi, W. S. (2008) *Global Tourism and the Urban Poor's Right to the City: Spatial Contestation within Cairo's Historical Districts*. In: Burns, P. M. and Novelli, M. (eds.) *Tourism development: growth, myths, and inequalities*. Oxfordshire, UK: CABI International. p.159.

⁸ See Zaki, A. (1969) *Cairo's Encyclopaedia in One Thousand Years*. Cairo. p.12. also see Hanlon, D. (1996) *The Plan of Al Qahira*. *Journal of urban Design*. 1:3. 299 - 314. Many historians described the new urban pattern of *Al Qahira* as similar to the pattern of *Tamgad* city in Rome. It had the same concept of the main axis road in the heart of the city leading to the main open space (like the roman forum). Don Hanlon argues that the formation of the city emerged from a complex ritual which invoked mathematics and magic in equal measure He adds that, the *Fatimids* reliance on symbolism was behind their intention to create a regular plan for the new city. It is highly probable that the geometry and orientation of *al-Qahira* was an integral part of the complicated symbolism invoked in the city's foundation ritual.

⁹ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p.116.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 117.

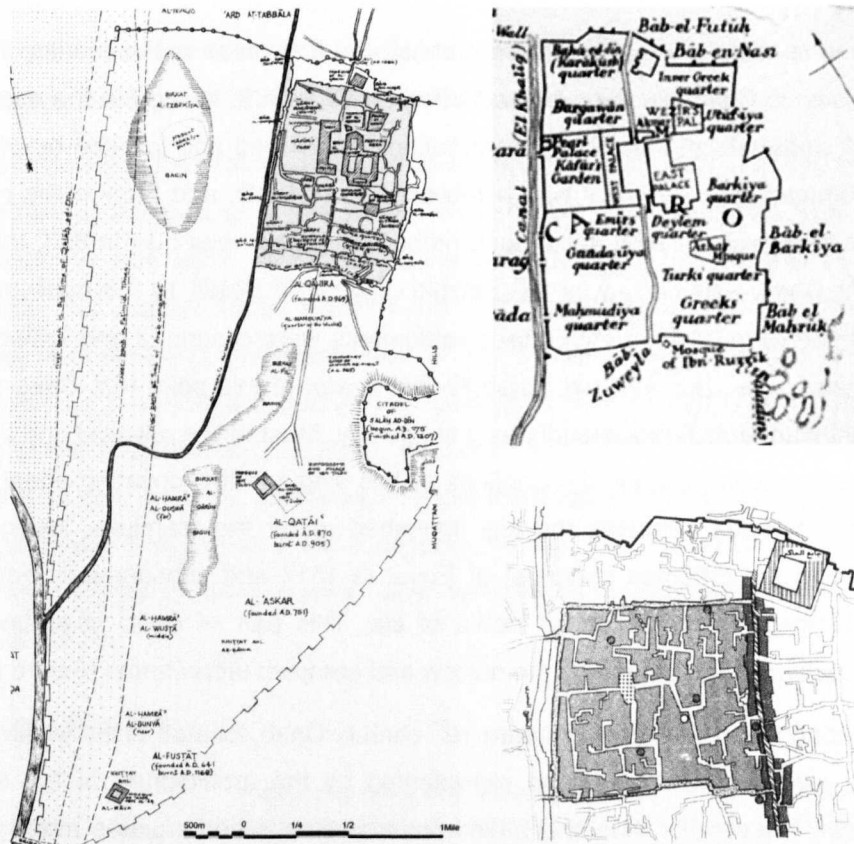


Figure 2.1 The earlier Capitals of Egypt (Source: Staffa, 1977).
Right above: Early master plan of Fatimid's al-Qahira (Source: Creswell, 1952).
Right Below: Old Cairo's Street Network in 1881 (Source: Creswell, 1952).



Figure 2.2 Cairo Map, 1984.
 The map's focusing on the Medieval-Islamic Cairo to the east and modern Cairo to the west.
 Source: Cairo Survey Department.

2. 2. The shift from Medieval to Modernity: Planning Cairo in the 19th Century

2.2.1. Prelude to modernity

In his account of Paris, published for the first time in 1834, *Rifa'a al-Tahtawi* expressed his deep regret for the lack of any description of Cairo or its history in Arab literature¹¹. He believed that Paris had achieved magnificent heights in the modern age in the fields of art, industry and science. He offered a detailed and extremely admiring description of Paris's planning and architecture, whilst drawing a correlation between Cairo and Paris on the grounds that both cities overlooked rivers; however, he admitted that Paris was cleaner and more fascinating than Cairo¹². Nevertheless, he accepted that any comparison made between both cities could only be very limited¹³. Although he was amazed by the wide Parisian streets, he viewed *Shari Shubra*, in the east of Cairo, as similar, and claimed that his detailed description offered the cultured Cairenes a sound general perspective of a modern city which they could attempt to emulate.

Apparently, al-Tahtawi's writings were published thirty years after the French withdrawal from Cairo. Dating back to the end of the 18th century, Cairo became the first Arab city to be in direct contact with modern Europe when the city was invaded by the French between 1798 and 1803¹⁴. At the time, the west was celebrating the age of great discoveries, the renaissance and the reformation, while Cairo was suffering from backwardness and isolation¹⁵. Although the French presence was of short duration, it marked the beginning of the westernization era in Cairo which had a profound effect on re-establishing the greatly diminished linkage between Europe and the orient¹⁶. However, whilst the French notably impacted negatively on the physical quality of the city when they damaged some areas of its Islamic sections such as *al-Husayniyah* and Bulaq, they also imposed some improvements on the physical pattern of Cairo. One such took the form of the reorganization of Cairo's administrative districts through the combination of the 53 existing Harat of Islamic Cairo into eight *aqsam* (districts), each known as a *thumn*. For purely military purposes, they began to make changes in the street patterns of the city and regularized some important streets to link the different parts, since the European armies could not cope with the confusion and

¹¹ Rifa'a al-Tahtawi was an Egyptian writer, teacher, translator, and renaissance intellectual. He was among the first Egyptian scholars to write about Western cultures in an attempt to bring about reconciliation and an understanding between Islamic and Christian civilizations.

¹² Al-Tahtawi, R. (1849-1905-1934-1973) *Takhlis al-Abriz fi Talkhis Paris, aw al-Diwan al-Nafis bi iwan Paris*. Cairo. p. 68 - 72.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 63, 69, 72. He was totally influenced by the urban and architectural scales, which were unfamiliar to him, and by regular big window openings which allow the passage of ample light and air.

¹⁴ Raymond, A. (1993) *Le Caire*. Paris. Fayard.

¹⁵ The influences of the early stage of Europeanization came into sight through two channels: firstly, from the outside, represented in European travelers and experts. During the first half of the 19th century, Europeans in Cairo represented nothing but partners for Egyptians, particularly for the Egyptian upper class. Consequently, *Muhammad 'Ali* was interested in using Europeans, just as Europeans were interested in using them. Secondly, the early stage of Europeanization was promoted by representatives of the Egyptian ruling class who were receptive to western currents.

¹⁶ Stewart, D. (1999) *Changing Cairo: the political economy of urban form*. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 23:1. 103 - 127. The European generation became a model for a society tired of Turkish exploitation, and looking forward to a better age based on concepts of justice and welfare. It was clear that the European values were quickly accepted by the Cairene elites, who began incorporating them into the life in the city and introducing new reforms.

potential for ambushes in Cairo's maze-like system. For example, a new street spanning from Bulaq to Islamic Cairo was opened. These streets became major thoroughfares of the city, and are still active paths in the present circulation network of contemporary Cairo¹⁷

After the withdrawal of the French troops from Cairo, Muhammad 'Ali was eventually appointed the ruler of Egypt. Under his rule, a new era of open policy with Europe started in Cairo. No less impressed by the power of Europe, he attempted to initiate a *process of empire building* through introducing technology imported from the west, and particularly France, for major institutional reform¹⁸. Janet Abu-Lughod noted that when Muhammad 'Ali came to power, the physical and economic problems of the city were at their worst after three centuries of neglect¹⁹. On the level of urban problems she wrote that:

Within the city, streets confusion had degenerated into chaos. Not only were the streets unpaved, upswept and unwatered, but they were also becoming increasingly impassable. Many structures had ground level appendages which jutted out into the narrow lanes; in addition, each tiny cubicle of a shop had its own massive stone bench (*Mastabah*) extending out into the roadway in front.... The streets were so very narrow that often only one donkey could proceed down them at a time.... The houses were as unkempt as the public ways..... Industry and trade, the economic bases of the city for more than six centuries, had stagnated and declined, they were ill adapted, in addition, to the needs of a modern age. Trade with Europe was minimal and knowledge of western technological advances utterly lacking²⁰.

However, during the first half of the 19th century, Edward Lane noted that Cairo, under the rule of *Muhammad 'Ali*, 'has lost much of its Arabian aspects'²¹. In 1808, Muhammad 'Ali built *Saray Shubra* and opened a new street which is now known as *Shari' Shubra*, linking the new *Shubra* district with Cairo²² (Figure 2.3). The implementation of the European model did not yet take place on a large scale across the city, but was limited to modernizing the infrastructure, using new construction equipment and certain elements of decoration borrowed from the European style. The introduction of modern means of transportation was of considerable importance in terms of the construction of new streets as well as the widening and improvement of some lanes²³. The most decisive event regarding public works was the foundation in 1847 of *Maglis Tanzim Misr al Mahrusa* (the protected or *al-Mahrusa*, an authority in charge of planning the city of Cairo) which was responsible of the

¹⁷ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 84.

¹⁸ Ibrahim, S. (1985) Cairo: A Sociological Profile. In: *The expanding metropolis: Coping with the urban growth of Cairo*. Singapore: Concept Media LTD.

¹⁹ Muhammad 'Ali's modernization project offered leaders and nations the first lessons in attempting successful national development and points of weakness and failure in transforming societies from a traditional phase: where the community is in less contrast and less complex in its economical, political, cultural and demographic structures, and with lower degrees of control on their natural and human environment, into a modern one where the case is totally the opposite.

²⁰ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 86.

²¹ Lane, E. W. (1836) *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*. Fifth edition. London: John Murray.

²² Behrens-Abouseif, D. (1985) *Azbakiyya and its Environs: From Azbak to Ismail (1476-1879)*. Cairo: IFAO. p. 81-19. Muhammad 'Ali built a bleaching factory, an agricultural school, a school of veterinary surgery.

²³ At the beginning of the 19th century only one wagon existed: that used by Muhammad 'Ali. In 1840, the Pasha imported about 30 wagons from Europe, which were used by his family and some ministers. See Fredrick Henniker (1823) *Notes during a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai and Jerusalem*. London.; Clot Bey (1940) *Le'Egypte*, Vol. II. p. 456.; Harriet Martineau (1876) *Eastern Life*. Boston. p. 224.

construction of new streets, broadening existing ones, adding street names and building numbers²⁴. This system represented some sort of a *Master Plan*, and an attempt to give rise to a coordinated modern Cairo²⁵. However, these implementations constituted the destruction of some monuments of Islamic Cairo which were seen as impeding traffic or blocking new streets. A series of decrees were issued concerning various public works in Cairo such as the completion of construction work that had been initiated by the French at Shari' *al-Muski*, which was described at that time as a wide road linking *al-Azbakiyah* and the Islamic section across *al-Muski* Bridge²⁶.



Figure 2.3 Shari Shubra, constructed during the rule of Muhammad 'Ali.
The Shari linked the new Shubra district with Cairo.
Source: Abu- Lughod, *Cairo*, p.89.

In 1847, a few projects proposed by *Maglis Tanzim al-Mahrusa* were executed²⁷. In order to obtain construction materials needed for the building of the huge construction projects of Muhammad 'Ali, a state decree was issued to demolish the deteriorating buildings, so as to reuse the remains for building other structures. Al-Gaberti wrote that owners of dilapidated houses were ordered to demolish and rebuild them. People thus suffered greatly, as the cost

²⁴ Sami, A. (1928) *Taqwim al-Nil*. Vol. 2. Cairo. p. 210.; Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 96 - 106. A detailed overview of the planning practices during this period is discussed in chapter eight.

²⁵ Sami, *Taqwim al-Nil*.

²⁶ Al-Gaberti (1880) *Aja'ib al-Athar fi al-Tarajim wa al-Akhbar*. Cairo. Vol. (4). p. 549. He began to take action toward developing and cleaning the streets and eliminating the mounds of debris around Cairo; He also ordered the closing of all the slaughter houses within the City, the sweeping of the markets, and the installation of lanterns outside shops.

²⁷ Mubarak, A. (1888) *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah al-jadidah li-Misr al-Qahirah wa-muduniha wa-biladiha alqadimah wa-al-shahirah* : Khotat El'Qahira we Shawari'iha we Dorubiha we Haratiha. The new *Tawfiqia* gives an account of Egypt's cities, Cairo and its old and famous areas: An account of Cairo's streets, thoroughfares, and cul-de-sacs Cairo, *Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Watha iq al-Qawmiyyah*, Vol. (I). p. 214. Also *al-Tahtawi* gave information about the amelioration and improvements in the urban field, and antiquities preservation, See *al-Tahtawi* (1869) *Manahig al-Albab*, p. 467 - 527.

of demolition and rebuilding was high²⁸. The consequences of this measure are thought to have been terrible: vast areas such as *Birkat al-Fil* were reduced to ruins. This severe violation, in addition to the French transgressions, resulted in more land being made available to establish the future modern city. While Muhammad 'Ali was considered the pioneer of making Modern Cairo, he was also seen as more successful in tearing down the traditional (political, social, economic and architectural) structures than in building new ones in their place²⁹. There is no doubt that he transformed Egypt into something radically different from what it had been at the beginning of his regime, and that this difference upset irremediably the previous harmony between the city's reality and ideology.

2.2.2. The Dual city: making a vision

The second half of the 19th century in Cairo reflects an important initial stage in the establishment of a dual image for Cairo, as the city community distinguished two different social structures: the Egyptian and the European. At the end of Muhammad 'Ali's rule Cairo accommodated less than 300,000 inhabitants³⁰. Elsheshtawy wrote that the political aim of modernizing Cairo was to 'reevaluate the monumental achievements of the past in relation to the new masters of these old cities'³¹. In 1865, Khedive Ismail decided to transform Cairo into a European city with a new plan drafted in 1869. Yet, this would not be possible without a more centralized role for the Tanzim Department of the Ministry of Public Works, and the western foreign experts who were pouring into the country, in addition to Egyptian graduates from foreign institutions. Abu-Lughod states that:

'Ismail, inherited his father's drive and love of urban embellishments, and also inherited Egypt at a moment when many events, some planned, others coincidental, converged to stimulate the most dynamic era of city building that Cairo had experienced in hundreds of years'³².

Ismail's attempts to transform Cairo from its political Islamic imperialist era were best symbolized by the transfer of the political power from the citadel, the traditional government house, to his new palace outside the traditional city boundaries³³. Notably, the replacement was intended to be a symbolic as much as a functional withdrawal, to mark the transition of Egypt from a traditional medieval city to a modern one³⁴. The second influential attempt was Ismail accepting the invitation of Napoleon III to participate in the *Exposition Universelle*,

²⁸ Al-Gaberti, *Aja'ib al-Athar*, Vol. 1, p. 519 - 521.

²⁹ Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah*.

³⁰ Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1985) *Tale of Two Cities: the Origins of Modern Cairo*. Comparative Studies in Society and History. Vol. (7). 429 - 457. Cambridge University Press.

³¹ Elsheshtawy, Y. (2000) *Nineteenth Century Globalization: Transforming the Historic Center of Cairo*. IASTE Working Paper Series: Preservation, Transformation and the Making of Place, Trani, Italy, Berkeley: University of California

³² Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 102.

³³ Stewart, *Changing Cairo*.

³⁴ Azadzi, N. and W. Barwise (1985) Cairo: Towards Meeting the Challenges. In: *Cairo: 1800-2000 Planning for the Capital City in The Context of Egypt's History and development*. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

held in Paris during 1867³⁵. He was deeply impressed by the modern plans for Paris which were reported in French journals³⁶. Remarkably, Egypt's participation gave Ismail renewed inspiration and motivation, a fact that can be surmised from the events which directly followed (Figure 2.4 and 2.5).

'The solution to this problem was obvious. Cairo must be cleaned, polished, and given at least a facade of respectability. There was no time to dig deep into the eastern city. He was realistic enough to know that even with maximum effort this was too ambitious a project. The facade of a new Cairo on the western edge of the city would have to suffice'³⁷.

For this, Ismail assigned the head of Public Works and Egypt's public works minister, *Ali Pasha Mubarak*³⁸, to draw up a master plan for the entire city in accordance with the style of Paris³⁹. Mubarak described in detail the ideas, projects, problems and ultimately the ideology of the regime set out to move Egypt away from its Islamic past to a present that would be compatible with and equal to the centres of civilization at the time: Paris, Rome and London, which were also undergoing radical urban development projects. Also, Mubarak viewed the irregularity of old forms as bad, and uniform straight lines as good; and in changing the former to the latter, one whole system of city growth had to be replaced by another⁴⁰. Elsheshtawy explains that through the implementation of Mubarak's master plan for Cairo, the city came to consist of two distinct physical communities, divided one from the other by barriers much broader than the single street that marked their borders. The discontinuity between Egypt's past and future, which appeared as a small crack in the early nineteenth century, had widened into a gaping fissure. The city's physical duality was but a manifestation of the cultural cleavage⁴¹ (Figure 2.6).

³⁵ See Abu-Lughod, *Tale of Two Cities*. She states that Haussmann had been *Préfet de la Seine* for more than a decade and a half, during which he had redesigned the Isle of Paris; he planned the peripheral zones, and ruthlessly imposed formal parks and wide boulevards on the antiquated street plan, formal gardens, grand department stores and covered shopping arcades, and a complex sewerage system: in a manner so associated with his name that even today this method of planning is referred to as "haussmanizing".

³⁶ *Ibid.* Universal Exhibitions were considered influential means of transforming western ideals to Cairo during the 19th century and played a major political part in the modernization projects held by the khedives. Egypt was among the countries that took up the invitation to exhibit their achievements. According to Abu-Lughod, the *Universal Exposition* was designed to display Paris's accomplishments to the world. Its impact on European city planning of the nineteenth century was as significant as it was unquestioned. It set the style and served as the model for numerous countries for decades to come. It is perhaps an indication of the new relationship of Egypt to Europe that she, too, was so deeply affected by its ideals.

³⁷ *Ibid.* After his return to Cairo, Ismail surveyed its depressing dinginess. He found little in his crumbling capital to rival what he had seen in Paris. But rather than simply pull down old districts, as Haussmann did, Ismail decided to build an entirely new city just west of the old one as land reclamation made it possible to build ever closer to the Nile.

³⁸ The Egyptian architect Ali Pasha Mubarak (1823-1895) was the first minister of Public Works in Egypt, and was one of the most influential Egyptian reformers in the second half of the 19th century. He was educated in France (1844-850) and led the Egyptian Ruler, Khedive Ismail's project to build European Cairo. He was also a close ally to the Europeans, and the only Egyptian native involved in the transformation project.

³⁹ Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Elsheshtawy, *Nineteenth Century Globalization*.



Figure 2.4 *Exposition Universelle, Paris in 1889.*
Exhibit from the Egyptian section of the exhibition.
Source: Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 3.



Figure 2.5 *Shari Kamil, Azbakiyyah district in 1899.*
Modern image of the newly planned, paved, and lit streets in western Cairo.
Source: Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 340.

The planning of Shari Muhammad 'Ali, connecting al-Azbakiyah with the citadel, was a significant project which included the design of two large squares surrounding the two monuments: the Muhammad 'Ali *maydan*, or Sultan Hassan Palace, and the *Salah al-Din maydan*, formerly known as *maydan al-Rumayla* during the medieval period⁴². These changes were seen as a great improvement, in breaking away from the past and reflecting a new aesthetic primarily influenced by European experiences⁴³ (Figure 2.7). Mubarak who drafted this plan notes that:

'... it [the Sultan Hassan Madrasa] became more pleasant as all the old houses surrounding it were removed; and opening up the new street which connects it to al-Azbakiyah; and the new Maydan which has trees and flowing water, known as Muhammad 'Ali Maydan; and it will further be improved by the construction of the Maydan on its west side. Thus both mosques will become separated from their surroundings, and in this way their beauty will become apparent for onlookers from all sides'⁴⁴.

He also explained in detail the planning procedures involved in opening Shari Muhammad 'Ali, stating that:

'Since the street cut through most of the city and its direction was from the south-east to the north-west, a change in the air [air direction] happened in most of the city's quarters as a result of [the air] passing through the streets and alleys. The implementation of the drawings and street measurements began in the year 1290 (H).... The properties and houses which needed to be re-possessed were decided on. After this survey was passed on to the governorate a decision was made to buy these properties. Some people sold and got their money and others decided not to get anything in return and left their property. After this was done work began on the project. Originally the design specified that the street width should be 20 meters, of which, 8 meters were specified for the two pedestrian paths running parallel to the houses. The remaining was for the passage of cars and animals, etc. Also, arcades were specified for the previously mentioned pedestrian paths with housing on top. This would protect from the sun in the summer and rain in the winter. Moreover, this regulation would attract merchants to rent the stores under the arcades'⁴⁵.

⁴² As quoted in Abu-Lughod: *Cairo*, p. 112 - 113. Rhone , a French architect, described the street as follows (in 1882): *Like a shot, one fine day it [the Boulevard] took off from the garden of al-Azbakiyya, without knowing where it was going, and landed some two kilometers away, at a formidable angle from the Sultan Hassan Mosque, which it could not avoid encountering.*

⁴³ Elsheshtawy, *Nineteenth Century Globalization*. It is also worth noting that the opening of *Shari Mohamed Ali* had resulted in widespread destruction of the urban pattern of Islamic Cairo since the *Shari* cut through its complex urban fabric. For example, in other accounts of this project, it was described that to maintain the linearity of the *Shari*, many houses were sliced into, leaving the rooms open with no walls, rendering the people homeless. It was noted that in the aftermath of its implementation a miserable image of the city was recorded.

⁴⁴ Ali Mubarak cited in Elsheshtawy, *Nineteenth Century Globalization*, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah*, p. 124.

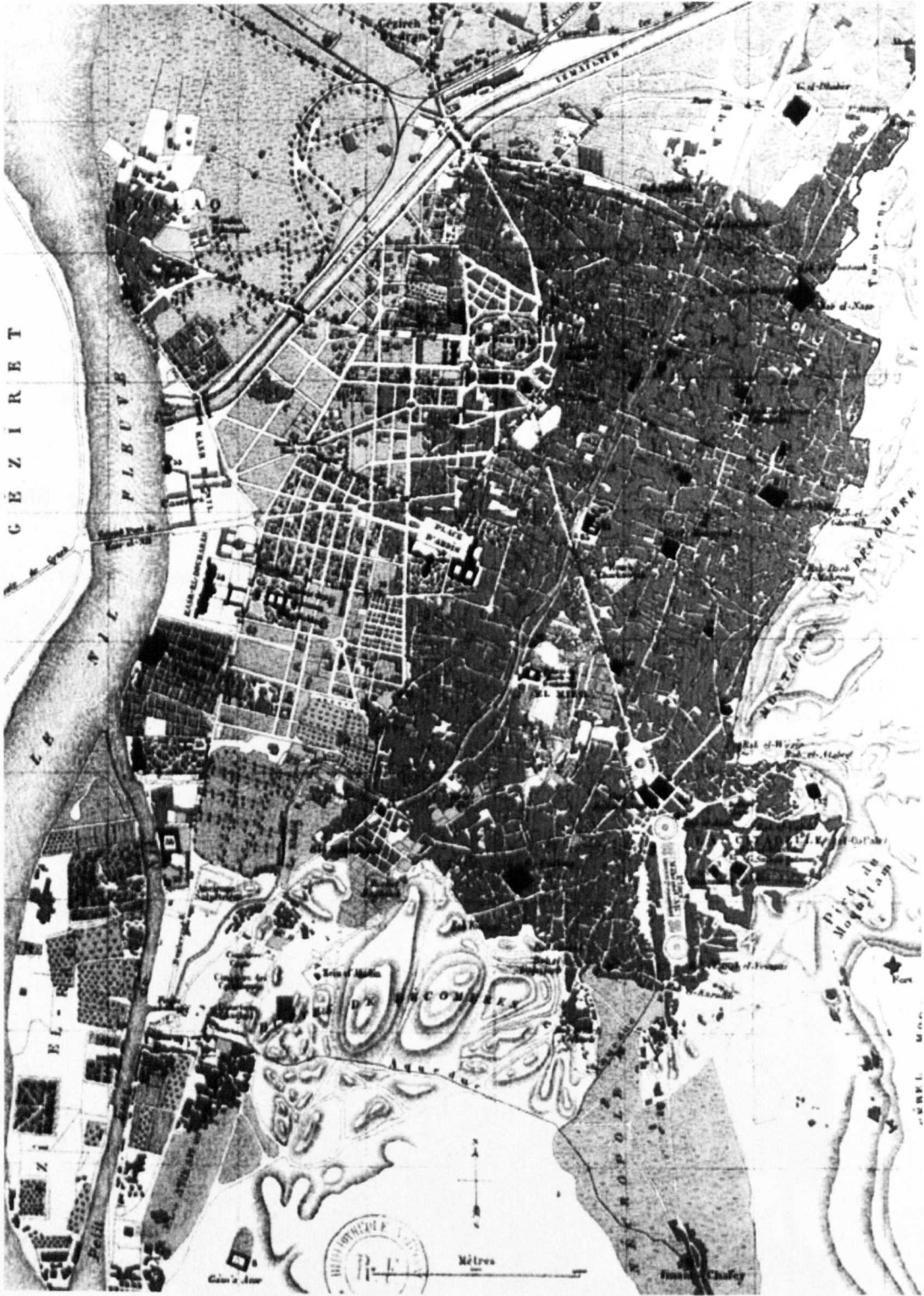


Figure 2.6 The dual city of Cairo, 1882.

The map shows two distinct patterns of streets: the linear and wide streets in the west section of Cairo, implemented during the 19th century; and the congested and narrow hawari which dominated the Islamic districts to the east.

Source: *Le Caire, Itinerare de l'Orient, Egypt, Dresse par L. Thuillier, Paris Hachette, 1888.*

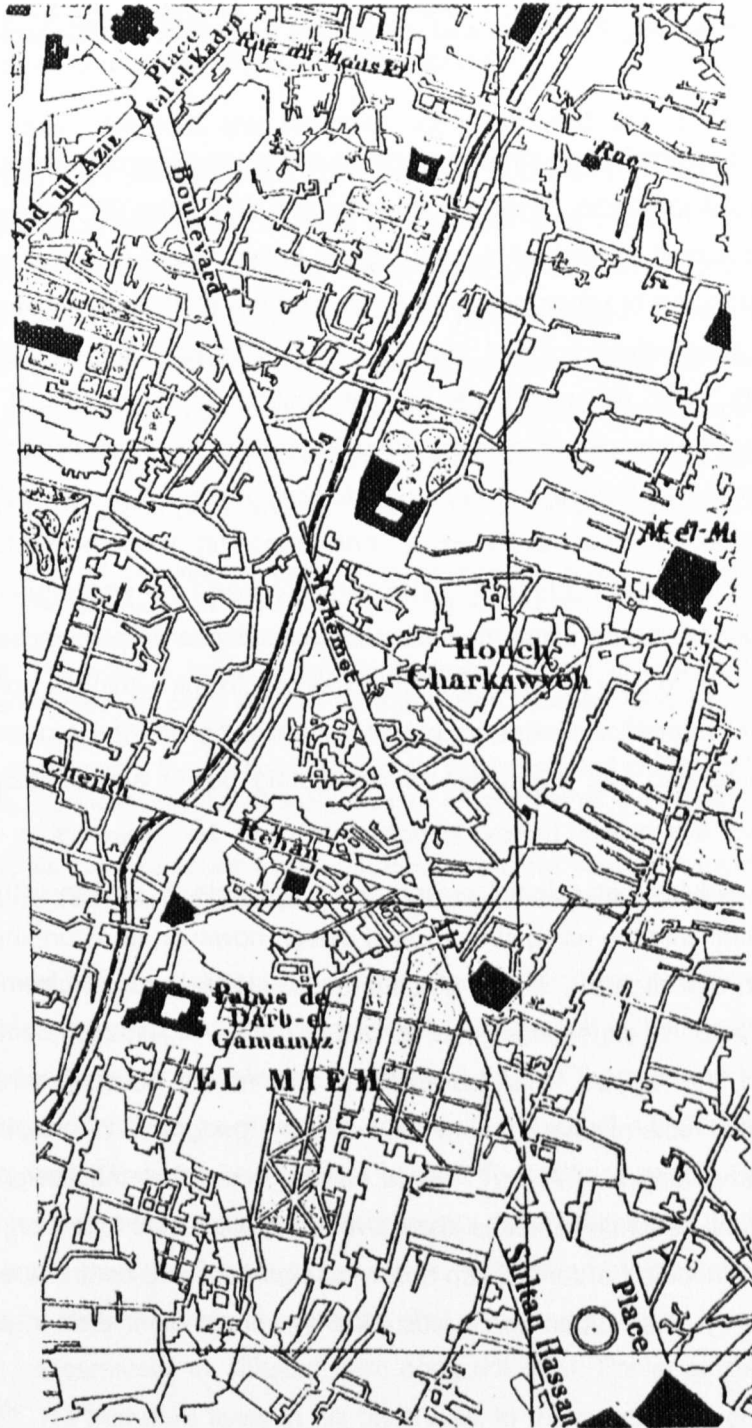


Figure 2.7 Cairo Map in 1880s.

The map illustrates the new boulevard of Shari Muhammad 'Ali.
Source: The Giza survey Department.

2.3. Planning in Cairo under British Colonization (1882-1952)

2.3.1. Colonial Planning Practices and Ideologies from Previous Colonies

The literature on colonial urbanism and architecture has significantly expanded over the last decades, while research into Egypt remained limited during the 20th century. Studying the significance of the built heritage of the colonial era in this region, however, can contribute to a better understanding of urban quality in Egypt and the effects of modernization. Building on early work approaching colonial urbanism from a variety of theoretical perspectives, several scholars have discussed the role of political and economical powers in the construction of urban planning in colonial cities, in addition to connections between colonial policies and spatial transformation⁴⁶. According to King, colonization referred to a process of transforming traditional patterns of cities, and importing modern western ideals and technologies to non-western countries⁴⁷. The term *colonized city* was often critiqued from a modernist perspective in the sense that *modern technologies* of planning and architecture were employed to build new societies and indoctrinate citizens within the spatial confines of rationally planned towns⁴⁸. Activities such as town planning and the organization of urban spaces were integrated into a process of distributing power and development to such colonies⁴⁹.

Nihal Perera argues that colonial powers were not able to govern without integrating colonized population into the ruling structures of power; however, transforming urban spaces was deliberate in this regard⁵⁰. Model neighborhoods within colonial cities were territorial mechanisms of colonial states designed to establish the legitimacy, domination, power representation of the empire. Planned districts and model housing schemes became practical and spatial tools of what Edward Said calls the *geographical imagination* of British colonialism and imperialism in Africa⁵¹. David Harvey noted that the assignment of place within a socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action, and access to power within the embodied order⁵². Such spatial assignment and control are indications of the control of quality of an urban space occupied by certain older orders, and the way in

⁴⁶ See Kusno, A. (2000) *Behind the postcolonial: architecture, urban space, and political cultures in Indonesia*. London: Routledge. ; King, A. D. (1976) *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*. London: Routledge. ; Rabinow, P. (1989) *French Modern: Norms and Forms of Missionary and Didactic Pathos*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. ; Mitchell, T. (1988) *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press. ; Wright, G. (1991) *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.; Al-sayyad, N. (Ed.) (1992) *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot: Avebury. ; Home, R. (1997) *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. London: Belhaven Press.

⁴⁷ King A. D. (1990) *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Culture and Spatial Foundations of the Urban World System*. New York: Routledge. p. 526.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 527.

⁴⁹ Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p.14.

⁵⁰ Perera, N. (2002) *Indigenising the Colonial City: Late 19th-century Colombo and its Landscape*. *Urban Studies*. 39: 9. 1703 – 1721. p. 1703.

⁵¹ Said, E. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Harper and Row.

⁵² Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Post modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

which the power and space relationship assists the coming into being of the new order⁵³. He points out that 'the reorganization of spaces is always considered a reorganization of the framework, through which colonial social power is expressed'⁵⁴.

On the other hand, Mitchell and Rabinow both examined the *enframing* of power relations reflected in the colonial spatial configurations and visual perspectives⁵⁵. Mitchell argues that Egyptian colonization embodied a construct of a modern kind of power, a process that would try to re-order Cairo as something object-like, where the colonial power required the country to become readable and more representative. By defining the native order of areas, or to use Mitchell's concept of *enframing*, the colonial state sought to fortify its dominance in colonial spots, thus, 'the idea was to make Cairo's landscape 'readable, like a book'⁵⁶. For Mitchell, colonialist enframing was centred on the codifying and maintenance of a visible hierarchy of spatial order and deliberately it's remaking. He states that:

'The essence of this kind of order is to produce an effect I am going to call *enframing*... the technique of *enframing*, of fixing an interior, and of positioning the observing subject, are what create an appearance of order, an order that works by appearance. The world is set up before an observing subject as though it were the picture of something. Its order appears as the relation between observer and picture, appearing and experienced in terms of relationship between the picture and the plan or meaning it represents... the methods of ordering, distributing and *enframing* that create the division, therefore, are the ordinary way of effecting what the modern individual experience as the really real. The construction of ordered villages and towns in the middle east was one particular manner of introducing this effect into middle eastern politics, just as it had been introduced in the modern age into the politics of Europe'⁵⁷.

Although political powers of colonization attempted to discipline, coordinate and increase possibilities of this representation through what Michel Foucault called *productive powers* of the country, the tendency of disciplinary mechanism framed them as modern strategies of control that existed to infiltrate, re-order and colonize⁵⁸. Foucault's understanding of power, in his 1979 early work *Discipline and Punish*, gives a sense that power somehow inheres in institutions themselves rather than in the individuals that make those institutions function. He explores how the creation of modern disciplines, with their principles of order and control, tends to 'dis-individualize' power. He claims that the power which is assumed to exist universally in a concentrated or diffused form does not exist. Power exists only 'when it is put into action'⁵⁹. He therefore turns in his later work to the concept of 'governmentality' in order to explain how power functions can act. He points out that:

'Power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of one to the other than a question of government. This word allowed the very broad meaning, which it had in the sixteenth century. 'Government' did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 419.

⁵⁴ Harvey, *The Condition of Post modernity*, p. 8.

⁵⁵ Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*. ; Rabinow, *French Modern*.

⁵⁶ Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, p. 33.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Foucault, M. (1982) *The Subject and Power*. Michel Foucault: *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. 2nd edition. Ed. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: U of Chicago. p. 202 - 221.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others. The relationship proper to power would not therefore be sought on the side of violence or of struggle, nor on that of voluntary linking (all of which can, at best, only be the instruments of power), but rather in the area of the singular mode of action, neither warlike nor juridical, which is government⁶⁰.

Therefore, the process of improving the quality of urban spaces in Cairo was central to both colonization and indigenization. However, three ideologies for establishing new districts in colonized cities were explained by Home: capitalism, state control, and utopian idealism⁶¹. The British colonist in Egypt was successful in creating new built environments in the city as a consequence of colonial planning programs that, as Alexander points out, 'overlooked the social, symbolic and political meaning of the built environment of the indigenous villages and towns'⁶². In Myers' examination of two model neighbourhood programs in different British colonies in mainland Africa and Zanzibar between 1945 and 1958, he found that both colonial states utilized urban planning to shape the physical spaces of city life as a way to achieve power and domination. However, He argues that under increasingly politicized conditions, late colonial attempts at planning and building model neighbourhoods were not successful, either as instruments of dominance or legitimacy in most of British colonies. The history of colonial urban planning was, in fact, marked by the persistence of disorder, which accompanied the slow creation of a mechanism of dominance, and resistance to basic forms of state intervention, as the colonial state and local elites rarely succeeded in shaping the creation of urban space, even the spaces of the model areas⁶³.

2.3.2. The Question of Change in Cairo's Structure under Colonization: 1889-1900

The beginnings of the 20th century held historical significance for an understanding of what Abdel Halim calls the duality relation between the *acquired* and the *inherited*⁶⁴. It is argued that Cairo's urban quality struggles between 'the acquired, which is western in its origin, secular in its thinking, materialistic in its economy and cumulative in its laws, and the inherited, which is traditionally Islamic in origin, religious in ideology, social in economy and regenerative in its laws'⁶⁵. His thoughts are that evidence of this duality could be found, not only in the urban forms and in architectural expression of the colonial period, but also in the governmental institutions and public life⁶⁶. The colonial era in Cairo saw a period of great

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Home, R. (1997) *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. London: Belhaven Press. p. 3 – 4.

⁶² Alexander, L. (1983) *European planning ideology in Tanzania*. *Habitat International*. 7:2. 17 - 36. p. 22.

⁶³ Myers, G.A. (2003) *Designing power: forms and purposes of colonial model neighbourhoods in British Africa*. *Habitat International*. (27). 193 – 204.

⁶⁴ Abdel Halim, I. (1985) *Transformations in Architecture and Urbanism*. In: *The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo*. Singapore: Concept Media. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

economic depression. Events of WW II and the subsequent division of the world among the big powers played an important role in verifying Egypt's relation with the west politically and economically, and, accordingly, influenced urban planning trends in the city. Moreover, planning practices in Egypt had always been a framework product for legitimacy, and considered as a process of representation and formulation of a balance of forces between what is local and what is western or modern; therefore, the urban structure was formulated to represent this distinctiveness. While other scholars claim that the presence of the British had a positive effect on the future of the country, it was still restricted to certain economic reforms⁶⁷. Cairo, indeed, suffered during the colonial presence, as it lost its status as a leading city in the region, and little development took place along the lines previously established⁶⁸. With the influx of the Europeans, the urban and physical quality of the built environment in the old Islamic districts remained intact.

Evidently, the whole project of improving the urban quality of Cairo was suspended during the first years of the British occupation of Egypt. It was claimed that this period was used to serve the interests of an alien power, and not to continue the progression of the Egyptian modernization project. However, minor improvements were recorded as the work began from inside the city: the streets were widened, following a precise hierarchical grid, Cul-de-sacs were unblocked, to open up the access to old districts, and the entrances to the mosques were cleared up. Also, housing estate projects were implemented on government lands in areas such as the *Qasr al-Doubara* area and Bulaq⁶⁹.

On the other hand, the period of ten years, which the analyst Roger Owen describes as the building boom during the colonial presence, witnessed a great increase in the numbers of buildings erected. As he pointed out, the number of buildings in Cairo increased from 51,110 in 1897 to 70,000 in 1907⁷⁰. This trend was attributed to the extensive foreign presence in Cairo at the time, as well as the control of the Tanzim Department by the British occupation. By that time, the British had called for an administrative reorganization and a new government was established, with ministries deployed by local professionals, but still decisions were controlled by the British Consul-General, Lord Cromer, and were often subject to colonial approvals; however, minor administrative changes took place⁷¹. The beginnings of change had to await the weakening of Britain's grip on the nation. This did not happen until the Second World War had ended, when Britain was forced to give up its position in world affairs. At that time, a national government was installed to govern Egypt, under which the modernization project was to be resumed.

⁶⁷ Noweir, S. and Volait, M. (1984) *Le Caire*. Bulletin Architectural Information. The Aga Khan Supplement no. 89.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Owen, E. R. J. (1969) *Cotton and the Egyptian economy 1820-1914: a study in trade and development*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 28. ; Owen, E. R. J. (1969) *The Cairo Building Industry and the Building Boom of 1897 to 1907*. *Colloque du caire*. p.338.

⁷¹ Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, p.141.

2.3.3. The call for improvements in physical quality

During the time of the British presence in Cairo, the Egyptian press played an important role in focusing attention on the quality of the city's built environment. They reported that urban planning improvements such as the establishment of new districts close to Cairo, to accommodate middle class citizens and workers, could play a significant role in solving problems of overcrowding within the city. To this end, it was important to stress the positive aspects of modernizing Cairo in terms of constructing new markets, hotels, cinemas and mosques. Many newspapers were of the opinion that the established foreign capital companies should participate in this modernization⁷². However, press comments on previous transformations varied. Optimistic critics declared that this process was a positive trend towards a fast rate of progress and transition, which would enable Egypt to reach a high level of modern civilization within a very short period. Other groups described the modernization project as 'painting the surface'⁷³. Other newspapers mentioned that modernizing the city was a useful and healthy act, but still, 'a foreign westernized act' with no local involvement since, whilst wealthy nationals were encouraged to contribute to changing the dilapidated quality of the city, as these Egyptian investors had only small amounts of shares with very poor returns⁷⁴.

In this scene, the Egyptian press was not only criticizing the state's procedures for modernization, but it also played a role in reflecting the local voices. This happened when they offered more space to the people to criticize negative implementations and positive impacts⁷⁵. People claimed that although these projects offered the Egyptian metropolis enhancement of the quality of its urban environment, on the other hand, they exhausted the state's resources, which led the press to accuse capital investors of expressing negative attitudes⁷⁶. The press also monitored the Tanzim Department's actions in improving the inner parts of the city, such as paving the streets in old Cairo, planting trees, and improving the city's transportation systems and infrastructure⁷⁷. Although Cairo suffered from the negative implication of duality in Cairo, the inequality and lack of consistency in urban quality between districts accommodated by foreigners and other districts was also under criticism⁷⁸. It was perceived that modernizing the city meant being compromised by other western aspects. For example, the increasing numbers of cars in the city was problematic, a fact that led to the imposition of certain regulations to control car movement in the city⁷⁹. However, most critical comments were due to the people's unfamiliarity with such new technologies; types of western technology that they had never witnessed before⁸⁰.

⁷² Al- Ikhlas Newspaper (1906) 2nd January. Vol. 501. p. 4. The National Archives. Cairo.

⁷³ Al-Ahli Newspaper (1903) The National Archives. Cairo.

⁷⁴ Al-Amal Newspaper (1900) June. Vol. 96. p. 2. The National Archives. Cairo.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Al-Migalah al-Sihiyya (1904) The National Archives. Cairo.

⁷⁸ Al-Kahira Newspaper (1888) 28th January Vol. 634. p. 2. and 3rd November. Vol. 861. p. 2. The National Archives. Cairo.

⁷⁹ Al- Ikhlas Newspaper (1906). Negative impacts of such improvements and expansion came under censure due to the use of cars on tramlines, which sometimes ended in disaster.

⁸⁰ Al- Ikhlas Newspaper (1906).

2.3.4. The Development of Urban Planning Practices

As British colonization reached its peak between the 1860s and 1880s, the colonial community and authorities became more engaged in Egypt administrative organizations. By 1900, the British had not only created a plantation economy and incorporated the colony into the larger world economy, but had also established in the city a high degree of hegemony for their world views. Moreover, the British began to expand their domain, which was apparent in the construction of a residential suburb for the colonial community. Besides, the beginning of the twentieth century had characterized Egypt's push for privatization and economic liberalization initiatives. This shift to market capitalism allowed for a short-lived period of capital flow whereby integration with European markets opened the doors for foreign business and real estate development. During this European phase of development, Egypt's economy became increasingly dominated by the trade in raw cotton, produced in the area of the headwaters of the Nile, as this trade funded much of the development in Cairo⁸¹.

In addition, this period witnessed a large increase in the number of British and other Europeans residing in Cairo, which gave impetus to the rapid development of new residential areas. Foreign residents made up a considerable proportion of the population in the main urban centres⁸². This considerable influx of foreigners actually divided the city into two parts in a peculiar way. The decline of the eastern Islamic Cairo was compensated for by the relative growth of the colonial Cairo⁸³. Accordingly, huge amounts of foreign capital were invested in urban development, leading to both large-scale speculative projects by real estate companies and small-scale building activities by individual entrepreneurs⁸⁴.

Moreover, during the 1920s, the foreign community and Cairo's most affluent residents prospered, and a new middle class began to develop. Cairo's poor became increasingly alienated, particularly after the Second World War⁸⁵. Also, Cairo had expanded around the Islamic core in three directions (west, north and south) and covered an area of approximately 38 squares kilometers. This rapid expansion over an area six times the size of the medieval core was facilitated by the introduction of tramways, beginning in 1896. With the increase of population, quarters began to extend to the north and south, stretching the city into an elongated shape⁸⁶.

By that time, the government adopted new policies for development and diverted its strategies towards pushing Cairo to adopt a modern image. The emphasis was put on improving sanitation and the upkeep of Cairo; however, the city expansion was left to individual initiatives. Meanwhile, the policy to open up the town continued, and two new

⁸¹ Issawi, C. (1963) *Egypt in Revolution: an economic analysis*. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs . Oxford. p. 83.

⁸² Owen, *The Cairo Building Industry*, p. 337 - 3490. Investment by foreign residents (Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Italians) and other Europeans in Egyptian companies almost doubled between 1897 and 1907, rising from 31,543 EGP to 62,000 EGP.

⁸³ Baer, G. (1969) *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*. Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press. p. 37.

⁸⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

streets were built in 1923: Shari *Al-Azhar* (20 meters wide), which was added to Shari *Al-Muski* which had become too narrow, and Shari *al-Amir Farouk* (30 meters wide) which provided quick access to *al-Abbasiyya*⁸⁷ (Figure 2.8).

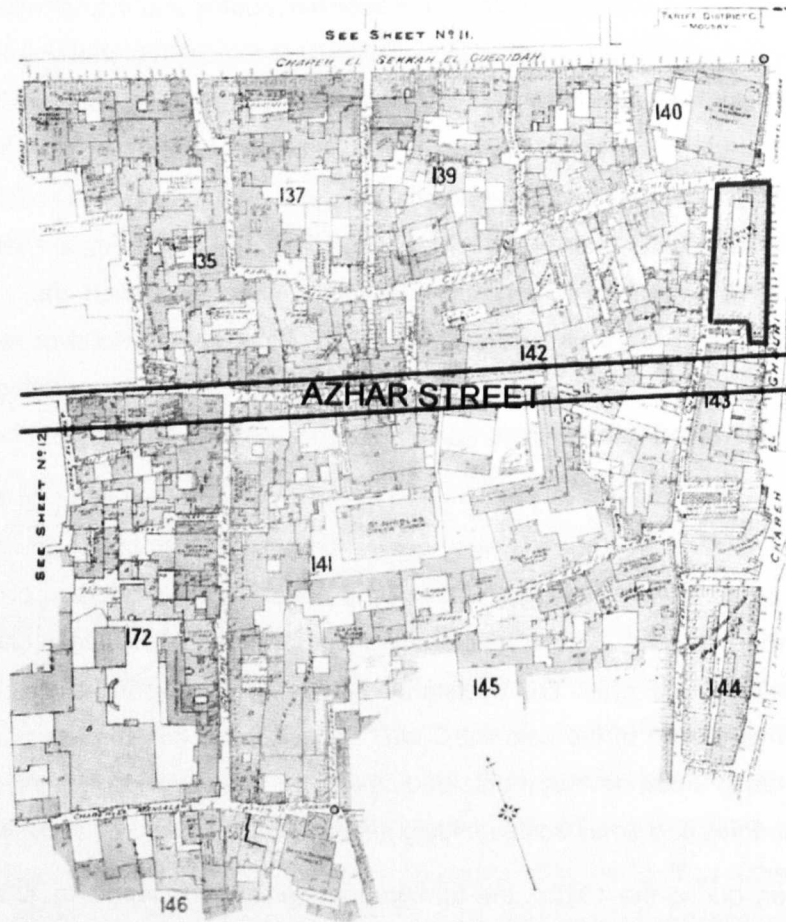


Figure 2.8 Map of old Cairo in 1905.

Before the construction of *Al-Azhar Street*, showing *Al-Muski road*, which became too narrow.

Source: Fire Insurance Plan of Cairo, sheet 13, section for historical maps, 1905.

Indeed, the state abandoned the idea of implementing large scale projects and establishing mixed use districts within the city in favour of expansion in the form of small and separated districts. It was intended that each district would thereby take on its own separate functions, with minimum interaction between the various districts⁸⁸. Furthermore, the Tanzim department was in charge of selling government lands via announcements of public auctions or advertisements in official newspapers in accordance with the law on selling government properties. It was responsible for preventing illegal acquisition and construction, as many former government lands had become slum areas after being unofficially occupied by people with no official documents of ownership⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Noweir and Volait , *Le Caire*, p.7 - 8.

⁸⁸ Arnaud, J. L. (1998) *Le Caire: Mies en place d'une ville modern 1867-1907- des interest du prince aux societees privees*. Sindbad Actes SUD. p. 263.

⁸⁹ See *al-awmer wa al-dakretat wa kararar wa manshourat* (1886) p. 681 – 2. The National Archives. Cairo.

The construction of new bridges across the Nile, transportation improvements, and the construction of the Tramway Company in 1895, gave a considerable boost to the development of housing in the suburbs and the outlying districts⁹⁰. With the completion of the first dam in *Aswan* in 1902, the banks of the River Nile stabilized and it became possible to develop the new lands more intensively, and to construct bridges across from one firm shore to the other⁹¹. In addition, there was a storm of property development by British firms and support for Egyptian labour and finance. A few district plans demonstrated the same Garden City layout as that which applied in Europe during the same era⁹². For example, master plans that characterized Cairo's urban transformation during the beginning of the century were those drawn up for the development of new housing districts in Cairo, such as *Garden city*⁹³, *Heliopolis*⁹⁴, *Maadi*⁹⁵, *Helwan*, *Al-Rawda*, and *Giza* in the west Bank⁹⁶ (Figures 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12 and 2.13).

⁹⁰ Noweir and Volait, *Le Caire*, p. 10.

⁹¹ Work on three bridges began during this year, and they were opened for traffic in 1907: *Abbas Bridge* (*Giza bridge* now), connecting the western edge of the island of *al-Rawda* and the west bank of the Nile; *al-Malik al-Saleh Bridge*, connecting the eastern edge of *al-Rawda* and *Misr al-Qadima*; and *Mohamed Ali Bridge*, connecting the *Qasr al-Aini* with *al-Rawda* and *Garden City*.

⁹² Read about the Garden City movement in Catherine Bauer, C. (1934) *Modern housing*, Houghton Mifflin Co.; Howard, E.S., and Osborn, F. J. S. (1965) *Garden Cities of tomorrow*. Edited with a preface, by F. J. Osborn. p.168. Faber & Faber: London.

⁹³ The year 1910 witnessed the establishment of the town of *Garden City* which acquired the English name only, but was mostly apartment buildings. The plans were set in 1905 when *Frantz Sofio*, *Charles Bacos* and *George Maksud*, all owners of the Nile Land & Agricultural Company, asked agricultural engineer *Jose Lamba* to create Cairo's newest district along the banks of the Nile. The new township replaced the former royal domains of *Kasr al-Aaly* (High Palace built for Khedive Ismail's mother) and the two older palaces to the north belonging to Viceroy *Ibrahim Pasha*. The whole area had been reclaimed during Mohammed Ali's reign, when the surrounding swamps and sandy mounds of *Tal al-Akareb* (Scorpions Hill) were transformed into orchards and bean fields. The new district was connected to the Islamic city by a wide boulevard; it was a riverside enclave of grand town houses with a curved street network.

⁹⁴ A new northern residential suburb, *Heliopolis*, in Arabic *Misr al-Gadidah* literally "New Egypt" or "New Cairo", linked to the city by high speed tram lines, and known in Arabic as 'new Cairo', had been built in the first decades of the 20th C. by a Belgian industrial baron *Edouard Empain*. *Heliopolis* was a true model town in the heart of the desert some ten kilometres outside Cairo (Noweir and Volait, 1984:10). The town was modelled on Britain's New Town planning ideologies. He resurrected the ancient town of *Heliopolis* as a modern satellite city of neo-Moorish villas and apartments. Ilbert asserts that the project was built upon three distinctive original features: first, *Heliopolis* was built without any assistance from the state; secondly, the new district was planned from scratch and constructed in the desert; and it was the expression of one individual dream and not an outcome of a town planning project.

⁹⁵ In addition, in 1901, *Maadi*, southern, was the only development based on an English model (*Ebenezer's Garden City*). It was part of the *Bassatine* sector, *Giza* governorate. On a similar scale to *Heliopolis*, enough land had been amassed to incorporate the venture. Landscapers were brought in, and building codes were laid down, and by 1930, it was connected to Cairo by railway lines (Raafat 1994).

⁹⁶ *Zaki, A. (1969) Cairo's Encyclopaedia in One Thousand Years*. Cairo. ; *Rodenbeck, M. (1998) Cairo: the city victorious*. London. Picador. ; *Stewart, D. (1969) Great Cairo: mother of the world*. London. Hart-Davis. ; *Ilbert. (1984) Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success*. In: *Actes du Colloque The Expanding Metropolis, coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo. Le Caire*. The Agha Khan Award for Architecture. p. 36 - 42.

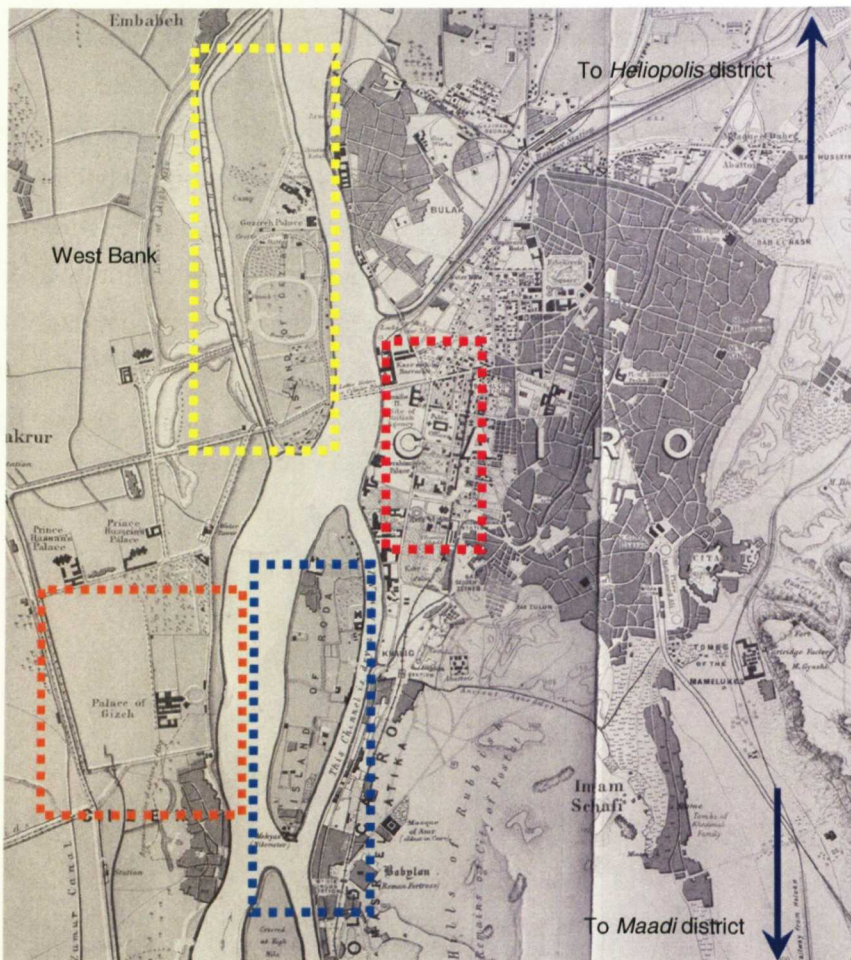


Figure 2.9 Map of Cairo in 1865 prior the construction of new neighbourhoods.
 Red: Garden City district; Blue: Al-Rawda Island; Orange: Giza; yellow: Zamalek.
 Source: The American university of Cairo Archive maps, AUC.



Figure 2.10 Map and Aerial View of the Garden City District in Cairo.
 Map Source: Cairo and environs map in 1914.
 Image Source: Clerget, 1934, pl. 10.

Scale :1:10,000

Heliopolis

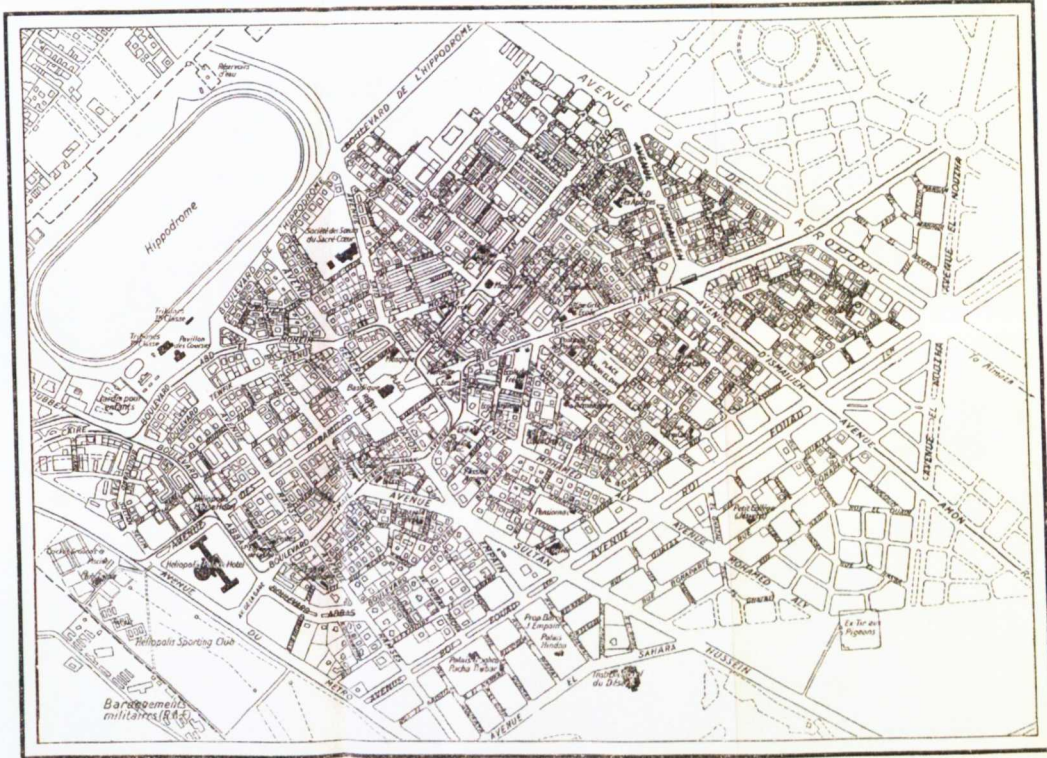


Figure 2.11 Heliopolis Master Plan and Aerial View in 1915.

Map source: Ilbert, R. (1984) Heliopolis.

Source: Clerget, 1934, pl. 11.

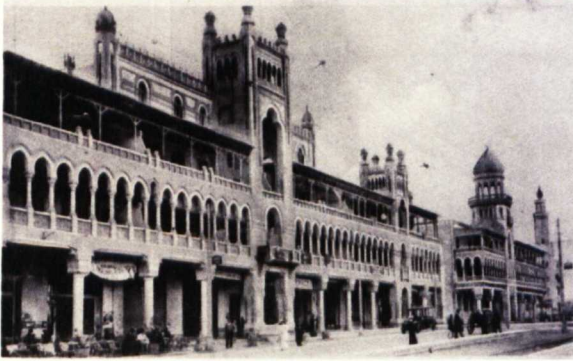


Figure 2.12 Heliopolis tramlines and architectural characteristics.

Source: <http://www.egy.com/landmarks/97-05-01.1.shtml>

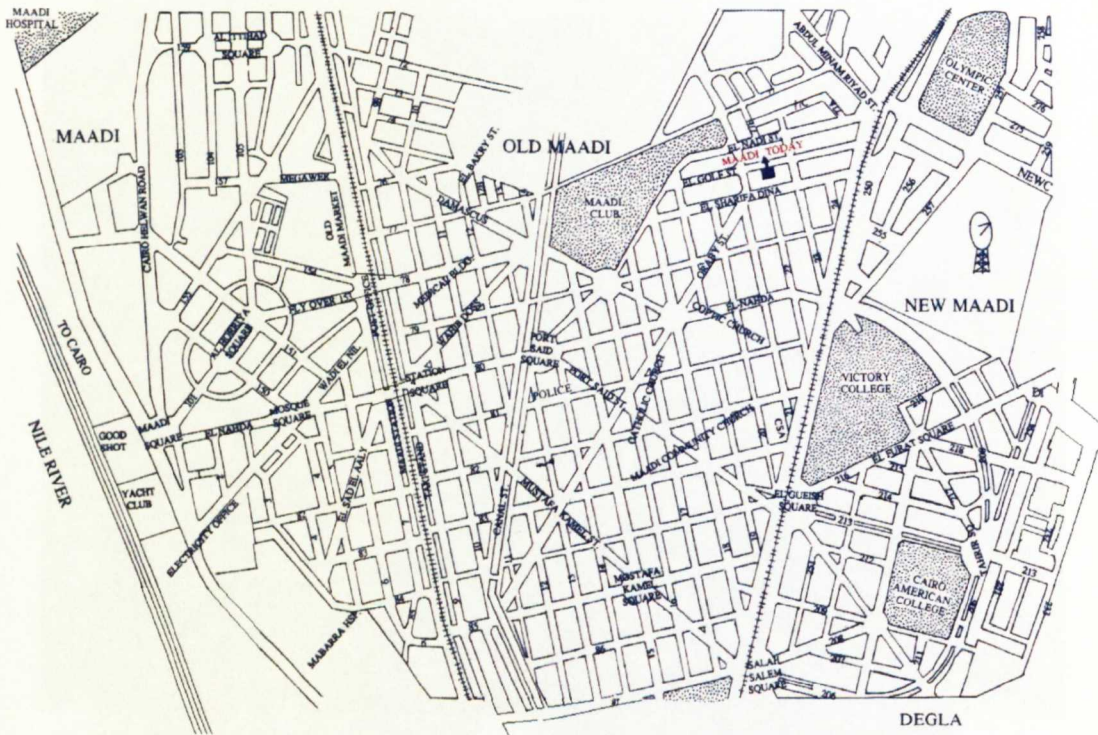


Figure 2.13 Layout of the new Maadi district in Cairo.
Source: Giza survey Department 1986.

The urban economy, however, clearly reflected and to a large extent influenced the elitist population of Cairo. The short-lived economic boom saw the establishment of Western-style venues, such as European restaurants and casinos, which were frequented by only a small percentage of the Egyptian population. The expansion of foreign-funded infrastructure systems of tramways, bridges, roads, sewage and electricity networks were developed at the expense of lower-income populations who had to pay high rates of tax in order to reap the benefits of development⁹⁷. Moreover, these were beyond the means of lower income groups, who preferred to move to areas where improvements could be made at less expense⁹⁸. Despite the short-lived economic boom, Egypt's persistent quest for modernity never ceased. And national development in favor of the elite never changed⁹⁹. The blueprint for a fashionable modern city, indeed, was based on the western rather than the traditional model¹⁰⁰ (Figure 2.14 and 2.15).

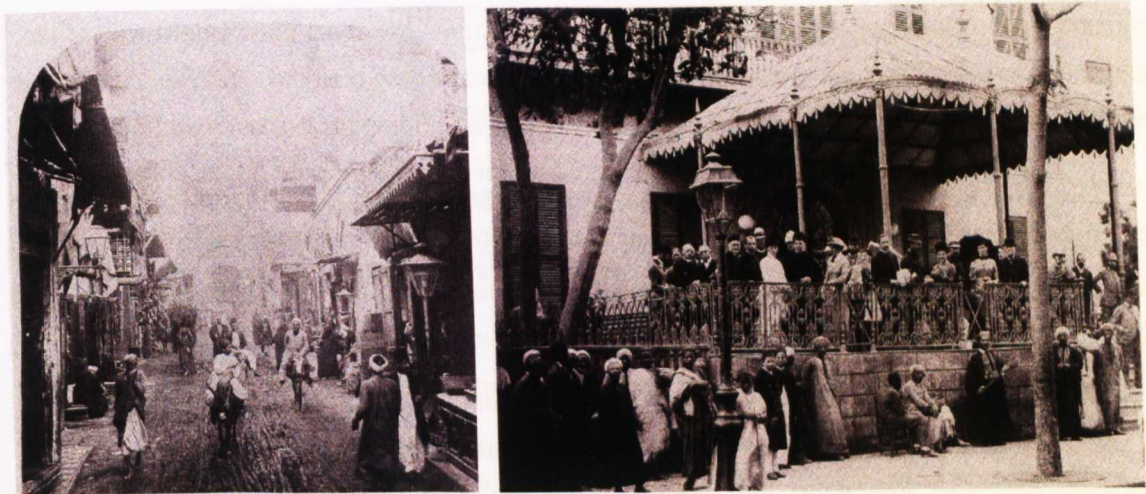


Figure 2.14 Contrasting images of life in Cairo during colonization.

Left: Streets in Cairo in 1897.

Right: The foreign and western lifestyle of Cairo.

Source: Album Print, collection of the prints and photographs division, Library of Congress.

	<p>HOTEL-PENSION ANGLO-SWISS (Established 1915) 14, Sh. Antikhana Champollion, Cairo. Tel. 53397. 'Grams: Swiglo. Highly recommended H. & C. running Water in every room. Splendid View of Nile & Pyramids. Up & Down Lifts. Prop. Mme A. LOMBARDO.</p>
	<p>"THE MAYFAIR" (PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL HOTEL) English Management. Quiet. H. & C. Water in all rooms. Bar. Garden. Large Terrace. Moderate Terms. 9, Sh. Aziz Osman - Gezira, Cairo Tel. 57315.</p>

Figure 2.15 Egyptian Magazines advertising for European style Hotels.

Source: Khoori, A. R. (1937) *Cairo: how to see it*. Cairo, Worldwide publications.

⁹⁷ Arnaud, *Le Caire*.

⁹⁸ The public financial administration in Egypt and Sudan Report (1904) p. 40. The National Archives. Cairo.

⁹⁹ Azadzo and Barwise, *Cairo*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁰ This is due to the fact that implementation of the western model and its activities never took place in traditional Cairo.

In this regard, the significant role of modernist urban planning as a symbolic model for the new modern man in Europe, as well as in the colonies, could be revealed. Apparently, urban planning and building control in Egypt were inseparable not only from colonial capitalism but also from racial segregation. As Alexander argues 'segregation according to race was the central social fact which was associated with colonial planning'¹⁰¹. Model neighbourhoods were distinct, racially segmented spaces on the map of colonial cities. As such, it could be argued that trends to establish new satellite districts were politically part of the colonizers deliberate efforts to isolate different social classes and to expunge the city of its backward image and create a new image that would befit the foreign elites who lived in Cairo. On one hand, districts planned in the past were typified by a mix of uses and social classes. Marion von Osten informs us that modernist urban planning utopias imported by the protectorates not only intended to serve the new urban elites, but was meant to become the ultimate urban fabric which could participate in creating entirely new societies and modern citizens¹⁰². For that, protectorates established new districts to reflect the modern way of life, and modern social classes were targeted to occupy such new districts, or even to move to renovated places through relocation of the inhabitants and demolition of decaying buildings.

Housing and urban planning projects symbolized a new society, representing a modern, industrialized way of living, working, and consuming. Moreover, urban planning as such was an invention of Euro- American modernity, having emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century, in times of aggressive colonial expansion and the advancement of a new world order¹⁰³.

Having adopted such ideology in Cairo's urban planning practices since the early years of the 20th century, social reform was perceived through the new forms of luxury planned districts, and was translated into master plans for new districts as explained earlier. However, such plans contributed to classifying citizens according to the type of their residential districts, which meant that high-class citizens occupied the new districts, while middle and lower classes were never relocated. In reality, modern urban planning in Cairo, as other colonies such as the case of Casablanca, became a spatial organization discourse that was strategically used as a tool for governing, controlling and mobilizing life and the living population.

On the contrary, the urban planning schemes of the 19th century allowed the concentration of mixed activities and land uses within the one district, whilst there was never any desire to integrate the different social classes. Although Nelly Hanna mentioned that aristocratic districts were in most cases surrounded by lower class houses, which reflected the intermingling of different activities and social classes¹⁰⁴, Arnaud demonstrated that the modernization project carried out by Ismail was intended to create a dual city in Cairo, which

¹⁰¹ Alexander, L. (1983) *European planning ideology in Tanzania*. Habitat International 7:2. 17 - 36.

¹⁰² Osten, M.V. (2010) In *Colonial Modern Worlds*. In: *Colonial Modern - Aesthetics of the past Rebellions of the future*. Edited by Tom Avermaete et al. Black dog publishing. p. 23.

¹⁰³ Osten, M.V. (2009) *Architecture without Architects - Another Anarchist Approach*. E-flux Journal No.6. p. 9. <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/view/59>.

¹⁰⁴ Hanna, N. (1991) *Habiter au Caire: la maison moyenne et ses habitants aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles Cairo*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale. p.187.

would affect the balance of social integration within the Cairene community. Clearly, the purpose of the mission was to establish a new modern image for Cairo, similar to that of Paris, and even the people were expected to change¹⁰⁵. By illustrating the street network map of old districts during this period, it becomes clear that streets in old Islamic Cairo were never regular but varied in size and shape. In addition, it was still possible to find variations in social classes, different activities and functions, which had merged together within strong associated relations and contrasts, or to form what Arnaud calls 'a temporally delayed redistribution of the community'¹⁰⁶.

2.4. The Shift towards Decline

'During the last few years before the First World War, the debates on the urban environment ... generated a new expression. In Britain it was 'town planning', and in the USA, 'city planning'. 'Stadtplanung' was the German equivalent, while the French coined a linguistically independent term 'urbanisme'¹⁰⁷.

The modern concept of city planning emerged as a western practice during the last decades of the nineteenth century within the context of industrial cities. The earlier statement of Anthony Sutcliffe illustrates the emergence of a worldwide vision in terms of restructuring the physical order of cities' physical environments through expansive improvement and reshaping programs which still affect their physical appearance. In this regard, Hall states:

'The expression of city planning describes the physical arrangements of towns or parts of towns in order to promote their efficient and equitable functioning as economical and social units and to create an aesthetically pleasing environment'¹⁰⁸.

In fact, public involvement in spatial remaking of declining sites was due to the emergence of major public health problems caused by the increase in population in the 1800s¹⁰⁹, the adoption of new technologies and social patterns¹¹⁰, in addition to low standards of hygiene and poor traffic conditions¹¹¹. Reflections of the Industrialization era, on the other hand, imposed new momentum to the decline of urban conditions. Conversely, it tended to have the direct effect of transforming the spatial structure of cities through improvements to their central areas. This act demanded a new role for government, and the adoption of new approaches to city planning which led to serious consideration of the state

¹⁰⁵ Arnaud, *Le Caire*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 264. ; See Cairo map of 1933.

¹⁰⁷ Sutcliffe, A. (1981) *Towards the planned city: Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780-1914*. New York. St Martin's Press.

¹⁰⁸ See Hall, T. (1997) *Planning Europe's capital cities: aspects of nineteenth-century urban development*. London. E & FN Spon. p. 49. According to Hall's (1997) documentation, it is important to note that these expressions referred to stages of implementation, not to the planning visions or drafting phases. However, terms such as 'extension', 'improvement' and 'embellishment' were generally used at the time.

¹⁰⁹ Carmon, N. (1997) *Neighbourhood Regeneration: The State of the Art*. 1997. Journal of Planning Education and Research. 17:131.

¹¹⁰ Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city*.

¹¹¹ Yewlett, C. (2001) *Theory and practice in OR and Town planning: a continuing Creative Synergy*. Journal of the operational Research Society. Vol. (52). 1304 – 1314. p.1305.

of building stock, communications and general services¹¹². Visions for creating new models and reshaping the builtscapes were drafted, approved and implemented. By 1890, Britain issued the first general housing law which raised funding opportunities for constructing and renewing houses for the poor. This law broadened the idea of 'public responsibility for the welfare of all citizens'¹¹³. Re-planning was regarded as a practical matter, where the aim was to see that building plots were efficiently organized and streets were of suitable width, as Hall demonstrates:

'Re-planning European capital cities reflected that planning was divided between the more detailed planning of the physical design of the built environment, in addition, the structure planning paying particular attention to land uses'¹¹⁴.

On the other hand, those districts that had deteriorated as a result of the industrial revolution came under the spotlight¹¹⁵. The scope of planning and design developed within utopian concepts such as the Garden City and City Beautiful movements and the planning of ideal cities. The deep influence this had on planning practices in Cairo was explained earlier, in discussion of the planning of the Garden City district. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Garden City and Town Planning Association became a logical focus for the export of British planning ideals relating to improving local environments¹¹⁶. However, a remarkable similarity in ideologies around the world was evident. A standard planning vocabulary of land use zoning, garden suburbs, green belts and such like surfaced in early modernist planning discourse in many cities. The exchange of ideas was not necessarily equal, but varied in each context to which planning had been exported as an instrument for imperial dependency. Furthermore, the development of modern city planning has always been bound to colonialism to the degree that many extensive developments were even tested and realized on colonial ground. Such 'colonial modernity', as described by Osten, not only created a political and economic structure, but it also shaped the visual basis for a new globalized order¹¹⁷.

In Cairo, since the early attempts of modernization, the medieval image of the eastern sections has been slowly metamorphosing into something more complex. There are two reasons for this: the emergence of western ideals outside the boundaries of the city which significantly affected the social structure of local areas, and the subsequent massive inflows of migration which increased the density of population. Such factors had impacted on the demographic structure of the old city and imposed new activities, interrupting its original land uses. In this respect, the government initiated several policies to control the spread of

¹¹² Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city*.

¹¹³ Carmon, *Neighbourhood Regeneration*.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Planning Europe's capital cities*, p. 284.

¹¹⁵ Carmon, *Neighbourhood Regeneration*.

¹¹⁶ See Carmon, N. (1981) *Housing policy in western countries: Towards the broader Social Responsibility*. *Social Praxis* 8 (3-4) 53-71. Middle class social groups were the targeted population for re-planning programs, and they were the only class who benefited from the early direct involvement of governmental housing programs while the low class poor areas were abandoned.

¹¹⁷ Dirlik, A. (2006) *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism*. London: Paradigm Publishers.

deterioration in the built environment with the intention of imposing a European-style image¹¹⁸.

The transition of Cairo towards an industrial economy during the nineteenth century led to many peasants migrating from the countryside in search of secure jobs in the newly established factories in Cairo and looking for cheap accommodation¹¹⁹. This situation applied heavy pressure on the already congested districts of Cairo, which suffered from poor quality services, in accommodating these waves of immigrants who occupied roofs of houses and vacant plots, creating the *Ishash* and *Ahwash*¹²⁰. This demoted the physical structure of medieval districts of Cairo in terms of the social ladder, with its buildings falling into disrepair due to lack of maintenance. It showed that the tight urban area of old Cairo had been engulfed by Ismail's new developments, which inevitably hastened its decline.

Mahmoud Riad pointed out that the problem of poor quality urban spaces in Cairo during the beginning of the 20th century was similar to that which was confronting most large European cities at that time¹²¹. One particular difficulty was that people living in these areas could not, in many cases, afford to pay rent for property built houses¹²². It would be difficult to speak of a specific date for the exact deterioration of the old districts of Cairo; however, we may point to some general indicators. Al Adawy states that early signs of physical deterioration in Cairo were found in *Ezbet al-Sa'yda* during 1924, and in the 1940s, another area began to decline due to migration to Cairo from Upper Egypt¹²³. However, Arnaud suggests that this decline had started by the end of the 19th century¹²⁴. His evidence is that during 1891, the health department in Cairo released statistics showing the existence of 16200 *Isha*, which was a very high figure given the occupation density ratio for this type of housing, and particularly regarding the fact that Cairo's population at that time was 120.000. The figures indicate that one quarter of Cairo's citizens lived in areas of poor physical quality. In addition, they occupied about 10% of the total size of the urban city¹²⁵. These statistics reflect the spread of deterioration in Cairo at the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, it is evident that this decline was not evenly distributed geographically as the

¹¹⁸ The force was apparent in several decrees issued during the 1880s to apply constraints on new buildings in the form of specific standards such as room sizes, materials and external and interior finishes. These were derived from Ali Mubarak's vision which will be explained in detail in chapter nine.

¹¹⁹ Beinlin, J. & Lockman, Z. (1998) *Workers on the Nile: nationalism, communism, Islam, and the Egyptian working class, 1882-1954*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press. p. 24. ; Beinlin, J. (1981) *Formation of the Egyptian Working Class*. MERIP Reports, no. 94.

¹²⁰ *Ishash* (pl., singular: *Isha*) means a temporary structure, mainly of timber. *Ahwash* (pl., single *hawsh*) means gated open land filled with tents. However, this phenomenon was not present in all *hawari*. Some of them, such as *Al-Darb al-Ahmar*, did not experience these migrant waves (at least not so extensively). However, *Al-Gammaliyyah*, our case site, was a site that attracted migrant waves.

¹²¹ Riad, M. (1932) *Alexandria: Its past, present and future*. Diploma course of Town Planning, School of Architecture. Department of Civic Design. Liverpool. Liverpool University. p. 62.

¹²² Arnaud claims that '*although the practice of architectural engineering in Cairo is well studied and documented by architects and specialized engineers, but for unknown reasons, buildings in bad conditions were not well captured or documented through photographs or written articles or even in specialized academic journals*'. However, map documents and statistics can possibly present this information; See Arnaud, *Le Caire*, p. 280.

¹²³ Al Adawy, M. A. (2001) *Informal areas in Egypt*. Introductory Paper to Habitat International Coalition Exchange Program. Cairo. Egypt.

¹²⁴ Arnaud, *Le Caire*, p. 281. This date seems to be more realistic according to governmental actions taken on clearance.

¹²⁵ In 1891, Cairo, including the suburbs on both sides of the Nile, covered an area of 1500 acres, while slum areas occupied 146 acres. These statistics were published from 24 July – 15 sep. 1891 in '*Bulletin des et decretes annes*', 1891, unknown page number. Cairo, Egypt.

highest levels of deterioration were concentrated in three districts: Bulaq Abul Ela, *Misr al-Qadima*, and *al-Sayda zainab*. All three districts were located on the outskirts of the Islamic city, although they were part of its urban fabric from the south and west side. Furthermore, the *Ishash* were found in the most inhospitable areas, for example, huge areas of vacant desert land in *al-Sayda zainab* district, unhealthy conditions in Bulaq or even lands reduced to rubble as in *Misr al-Qadima*¹²⁶ (Figure 2.16).



Figure 2.16 The spread of deterioration in Cairo at the beginning of the 20th century. A street scene in old Cairo showing the appearance of decline and poor urban quality in the city.
Source: Khoori, p. 34.

While the appearance of decline was not a new phenomenon in Cairo, nevertheless, it was a problem for the government in terms of the slums' poor quality appearance. Indeed, these images were seriously at odds with the government's policies on development which first became apparent in *Misr al-Qadima*, and then in Bulaq. In relation to the proliferation of slum areas, it was clear that this was happening predominantly to the north of the city towards the outskirts. Poor citizens always had to consider secure means of transportation

¹²⁶ Arnaud, *Le Caire*.

and the cost implications, and therefore Ishash tended to be concentrated in areas close to their workplaces.

By that time an urgent need had become apparent for comprehensive re-planning to address the problems of such neglected areas. One of the main obstacles to any such attempt was the huge expense incurred by the previous projects, which had a considerable impact on the governmental budget and drew Egypt into a financial crisis¹²⁷. The modern developments of the city seemed to be in close juxtaposition to the medieval city, which created many complex problems. In addition, the planners had inadequate control of building activities in terms of physical outcomes and in the face of an expanding population, and lacked the proper coordinating powers as there was no appropriate legislation to support the improvement of the city¹²⁸.

After the 1919 revolution, Egypt witnessed a movement towards Egyptization in governmental ranks. The year 1922 highlighted the momentous revolution which forced Great Britain to declare Egypt's independence and opened doors for Cairenes to invest in building and construction: a possibility which had been fundamentally ignored under British rule. This was combined with a broader trend of reorganizing the administrative structures of the state which was embodied in a 'policy of renovation and reform' promoted by the Liberal constitutionalist and Prime Minister Mohammed Mahmoud¹²⁹, who was concerned with issues of rural public health and improving housing conditions of the workers and the poor¹³⁰. At that time, a number of Egyptian architects and civil engineers, especially those with a European education, strongly criticized Cairo's urban and housing conditions. Their criticisms focused on the backwardness of Cairo, regarding its town planning, and were published in well-known local architectural journals and magazines¹³¹. Therefore, the question of remaking Cairo acquired a new urgency; population density in old districts was increasing, and so was the spread of the slums. At the same time, the standard of buildings was declining because of intensive expansion; many buildings were altered and extended. In addition, the economically privileged classes, such as traders and merchants who used to occupy the eastern sections within close proximity of their trade, increasingly abandoned these areas in order to settle in the new spacious residential districts. Thus, deterioration was increasing in old areas of the city; their inhabitants belonged to the least progressive

¹²⁷ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

¹²⁸ Mahboub, M. S. (1934/35) *Cairo: some notes on its history, characteristics and town planning*. Journal of the Town Planning Institute. 21: 288 - 302. p. 289.

¹²⁹ See Al-Ahram Newspaper on 9/11/2006 ed. 131, no. 43802 *al-yad al-qawyya*, by Prof. Yunnan Labib Rizk (in Arabic), *Muhammad Mahmud Pasha* (1877 - 1941) was Prime Minister of Egypt twice. He first became Prime Minister from June 27, 1928 to October 4, 1929, standing for the Liberal Constitutional Party. When he left office, Sir Percy Lyham Loraine led Egypt as Governor General for two months until a new Prime Minister was elected. Later, after Egypt became an independent kingdom, Mahmud again was elected, this time as a member of the *Wafd* Party. This term lasted from December 29, 1937 to August 18, 1939. He was the only Prime Minister who declared that he would govern with a 'strong hand' to eliminate the conditions that developed during the regime of the tired partisan government. He made a set of speeches during this period, which were collected into a book with the same title. http://www.coptichistory.org/new_page_2127.htm.

¹³⁰ Volait, M. (2001) *Town planning schemes in Cairo: Conceived by Egyptian planners in the 'liberal experiment' period*. Middle Eastern cities 1900 - 1950. Damascus. The Danish institute in Damascus. p. 57 - 58.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

classes, living in areas plagued by overcrowding, poor building standards, and inadequate streets.

By the 1930s, the idea of initiating improvement schemes for re-planning the declining areas in Cairo was considered an ideal solution. One of these plans was drafted by the director of the Ministry of Town Planning of Cairo¹³². The aim of the master plan was to pay more attention to districts viewed 'as not having been designed in a suitable order' rather than small isolated districts with no connections to the city¹³³. In addition, further attention to the older districts of Cairo was paid through improvement schemes such as transforming street circulation and altering existing land uses, as a lack of consideration became apparent in terms of the social consequences these streets incurred. In addition, districts which were created through previous planning projects on government lands or districts with large portions of vacant land came under consideration for future expansion¹³⁴ (Figure 2.17).

The lack of an efficient legislation ended after the introduction of supporting laws for expropriation which contributed to the remaking process and ceded to the authorities further powers to expropriate all property required for purposes of public utility. This allowed for implementing radical improvements in respect of funding major schemes of development and re-planning¹³⁵. Improvements were proposed within a strategy of reducing 'main arterial connections' in order to set a type of order and regularity to allow future use as open spaces or buildings, and setting global guidelines for Cairo's future extension.

Although the plan was not implemented, remaking was still a high priority mission for engineers and planners in Cairo. In 1932, the Egyptian engineer Mahmoud Riad prepared a proposal for developing Cairo's central area as part of his diploma studies at the University of Liverpool. He emphasized the need to develop the central area of Cairo, the design of which dated back to the 19th century. Through his new position in the Ministry of Town Planning, he was able to introduce a new plan which was similar in many details to that formulated by its preceding, with both plans suggesting the demolition of the old districts, their reconstruction, and the creation of a new efficient road network. In addition, both plans proposed that the district should function as a residential and commercial district, accommodating certain types of activities such as multi-storey housing apartments and commercial activities linked to the apartments.

An official from the Public Works, who had completed his studies in France, made an additional remaking attempt who managed proposing future extensions for the city. He offered two potential solutions that he believed might be more practical than the other two plans; first, to isolate the declined areas from any direct or indirect links with the city by creating a surrounding green belt in order to control expansion of the undesirable use of

¹³² Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292. Mahmoud Sabry Mahboub was an Egyptian and British educated civil engineer. He was the first Egyptian to be assigned as the director of the Ministry of Town Planning in Cairo during the British occupation.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

land, especially on industrial sites. Second, to transfer such unwanted land uses to desert areas on the outskirts, where there would be a better chance of success in creating healthy and secure residential districts¹³⁶. However, it seemed that the political and economic instability of Egypt during that time had stood against the remaking ambitions of the newly assigned Egyptian engineers. Notably, the failure of attempts to remake Cairo was to cause greater decline of these areas compared to the relative growth of colonial Cairo¹³⁷. While huge amounts of foreign capital were invested to construct new districts, leading to both large-scale speculative projects by real estate companies and small-scale building activities by individual entrepreneurs, the older parts were excluded¹³⁸. Perhaps, it was thought that excluding the old city from intervention would hasten its decline, until another political regime might come to power in Cairo, bringing the hope of change.

¹³⁶ Makawi, M. H. (1938) *Urban Planning Development in Cairo and other Egyptian Cities*. Cairo. *Matbaa Misr*. p. 85.

¹³⁷ Baer, G. (1969) *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*. Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press. p. 37.

¹³⁸ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

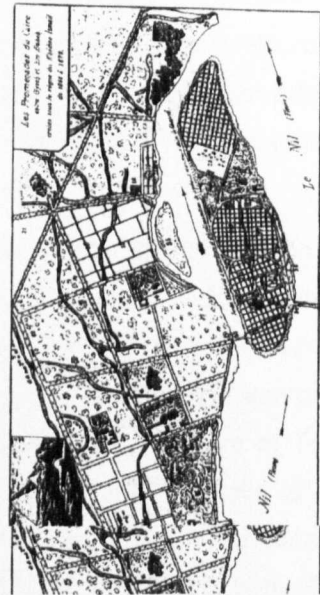
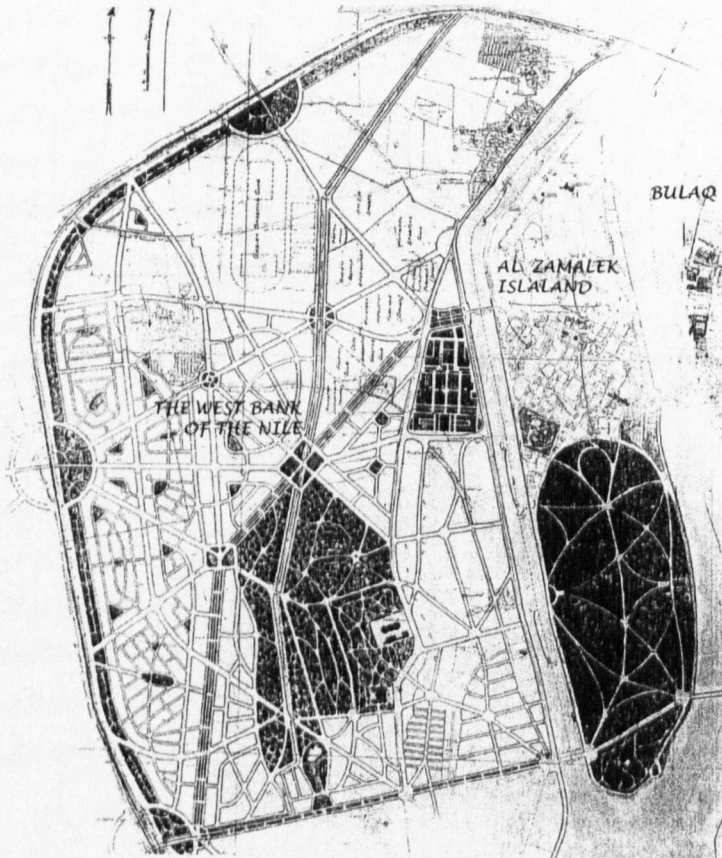
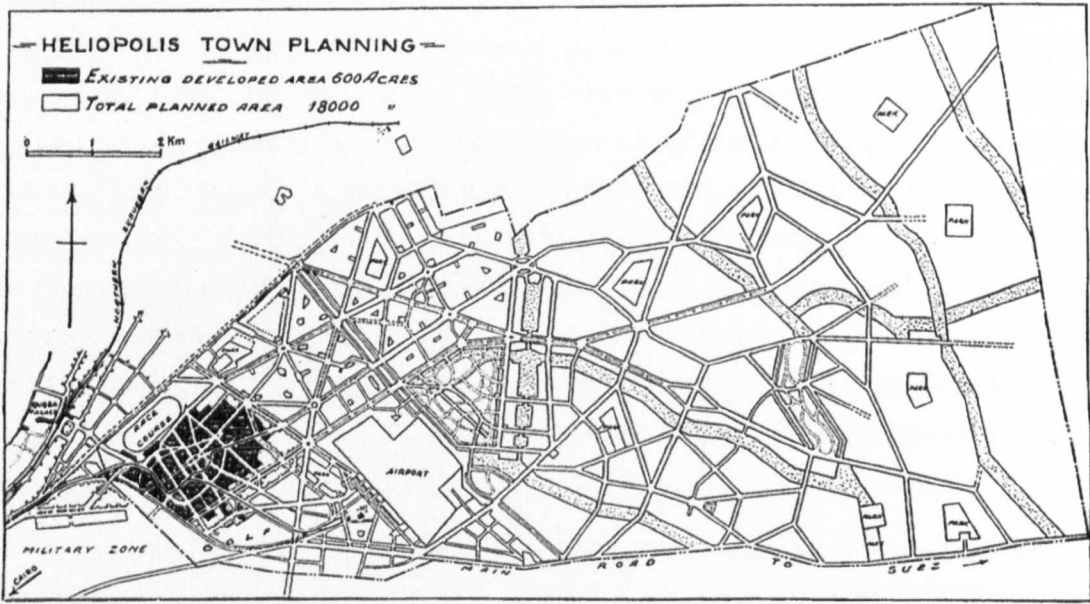


Figure 2.17 Mahboub's proposal for remaking Cairo during the 1930s.

Above: the extension proposal for Heliopolis.

Bottom: Re-planning the street circulation of the Zamalek district including the plan for government residential projects in the west bank of the Nile.

Source: Mahboub, 1934/35.

Right map: The West bank of the Nile and Zamalek Island in 1899 before drafting the scheme.

Source: Giza survey Department, 1900.

2.5. Conclusion

This investigation has shown that the making of the city of Cairo during the 19th century and early 20th century constituted the creation of a particular modern and superior urban quality based on European models. This tendency has been evident since the early attempts of the khedives to modernize the city in a manner that was followed by the British administration that ruled Cairo until its withdrawal in 1952. The historical review of planning in Cairo shows that although all projects for making the city had aimed to imbue certain qualities in the urban environment that would contribute to the creation of a modern image, or even to copy other model cities in Europe, it was evident that much of the idea of quality was based on various forms of imitation. In making European Cairo, urban and physical quality was seen in the making of wide and straight streets, even at the cost of decimating the living and complex urban tissue of the city, as in the case of Shari Muhammad 'Ali which was seen as a highly successful project. For the colonial planning authority, quality was perceived in copying successful examples from Europe that offered the only recognizable models, and led to segregation of the elites, leaving the native city exposed to the complex problems of deterioration: unclean streets, poor housing conditions and unhealthy environments. Although attempts to remake Cairo were evident during the last thirty years of the British occupation, they turned out to be limited individual experiments which lacked the support of a solid and comprehensive regulative or institutional structure

At this point a significant question could be asked: what in fact constitutes remaking the quality of the built environment of old districts in Cairo? While the making and remaking attempts discussed in this chapter tended to achieve a certain type of urban quality, yet, they seem to have been less than adequate, or at least to have failed to reach their targets in certain respects. Therefore, in order to answer the above question it is crucial to explain what quality is. It is at this stage that I need to look at the theoretical grounds on which the idea of remaking the quality of an urban space is theorized and investigated. In the following chapter, I will be discussing the concept of remaking in terms of aspects of urban quality and how it becomes a territory of investigation embedded within the three complex interconnected realms of planning, social science, and politics.

CHAPTER THREE

SPATIAL QUALITY AND THE REMAKING OF URBAN EXPERIENCE

'In the production of today's architecture and urban design, the term 'Design Quality' is much used - and abused. INTBAU believes that true quality in the built environment is about responding sensitively to positive aspects of local character, from the development of traditional movement patterns to the use of local materials. Quality is all about creating lovely places and spaces, designed with the majority of the population in mind'¹.

¹ The INTBAU (The International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture & Urbanism) (2009) the introductory statement of the conference on *'Design Quality in Architecture and Urban Design'*, the Irish Architectural Archive, 29 June. An Online resource <http://www.intbau.org/designquality.htm>.

3.0. Introduction

'A great deal is talked and written about quality in the urban environment today, and it is a hopeful sign that this should be so, despite (and possibly also because of) the lack of political will and resources to that end. But quality means different things to different people, and no single aspect or interpretation is definitive – they all have their place'².

The achievement of quality is commonly acknowledged as an inherent aim in all human belief systems, actions, and desires and one which guides our motivations throughout our daily lives, practices and attitudes. While the term quality is often used to describe a scale of perfection, this is rarely, if ever, achieved. While quality is an important aspect of the built environment, in pursuit of which decisions are taken, it is not a simple or unitary concept. It has emerged in different ways according to the person, place and circumstances. Quality, as a subjective evaluation of value, has been defined as 'the totality of physical characteristics of a certain context that bears its ability to satisfy stated needs'³. Also, the term quality and related values such as *inclusiveness*, *integration*, and *public interest* are concepts that have been used by governments and other agencies, and especially in the field of industry and manufacturing. The generic concept of quality has evolved to encapsulate other fields, such as education, healthcare, and information technology. Perhaps the variety of expectations of what quality means for each practice allows specialists to interpret the term differently. However, searching for a definitive meaning of quality in the built environment may be an impossible task, as suggested above by Michael Parfect and Gordon Power. While successful examples of good quality environments and well designed places do exist, it appears that planners have not yet searched deeply enough into the meaning of quality or at least there is no agreement on the most effective means of achieving it.

The motivation of the Egyptian state and its planning agencies regarding the built environment has since Muhammad 'Ali's early ambition for modernization been about quality, and in particular the quality of its image. From the early trials of painting house facades in white, to cutting through streets in the traditional built fabric, Ali's attempts to re-shape the old city continued until his death. At the centre of these attempts was the desire to improve the quality of lived spaces, their configuration (width, height, colour, and accessibility) and their appearance. From the early twentieth century until today, the sole purpose behind numerous laws and regulations concerned with the re-planning of the built environment has been to impose a regime that would maintain the quality of the spatial configuration of the city of Cairo. However, the definition of this quality was blurred and in most cases ill-defined. For modernist planners and architects of this time, quality was

² Parfect, M. & Power, G. (1997) *Planning for Urban Quality: Urban Design in Towns and Cities*. Routledge. p. 98.

³ Burt, M. E., (1978) *A Survey of Quality and Value in Building*, Building Research Establishment. Watford. UK p 1.

exemplified by the European model of urban planning as demonstrated in wide streets, grand boulevards, large gardens, and on-street activities⁴. For them, the traditional urban fabric of Cairo seemed to lack the proper spatial appearance and was incompatible with the image of modernity they sought to develop. To comply with this modernist perspective and address this lack of modernity, several proposals were developed. One such proposal for the re-planning of Cairo was drafted by Sabry Mahboub, during the 1930s, and was a manifestation of a specific understanding of the quality and an obvious replication of the western models. Understanding of what was desirable in terms of quality was confused by the influence of the ideology of the people in power and their background. Most of the twentieth century planning institutions in Cairo, unfortunately, sustained this sort of confusion between modernity and quality. Hence, all attempts, laws and regulations remained individual initiatives and actions to achieve quality in its spatial aspects without defining quality per se or its constituent elements⁵.

The previous chapter discussed the history of planning practices in Cairo between 1800 and 1930. This review emphasized that planning practices in Cairo, until the early twentieth century, relied heavily on two approaches for improving deteriorated areas: re-planning the traditional streetscape and reorganizing land-uses. The core argument here is that planning approaches in Cairo used to be limited in their theoretical grounding and tended to follow prescriptive solutions developed for other contexts and cultures. Ismail's attempts to modernize the city make it clear that the planning authority of that time failed to define necessary conditions to serve as guidelines for practice in pursuing quality in Cairo's urban spaces. The definition of any such conditions and guidelines requires a re-assessment of what spatial quality means and how it might be defined in the context of Cairo and in old historical districts such as Bulaq in particular.

As part of this quest it becomes necessary to identify certain necessary fields of integration for remaking urban contexts. This chapter is devoted to investigation of how improvements to the quality of the urban environment, constitute the practice of remaking places, in an attempt to forge a relationship between space on the one side and quality on the other. I will refer to this as spatial quality. Understanding spatial quality, in return, will frame the aspects of remaking and enhance the urban environment. The study of quality, here, is not about structuring a perfect model or framework for remaking, but understanding its aspects and outcomes. This understanding, however, is crucial also in terms of relevance to the daily activities of individuals, their experience of living, working places, as well as their spatial settings.

⁴ This is obvious in Ali Mubarak's proposals for enhancement of life and buildings made during his tenure as the Minister of Public Works during the 1880s.

⁵ In the wake of Kevin Lynch's visual approaches to urban experiences, Egyptian planners tended to focus on certain visual experiences, widening streets as the overarching strategy to achieve spatial quality without developing aspects of quality relevant to the context itself.

3.1. (Re) making the Urban Experience

'When we repair something, we assume that we are going to transform it, that new wholes will be born, that, indeed, the entire whole which is being repaired will become a different whole as the result of the repair'⁶.

'Places always need care, attention, time and energy: The alleys need to be cleaned; the buildings have to be managed'⁷.

Scholars have emphasized that urban transformation of towns and cities during the twenty first century has been intensely affected by economic, social and technological operations or what Michael Hebbert called *the shock of the new*⁸. While the attempt to improve the experience of the urban environment involves improving its urban quality, this improvement process ingrains a hidden belief that it will result in an entire transformation of places. However, remaking as a process has its own connotations of the repair of existing defects and transformation of the outdated and defective into a new' a re-born reality. Christopher Alexander suggests, as quoted above, that 'a process of repair' of the built environment is crucial, particularly when spaces 'are literally forgotten.... or are intended to be left over'⁹. For him, remaking the built environment is a process of repairing and restructuring the defects to make a complete and sufficient structure of a space that attends to the occupants' set of needs. While repair, in its simplest form, assumes a restoration to the original condition after damage, Alexander suggests that repair is not only a process of fixation of spaces; rather, it attempts to 'modify and transform to become something entirely new'¹⁰.

Most cities can provide examples of old quarters which manifest high rates of decline in their urban fabric. However, these areas have a long history of urban transformation during which they have, over time, developed, declined and sometimes been re-made. The hawari of Islamic Cairo, the narrow alleys of Rome and Athens, and the city of London remain as vibrant examples. Improvement actions in these areas were framed in sets of policies that have seen positive results in the past few decades¹¹. The infrastructure of land uses, buildings and streets, which underwent rapid growth during the nineteenth century, had suffered from problems typically associated with urbanization, such as overpopulation, migration, poverty, unemployment, and segregation. Doreen Massey, for example, referred to the major shift in the spatial structure of the British cities during the 1970s and 1980s caused by the changing patterns of modernity. Factories moved out of cities, and places of production were separated from their markets of consumption; families abandoned city

⁶ Alexander, C (1979) *The timeless way of building*. Oxford University Press. p. 485.

⁷ Schneekloth, L. & Shibley, R. (1995) *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities*. John Wiley and Sons. p. 191.

⁸ Michael Hebbert used this term in his presentation *Remaking places for 21st century challenges* during the second annual conference of Re-making Places in 2008. <http://www.rudl.net/node/18927>.

⁹ Alexander, *The timeless way of building*, p. 484.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 485- 486.

¹¹ Actions such as conservation, renewal, preservation, or upgrading.

centres, to be replaced by young bachelors or childless families¹². New needs emerged, and accordingly spatial settings had to be re-configured. Similar to the consequences wrought by WWII in terms of demand for mass production of housing in Europe, the experience of decay and neglect in urban quarters has raised a need to develop policies that adopt remaking as a feasible and effective planning approach. Indeed, the cities of today are becoming ever more vulnerable to rapid changes in needs and requirements, with which they were never designed to cope in the first place. Hence, the remaking of the urban environment has become a need rather than a luxury in order to fill the gap between the actual conditions and the desired reality.¹³

It would be interesting to explore the way we understand and communicate such a process of making and re-making in the linguistic sense. The Oxford English Dictionary refers to *making* as; 'the completion of an action; the accomplishment of a purpose: chiefly in phrases, to make, bring to, into existence by construction or elaboration, to produce (a material thing) by combination of parts, by giving a certain form; to construct, assemble, frame, and to represent a certain feature or quality'. It means 'to produce something by putting the different parts of it together'. Accordingly, to remake is 'to make new', especially as an 'updated version', or to build or 'make something again'. The phrase (re), in such a context, refers to the cycle of the process: again or 'again in a better way', or to return back to its original state¹⁴. And so it is with urban places. Therefore, remaking becomes a heavily loaded process that requires an in-depth understanding of both the existing version as well as the changing needs.

The practical implications of such understanding appear in the way professionals and practitioners perceive their mission of remaking the built environment and specifically its spaces. Described as a 'critical practice', remaking places is viewed as 'a fundamental human activity that consists of daily acts of renovating, maintaining and representing the places that sustain us... an ongoing process that makes, transforms, and cares for places'¹⁵. Planners, urban designers, and architects have referred to the process of making places as a practice that promotes spaces where people feel a strong stake in their communities and their commitment to making better environments. This is commonly classified as a process within the practice of urban design that makes successful urban spaces¹⁶. Implicitly therefore, re-making aims to re-plan existing urban places through improving its assets, reorganizing the human activities, buildings, streets, public spaces and land uses. For Tibbalds, the progression of remaking is that:

¹² Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge. UK: Polity Pre.

¹³ Schneekloth and Shibley stated that *it is the way all of us as human beings transform the places in which we find ourselves into places in which we live. It includes building and tearing buildings down, cultivating the land and planting gardens, cleaning the kitchen and rearranging of the office, making neighbourhoods and mowing lawns, taking over buildings and understanding cities. See Schneekloth and Shibley, Placemaking, p. 1.*

¹⁴ Oxford English Dictionary, online edition, as it appears on 14 September 2010.

¹⁵ Flemming, R (2007) *The Art of Placemaking*. New York NY: Merrel Publishers.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

'It is a creative activity by which the form and character of the urban environment at the local scale may be devised, modified, and controlled in circumstances of social, economic, technological, and /or political change'¹⁷.

Improving the quality of urban spaces, in recent decades, has become a response to the inherent challenges presented by population mobility, which demand the physical renewal of declining inner urban areas in a flexible way to accommodate the constant emergence of new needs. In other words, remaking has been adopted as a strategic policy mechanism for renewal of declining urban places. For example, world cities, such as Cairo, required, as per the policy-makers' perspectives, planned development of certain rundown precincts as distinctive central business districts (CBDs). In the case of Egypt, it is possible to argue that in a metropolitan city like Cairo there is no need to create modern places, especially when it involves replacing old, congested and disordered physical forms and built fabric. Others may dispute this view, suggesting that remaking spaces, in itself, is yet another economic strategy for increasing land values¹⁸. Hence, remaking could be a successful method of improving the quality of our living places, while simultaneously adding to its value and assets. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the concept of quality, which essentially leads me to explore the two terms (Space) & (Quality) in order to construct the relationship more coherently, specifically within the framework of remaking the urban experience.

3.2. Space and Quality: Defining the Scene

3.2.1. The modern perception of space

'Space is more than a three-dimensional physical space. At different times and in different contexts, one is, in effect, dealing with different kinds of space and their congruence design issue. Even neglecting a whole set of spatial meaning which one might call ethological space [home range, core area, territory, and so on] it is easy, without trying to be exhaustive, to list many meanings'¹⁹.

The notion of space has always been central to the spatial organization that forms the identity and character of any urban context. Through reading some of the wealth of literature relating to space, from Henri Lefebvre to Bill Hillier, and from Amos Rapoport to Christopher Alexander, one reaches the conclusion that actual existence and formation of the urban space reads as a social phenomenon that loses its manifested meaning if isolated from the contextual forces and influences. Henri Lefebvre asserts that no single space can be defined in isolation from its context: local appears in the public and the worldwide does not abolish

¹⁷ Tibbalds, F. (1984) *Urban Design: Who Needs It*. Places. 1:3. p. 22-25.

¹⁸ Several planners from the planning institution emphasized this idea during the interviews.

¹⁹ Rapoport, A. (1977) *Human Aspects of urban form: Towards a man-environment Approach to Urban form and design*. Pergamon Press Ltd. Oxford. p. 12.

the local²⁰. Therefore, 'the intertwinement of social spaces is a law' which is devoid of any definition of a particular space in isolation from others²¹. Michel de Certeau, on the other hand, sees space as:

'a practiced place where the street, geometrically defined by urban planning, is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs'²².

The relationship between space and the process of remaking places has, in particular, been subject to intensive investigation, especially in human geography and in architectural research. There is a kind of agreement between the two fields that places are reshaped in the modern perception as spatial flows of economy, politics, social and cultural aspects (as manifested above by Doreen Massey). These flows, informed by our concerns over space, had led to the significant role played by heritage conservation in the game of global economic competitiveness through the creation of competitive and valuable places²³. For example, terms such as '*the world as a space of flows versus the urban as a space of fixity*' or '*the global as a remote versus the local as proximate*' have become common notions of the global era²⁴. The architect Kim Dovey, on the other hand, illustrates in his *Fluid City* the space in a form of non physical flows that shape the physical and social patterns of the modern city, while unintentionally carrying the risk of negative effects in terms of shifting the city's image and identity²⁵. These flows, in return, according to Lisa Findley, have shifted our understanding of space from physical components to 'non physical ideas' which operate according to their own nature within space and time²⁶.

The debate on space, in planning and urban design discourse, is grounded deeply in the ideals of modernism. To explore the notion of space as a set of values is to understand the initiatives of the discourse of modernity and navigate its positions²⁷. On the other hand, planning theories focus on the 'systems view' of cities and regions that emerged in the 1960s²⁸. These systems replaced the physical and morphological understanding of cities as a dynamic conceptualisation, stressing that cities are systems of interrelated activities in flux²⁹. The notion of space, in this discourse, emerges as a contest between the physical and the social; between the static spatial configurations and the dynamic nature of events,

²⁰ Lefebvre, H. (1999) *The production of space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Massachusetts: Blackwell publishing. p. 85.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²² De Certeau, M. (1984) *The practice of everyday life*. V. 1. California: University of California Press. p.117.

²³ Geniş, S. (2007) *Globalization of Cities: Towards Conceptualizing a New Politics of Place-Making in a Transnational Era*. *Journal of Social Sciences*. 6:1. 59-77.

²⁴ Amin, A. and Thrift, N., (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge. Polity. p. 51.

²⁵ Dovey, K. (2005) *Fluid City: transforming Melbourne's urban waterfront*. Sydney, UNSW Press; Abingdon: Routledge.

²⁶ Findley, L. (2005) *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency*. London, Routledge. p. 5.

²⁷ Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

²⁸ Lehtovuori, R. (2010) *Experience and conflict: the production of urban space*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. p. 18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

and therefore, space could be understood as activities, and as venues for human interactions³⁰.

Modernity, on other hand, had several periods of struggle and confusion with the architectural use of space. Confusion has been apparent in the frequent attempts of modern architects to use 'space' interchangeably with 'shape or form'³¹. They employed the space as an objective reality, a value in itself, in a revolutionary attempt to oppose other values such as cultural meaning and function³². Adrian Forty explains that understanding the format of spaces offered realistic solutions to problems linked to the process of physical transformation. Spaces were thereby perceived as superior products to their physical manifestations and as 'devices of thought' that correspond to these manifestations³³.

Modernism has tended to define the space as consolidated in two aspects: 'space as enclosure', and 'space as a continuum'³⁴. The former underlined the 'sense of place' that was used by modernist architects to describe volume, while the latter suggested that internal and external spaces are infinite and connected in an uninterrupted organization. Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*, on the other hand, drew a distinction between what he identified as an 'architectural space' and the 'space of architects'³⁵. Spatial configuration of an architectural space is perceived in the experience of people inhabiting it through the lived experience. This space represents the needs of the social group for whom it is built and belongs. Conversely, the space of architects is a space reproduced through architects' manipulation to create a discourse for activity to take place. Thus these spaces embody the exclusive quality of architecture, which he claims is limited to the production of visual images³⁶.

3.2.2. Space / Spatiality

The idea of spatiality emerged during a period of rethinking the discourse of space: when discussion of space as being created by the body indicated a shift in the understanding of its nature³⁷. Schmarsow, for instance, identified space as a 'spatial construct', particularly in his emphasis that it is not a mathematical space as perceived by earlier philosophers such as Newton and Ernst Cassirer³⁸. His thoughts are that space had become a force field, formed

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ Forty, A. (2000) *Words and buildings: a vocabulary of modern architecture*. Thames & Hudson.

³² *Ibid*.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 150.

³⁴ Forty, *Words and buildings*.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *The production of space*, p. 107.

³⁶ *Ibid*.

³⁷ For more details on these ideas see August Schmarsow's philosophical theories on space perceptions. See Mallgrave, F. & Ikononou, E. eds (1994) *Empathy, Form and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics 1873-1893*. Santa Monica. USA : The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities.

³⁸ Kite, S. (2008) *Adrian Stokes: an architectonic eye: critical writings on art and architecture*. MHRA. p. 132. Newton introduced a mathematical understanding of space as a three-dimensional extension in which natural laws such as the law of gravity are valid. Newton called it absolute space, which can be represented by linear perspective drawings, and it is still dominant today in the common understanding; since it is taught in school geometry, can be calculated and offers a plausible imagination of space it is considered a natural fact and an

by human emotional responses, movement and desires, that became the main link between humans and the outside world. This shift contributed to the understanding of spatiality: how a space could be perceived in the human mind³⁹. This was the moment when the formation of space began to be perceived as a product of constructive progression, understood not in terms of its material, or function, but in terms of its aesthetic perception and natural historical development which operated in three dimensions: height, width, and depth⁴⁰. Schmarsow's view was that architecture was a craft of *art dressing*, and did not belong to the fine arts; it was the simple art of making functional structures⁴¹. In addition, all its work was, to a certain extent, a product of our understanding of space, which itself was to some extent culturally constituted. He claims that the perception of the depth of an urban space is measured by our free movement in this space, which becomes the defining character of a building. Hence, for example, our evaluation of the size of an urban space is dependent on our knowledge of its capacity to accommodate a particular movement⁴² or activity, and accordingly, its quality is determined.

The spatial experience, however, is fundamentally a game of power and change within the public realm. Lisa Findley, following Lefebvre's analysis of the *abstract spaces*, developed further the conceptions of political powers and social change as influential factors that impact the spatial transformation of the built environment. She linked the spatial transformation to social change, claiming that design and planning are spatial practices which help to re-calibrate spaces that power has transformed⁴³. On the other hand, David Harvey sees the purpose of abstract space as selling the image of the 'urban space': the essential asset of new urban policies in many post-industrial cities⁴⁴. He argued that 'the active production of space with special qualities becomes an important stake in spatial competition between localities, regions, and nations'⁴⁵.

The use of spatial experience to change the sense of place was never more obvious than in evolving urban centres in Asia. In Asia, Abramson argued, the progressive re-planning of several areas took the form of megaprojects that relied on 'engineering to divide space into functionally specific zones'⁴⁶. These projects, on one hand, might reduce problems of overpopulation, but on the other hand, they intimidate the urban identity of places by imposing strong social controls on streets and other public spaces. Such negative influence

adequate representation of human perception. Philosopher Ernst Cassirer, on the other hand, compared mathematical, aesthetic and mythical spaces in terms of their symbolic forms. A primitive space composed of heterogeneous, sound qualities, for example, is not the same as a space calculated by discrete mathematical numbers. See Cassirer, E. (1985) *Mythischer, ästhetischer und theoretischer Raum*. In: Cassirer, E. *Symbol, Technik, Sprache. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1927–1933*, ed. by E. W. Orth u. a. Meiner. Hamburg.

³⁹ Forty, *Words and buildings*, p. 264.

⁴⁰ Mallgrave and Ikonomou, *Empathy, Form, and Space*, p. 289.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴³ Findley, *Building change*.

⁴⁴ Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Post modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell. p. 295. He described this as the *new urban entrepreneurialism*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Oids, K. (2001) *Globalization and Urban Change: Capital, Culture, and Pacific Rim Mega-Projects*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

was echoed by Marshall, who claims that various re-planning schemes in Asia have caused the elimination of original images of these places, with their replacements focusing only on an ill-defined global appeal and leaving behind little local historical content⁴⁷. Hence, large projects, or perhaps mega projects that focus on the publicity and value of the image of certain urban space, could exert a negative impact on the urban quality and experience. The quality of the image, as such, could possibly be in contradiction with the spatial settings.

Having introduced a brief view of the context of modern understanding of space and spatiality, it is now crucial to clarify what it means to make an urban space of good quality. But first, I have to explain what I mean by urban space in this study. By urban space, I mean the physical spaces that emerge as voids in the urban quarters of the contemporary city. These spaces, which are physically constructed and spatially developed, gain meanings from human activities and interaction taking place within them. Space, in terms of this thesis, is the physically enhancing urban space that works as a collective domain for people of equal power and influence. At this stage, we need to investigate and understand the meaning of quality and to attempt its identification. Hence, in seeking an understanding of quality I focus on the physical dimensions of urban space in relation to the social needs; in other words, its spatial configuration and spatial practices. Definitely, all aspects perceived in our lives require certain levels of quality, as do our living spaces. It is crucial to define this quality and its elements. Hence, the question is: what is quality? And how can it be defined in such a way that it can be achieved by planners?

3.2.3. The notion of quality

‘The term quality may be loosely used in association with words and concepts as varied as appearance, fitness, merit, reliability, utility and value’⁴⁸.

To reach a simple understanding of quality, two crucial aspects need comprehensive consideration: to know what is required, and to know how to achieve this requirement. Quality implies the importance of considering the initial requirements for change in order to achieve the proper type of value. So, if requirements are wrong, then failure is guaranteed⁴⁹. For example, in education, quality of learning is central to the process of learning, and is achieved by identifying principles of clear outcomes to explain the anticipated performance of learners at particular levels⁵⁰. Attitudes towards interpreting quality usually differ radically according to the given principles, context and subject matter. Theoretical writings tend to

⁴⁷ Marshall, R. (2003) *Emerging Urbanity: Global Urban Projects in the Asia Pacific Rim*. London and New York: Spon Press.

⁴⁸ Powell, C. (1987) *Quest for quality: some attributes of buildings affecting judgment of quality*. *Design Studies*. 8:1. p. 26.

⁴⁹ Crosby, P. (1984) *Quality Without Tears*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

⁵⁰ White, R. (1998) *What is quality in English language teacher education?* *ELT Journal*. 52:2. 133 - 139.

understand quality in relation to certain criteria of objective facts and from a specific point of view. Thus, specific criteria can be applied to indicate good quality, but not to determine its values.

Christopher Alexander's work on justifying quality in terms of a pattern language should not be ignored. He exhibits quality as a kind of uncertainty, mostly expressed in the notion of a 'quality without a name' which is at the core of his thesis⁵¹. His attempts to elucidate quality were uncertain in that 'words fail to capture it because it is unerringly precise... and because quality in itself is sharp, exact, with no looseness in it whatsoever'⁵². Thus, a useful criterion for assessing quality of the built environment is to exemplify it as a living entity, which is comfortable, free, exact, and eternal; however, these terms are too confining, and have too many meanings, and can be interpreted as artificial, egoless and confusing⁵³.

'It is not only simple beauty of form and color; man can make that without making nature. It is not only the fitness to purpose. Man can make that too, without making nature. And it is not only the spiritual quality of a piece of music or a quiet mosque ... the quality which has no name includes these simple sweeter qualities. But it is so ordinary as well'⁵⁴.

In a sense, quantity, in contrast with quality, defines measurable attributes of things, such as wide and narrow, small and big, heavy and light, and the information provided is often perceived as objective and reliable in terms of its effectiveness, which is not the actual issue of concern in this thesis, rather, it is the quality. In this regard, quality manifests itself differently as a matter that can be conceptualized or recognized in a set of inherent patterns 'which have enough good or bad quality to build the base of knowledge for a culture'⁵⁵. It is a type of scale that justifies our perception of the urban space, which is subjective in nature and defined on the basis of contextual values. This subjectivity encapsulates different aspects of physical and non physical patterns such as social patterns of behaviours, habits and rituals; 'Inorganic patterns' of non-living things; and 'biological patterns' of living things⁵⁶. In contrast, the dynamic quality described by Robert Pirsig as the 'pre-intellectual cutting edge of reality' is thought of as a force of change 'because it can be recognized before it can be conceptualized'. For example, authentic urban spaces, such as the districts of old Cairo, although complex and in most cases in decline, symbolize a positive and significant context simply because they have developed and been transformed with reference to the values, rituals, and habits of their inhabitants. Thus, their 'appropriation' was the consequence of their capacity to accommodate the everyday practices of these individuals⁵⁷.

⁵¹ See Grabow, S (1983) *Christopher Alexander: The Search for a New Paradigm in Architecture*. Oriol, Boston. Although *The Timeless Way of Building* may be regarded as the foundation of an architectural design discourse, and case studies have appeared at scales of the individual building, a housing cluster, a university campus and urban design, Alexander's work represents a substantial quest for a new paradigm for environmental design, cited in Dovey, K. (1990) *The pattern language and its Enemies*. Design Studies. 11:1. p. 3.

⁵² Alexander, C. (1978) *A Pattern Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, P. 39-40.

⁵⁵ Pirsig, R. (1974) *Zen and the art of motorcycle maintenance: an inquiry into values*. New York, Morrow.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Canniffe, E. (2006) *Urban ethic: design in the contemporary city*. Taylor & Francis. p. 148.

To appropriate the meaning of quality in the particular context of the thesis, we need to comprehend how the Egyptian society interprets quality. Examination of the etymology of the term quality in Arabic throws up several synonyms. The term *gawda* is the specific Arabic equivalent, and is a simple derivation for describing a special feature, or the nature or property of an object. In the classic Arabic dictionary, *gawda* is defined as *agad shai'e*, referring to doing something in a good way, or to obtaining something in a better shape or form⁵⁸. It is also associated with the meaning of something unpleasant or depressing, physical or non-physical that requires a certain degree of enhancement or validation of its content. This illustrates that quality is a subjective and unique term with very specific implications and varies from one context to another and from one social group to another. Hence, it is identified in a way that ties its meaning to its particular context.

In fact, the Arabic descriptions reveal that quality is rather a dynamic phrase which implies many more meanings than its English interpretation as a fashionable and commercial phrase. As pointed out earlier, looking at quality as a *doing*, or active term implies that it constitutes an action or the practice of an activity that can be accomplished to reach higher degrees of success in cases linked to the human motivation: it is well done or practised, as the phrase *agad shae'e* indicates. In addition, it obtains a sort of materialization from its positional identification of good things or even its contribution to changing or transforming things to a better condition. In this sense, quality could be described as a matter, an object, a substance, or even the body of acceptable and desired materials which any human will search for. Except, quality does not remain static, but it could spread further to embrace people's manners, gestures and behaviours within their living spaces in a way that acknowledges the impact of their performance towards their built environment. This in return was one of the significant implications that drove the planning institution in Egypt to approve clearance and demolition decisions in Bulaq, arguing that its decline was partially caused by the negative quality of attitudes and behaviour on the part of the Bulaqi people⁵⁹, which resulted in a lack of quality in the built environment.

This consideration is not only derived from the popular use of the term quality in Egypt or through dictionaries or books, but it is also determined through the Bulaqi people's voices in explaining their individual thoughts about quality during the interviews conducted for this research⁶⁰. So, to describe the quality of urban spaces in Bulaq through its streets, parks, or squares is to determine their attributes relative to the contextual organization, systems and values. In the absence of proper quality, these spaces, their physical configuration and

⁵⁸ Ibn Manzur, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram, 1232-1311 or 12 (1955-1956) *Lisan al-Arab*. 15 Volumes. Vol. 5. Bayrut : Dar Ṣadir. p. 134

⁵⁹ This idea will be highlighted in discussing Bulaq's three planning schemes to understand how the behaviour of the residents necessitated the planning authority to clear the district during the 1960s and 70s.

⁶⁰ Chapter ten provides an in-depth discussion of the Bulaqi residents' perceptions about how they understand quality and how they managed to force the planning authority to attempt to improve the quality of their specific living spaces.

embodied human interaction, become incomprehensible and meaningless: like 'the urban sentence remaining unintelligible without the punctuation of the pause and the rest'⁶¹.

The quality of such urban spaces, or its attributes, is essentially informed by the successful accommodation of different functions, and by its ability to provide the proper spatial organization of the public realm⁶². Hence, I look at quality here as a value of human activity that is driven by a process of conformance based on the principle of 'doing it right'. It is a multi relationship aspect that stimulates the human mind, and is an active scale of experience which distinguishes good from bad⁶³, or a good quality aspect from a bad quality aspect. However, this quality is determined by positive or negative interaction within the urban space through human response to its spatial configurations. A high quality urban space, hence, could be seen as a well-defined spatial configuration, whose coherent expression of its users' values and culture forms the basis of their understanding of its importance.

We can, accordingly, note that pursuit of a higher quality of the urban space would enrich its context and its materiality by informing the choice of the best materials, objects, or attributes to produce new values. However, this first entails gaining a comprehensive understanding of its users, their values and needs. The quality is determined by them, and therefore, they are its authors. Most importantly, quality also could be justified by the individuals' behaviour, activities, and manners in its identified live context; so the degree of awareness and care of a group of people living in a particular context could contribute positively or negatively to the quality of such contexts. In that respect, quality is a relational, active and contextual term, not only in terms of its interconnection with the various physical incidents, but also in the absorption of this relational strength in materializing certain requirements in an essential ethical dimension.

In Cairo, state institutions and policy makers are used to determining the requirements of quality and also the way to achieve it based on a set of initiatives. A crucial gap, hence, exists between how to explain what good quality is and the proper attributes needed to achieve it from one side, and between the ways to evaluate it from another. The appropriate evaluation of quality, however, is believed to evolve from the actual needs of the individuals and their unique perceptions of living spaces.

3.2.4. Spatial Quality

The above discussion explained the subjectivity of the notion of quality and understanding the spatiality of urban spaces and thereby highlighted the theoretically problematic nature of re-making policies in urban contexts. Apparently, the quality of a space can be almost

⁶¹ Canniffe, *Urban ethic: design in the contemporary city*, p. 147.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Pirsig, *Zen and the art of motorcycle maintenance*.

anything. For example, when one talks about the quality of light it can open up a conversation about what might be good or bad light, or inspiring light, etc. However, when one talks about the quality of a street one can begin to define issues of width, surface, use, etc. As explained earlier, the term space, in some cases, apparently does not have to refer to real space, but can involve various kinds of metaphorical space, which allows room for endless debate and much confusion. Thus, I have pursued an understanding of the notion of urban space that might reveal how quality places were sought in the planning of Cairo's old urban districts.

However, further questions need to be asked as to what determines the assets of the quality of the urban space such as streets and squares, or precisely, who decides the anticipated quality and its integrated fields? The previous section showed that the lack of a precise definition of quality derives from failure to clarify which attributes constitute influential aspects of quality. For example, to determine collective criteria by which to judge the quality of a group of mixed buildings, it is first important to determine its attributes⁶⁴. As mentioned earlier, quality is a dynamic activity process that aims to produce successful outcomes in its particular context. This brings me to consideration of the second question of how could we perform or achieve this contextual success spatially, what I will term in this thesis as spatial quality.

Therefore, this chapter proposes a framework of understanding spatial quality in its particular urban context, and to understand the spatiality of the various components of the built environment, such as components related to the visual perception and physical features of a place. Such framework should be a useful tool to communicate particular interests and perspectives for successful making and remaking in similar urban and living spaces. However, it is important to acknowledge that there is no comprehensive or inclusive definition that offers a prescriptive list of specific element or requirements. Rather, this chapter highlights conceptual issues and possible factors that would allow an enhanced reading of the urban form, subject to place-specific interpretations, that could be developed to suit different contexts. It also offers a shared understanding of spatial quality in order that researchers, professionals' policy makers, residents/inhabitants and indeed all stakeholders in Cairo can engage in a remaking of the city.

Amos Rapoport points out that it is important for humans to perceive the built environment with reference to 'symbolic, behavioural, religious, historical' variables, whereas the spatial quality of a place lies in its physical and non-physical attachment to its context⁶⁵. The significance of a space in its three dimensional form, according to Adrian Forty, lies in the relationship between a space and its 'locale'⁶⁶. The river bank, for instance, only exists

⁶⁴ Powell, C. (1987) *Quest for Quality: Some Attributes of Buildings Affecting Judgment of Quality*. Design Studies. 8:1. p. 26-32.

⁶⁵ Rapoport, A. (1970) *The Study of Spatial Quality*. Journal of Aesthetic Education: Special Issue on the Environment and the Aesthetic Quality of Life. 4:4. p. 81- 95. p. 5.

⁶⁶ Forty, *Words and buildings*, p. 356.

through perception of the bridge to define its boundaries; thus it only occurs within an existing locale. These objects could vary in distance, near or far, and physical indicators make it possible to present an abstracted space that could be defined anywhere. If this particular space lacks the essential relationship with its locale, it consequently lacks its proper quality. Its spatial quality, hence, is constituted by the specific objects that determine the presence or lack of boundaries; it can then be defined by certain geometrical attributes⁶⁷.

On the other hand, such accounts of urban settings assert that while dealing with a variety of physical features of spaces, architects' as well as urban planners' perceptions are important in attempting to produce an attractive 'appearance' of qualities⁶⁸. Kevin Lynch's notion of *a city with a good fit* was used to describe spaces, where activities are combined with the built space, and the two are mutually self-sustaining⁶⁹. This appropriate fit ensures that outdoor urban elements such as streets, open spaces, pedestrian sidewalks are designed to satisfy the needs of their users and allow them to function in their living spaces successfully⁷⁰. However, Montgomery suggests that this fit must be 'governed by the type of place and the range and intensity of desired activity', and achievement of a successful urban form could depend on building up a picture of this fitting⁷¹.

A more complex interpretation lies in rethinking the appropriate group of aspects or elements of qualities in terms of the satisfaction of user needs and allows for variations in performance⁷². Anthropologists, for example, judge the quality of the built environment through its appropriateness to the organization of the users' activities, practices and rituals. This judgment is informed by monitoring certain kinds of repeated events/rituals in an institutionalized context in a regular sequence⁷³. In this sense, spatial quality is experienced through the order and pattern of activities within a live context. In other words, the spatial organization should promote and facilitate daily routines and rituals of the users. But, in this theoretical context, Rapoport's discussions of the 'interpretations of space', linked to the broader definition of 'what is meant by good or bad space', added another factor⁷⁴. His judgment is set for the use of each space within its relevant context; 'good space in a good environment is a function of a given context'⁷⁵. Thus, the natural conflict between the designers' perceptions and users' needs implies that defining the proper quality would be

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁶⁸ Lynch, K. (1976) *Managing the Sense of a Region*. MIT Press. Cambridge. MA. p. 10.

⁶⁹ Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press. Lynch employed a number of physical features of urban settings, based on people's sketch maps of cities, as the basis for orientation in space: node, landmark, path, edge, and district.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Montgomery, J. (2003) *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters*. *Planning Practice and Research*. 18: 4, 293 – 306.

⁷² Rapoport, A. (1977) *Human Aspects of urban form: Towards a man-environment Approach to Urban form and design*. Pergamon Press Ltd, Oxford. p. 81.

⁷³ Moore, S. and Chanock, M. (2000) *Law as process: An anthropological approach*. Berlin: LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster. p. 43.

⁷⁴ Rapoport, *The Study of Spatial Quality*, p. 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

different in each case, depending on our understanding of each context's 'values, cultures, and life-styles'⁷⁶.

In Pierre Bourdieu's investigation of the *habitus* in pre-modern societies, and particularly the *Kabyle* community in Algeria, he looked at people's everyday practice in terms of the structure of the spatial and temporal settings of their living spaces⁷⁷. In searching for the meaning of the practice, he introduced the *habitus* as a notion that provides the basis for explaining a society's relationship to structure⁷⁸, as 'an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted'⁷⁹. In this regard, the quality of a living space could be seen as an inherent value in the spatial order of the place that is heavily loaded with meaning, history and rituals determined by the Kabyle living rhythm. For Bourdieu, it is this knowledge of the nature of the *habitus* which produces orientations that shape and are shaped by the social practices which stream from a process of 'social improvisation' structured by personal trajectories and cultural orientations⁸⁰. As Bourdieu puts it, we learn bodily⁸¹. So, for example, while privacy is a social practice that needs space (spatial) and requires duration (temporal), it becomes a practice that requires a space with specific qualities.

Hence, understanding spatial quality becomes a journey through time and space between two different realms: the realm of the physical settings of the built environment, which tends to be articulated by urban design forms, and the realm of social needs, which tends to be articulated by the people's rituals, values and culture. The spatial organization and physical settings of a space constitute the quality of its inhabitants' behaviours, rituals, cultures and values, wherein, as Bourdieu mentioned, the world is reversed, new rules are implemented and a new order of superiority is at work⁸². On one hand, spatial quality could be determined by the power of a space's different occupants, where every individual group has the ultimate authority in its individual space; their behaviour and attitudes form the main path that enables them to materialize their lives in their living spaces. On the other hand, the physical settings of these spaces are produced and reproduced through the people's everyday practice, which in a certain way is an expression of a culture-specific relationship between a space and its users, and a possible association of habitual practices⁸³.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ See Jenkins, R. (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Routledge. p. 74. This is a Latin word referring to a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body. The contemporary usage of the term *habitus* was introduced by Marcel Mauss and later re-elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu. Mauss defined *habitus* as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily practices of individuals, groups, societies, and nations. It includes the totality of learned habits, bodily skills, styles, tastes, and other non-discursive knowledges that might be said to "go without saying" for a specific group -- in that way it can be said to operate beneath the level of rational ideology.

⁷⁸ De Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*. p. 58.

⁷⁹ Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice*. English translation by: Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁸⁰ Friedland, R. and Boden, D. (1994) *Nowhere: an Introduction*. In: Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden, (eds.) *Nowhere: Space, Time, and Modernity*. Los Angeles & Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 22.

⁸¹ Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, p.130 - 131.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Blundell Jones, P. (1987) *Social construction of space*. Spazio e societa, angemi editore. vol. 40. 62 - 72. p. 62.

Through this discussion, spatial quality in the context of this thesis is defined as a socio-spatial integrative system that promotes an adequate quality of the built environment which significantly addresses the people's patterns of activities, norms, and daily practices. It is an outcome of an activity / performance such as thinking, designing, or planning for achieving an adequate fit in the built environment: the integration between the physical settings of the space and the people needs. This could be spatially fully achieved through the critical consideration of the diverse contextually-driven fields of quality that respond to the inherent value and history of the place (Figure 3.1). Besides, this integration allows planners and urban designers an enhanced practice which promotes an improved organization of the built environment urban forms and other various relationships that consider a set of dynamic social activities. Hence, to achieve spatial quality, planners need to have the capacity to perform according to the changing order of needs. By integrating a coherent understating of the physical and social settings of any context to produce a flexible and inclusive outcome of spatial quality, planners could design urban spaces which hold much signs of flexibility and suitability for its users.

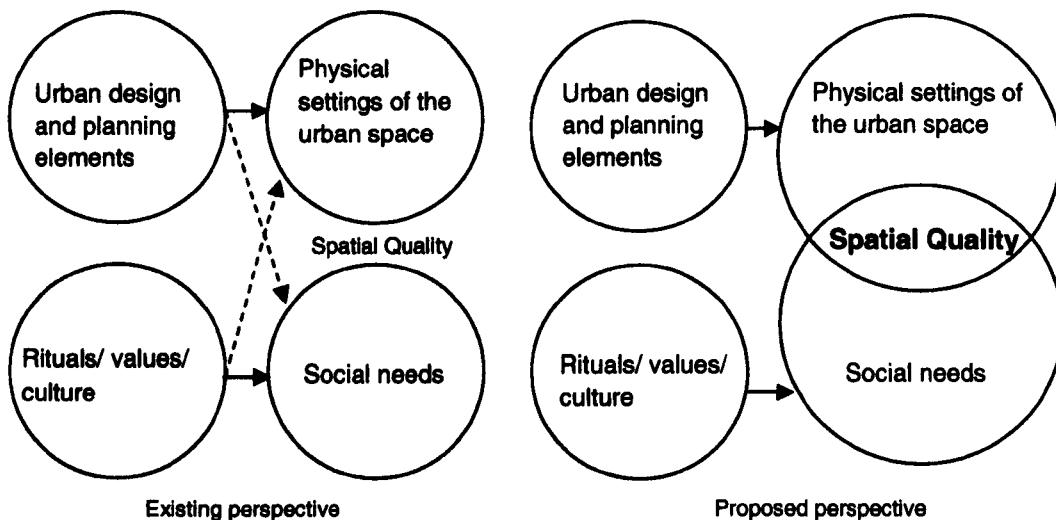


Figure 3.1 Understanding spatial qualities through the spatial organization of physical settings and social needs.

3.3. Constructing the Continuum of Spatial Quality

3.3.1. Fields of Integration

If quality is a notion that incorporates numerous aspects, as clarified above, then a multiplicity of fields would be involved in any attempt to achieve the appropriate level of spatial quality. The practical implications of the above understanding of spatial quality only become comprehensible when we acknowledge the way different fields are integrated in the process. On the first level, the nature of activities, whether private or public, is an important

aspect of the quality of the place. Heeling, Meyer & Westrik identified several fields of urban design, such as the urban floor plan, public space, buildings and land uses, which are influential ingredients in setting the agenda of improving the spatial quality and bringing home the main requirements for the inhabitation of spaces⁸⁴. Psychologists, like planners, have made frequent attempts to explain the main determinants of improvement of the quality of a place. David Canter, in his seminal book *The Psychology of Place*, offered a theoretical underpinning of the metaphor of spaces which, in return, influences their spatial quality⁸⁵. The understanding of the 'cognitive system of places' was derived from the slogan that 'the goal of environmental design is the creation of place'⁸⁶. Canter proposed a three-component model framework for making places which suggests a positive relationship between three major elements; meaning, physical attributes, and activity⁸⁷. Accordingly, initial steps to improve the quality of places incorporate the following:

1. The identification of the main spaces which require modifications or re-planning to enable designers to produce spaces that fit the conceptual system of users
2. The elaboration of space qualities
3. Emphasis that qualities of space are combined in a hierarchal structure.

But, Canter's model remained vague in terms of practicality and the distribution of responsibilities. It mainly defines the roadmap to remake a quality space through elaboration of spatial qualities. Effectively, it raises more questions than it answers. However, the practical integration of the role of the designer within this process became clearer with the publication of *Responsive Environments*, which added a valuable synthesis to the practice of planning in built-up areas and problems of in-town development. The authors noted the concern over 'those areas of design which more frequently seem to go wrong' because urban designs have ignored the political and social ideals for the production of physical forms, with architects and planners visualizing its forms in a 'superficial sense'⁸⁸. Thus, it is the role of the professional practice that matters. While ideals of political, cultural and social aspects are non avoidable elements of spatial quality, it is the designers' role to interpret these ideals through creating plans for a proper quality of the built environment. This quality, in return, is thought to deliver *responsive* places which provide their users with a 'democratic setting and choices'. The spatial quality of *responsive places* was summarized by notions of permeability, variety, legibility and robustness, along with richness and visual appropriateness. However, the authors of *Responsive Environments* were explicit in terms of how they intended to achieve these spatial qualities. Yet, their approach towards

⁸⁴ Heeling, J. Etal (2005) De Kern van de Stedebouw in het perspectief van de 21ste eeuw. Dl. 1. Het ontwerp van de stadplattegrond. Amsterdam, SUN. Cited in, Schaick, J. and Klaasen, In: *Dynamics of urban networks as basis for the re-development of layer approaches*. Paper presented at ISUU, Delft Centre for Sustainable Urban Areas. p. 5.

⁸⁵ Canter, D. (1977) *The Psychology of Place*. London. Architectural Press.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 158.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Bentley, I. (1985) *Responsive environments: A manual for Designers*. Architectural Press. London. p. 9.

responsiveness was concerned with maximising alternative qualities, which serve diverse individual needs rather than attending to the ambitions of the collective scene⁸⁹. In other words, the quality is set in the experience not in the displayed image and thus, the urban space quality becomes more *responsive* to the spatial structures and able to utilize existing urban patterns to impact on individual alternatives⁹⁰.

Perhaps, consideration of the physical quality of a space should promote particular aspects of spatial quality, such as freedom of pedestrians, the relevant human dimension and diversity of land usage. Francis Tibbalds, inspired by Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander's work, targeted particularly this aspect of achieving a quality space⁹¹. He questioned the role of planning in producing good human environments, claiming that 'good design must be a fundamental objective for both the planning system and the development industry'⁹². For Tibbalds, good design was about the intact physical 'make-up' of declined spaces and their subsequent care and management. The creation of a good quality public realm entails looking at the space, rather than the building, to create attractive places that promote mixed usage, respect the human dimension, and encourage the freedom of pedestrians⁹³.

Visions to develop Bulaq Abul Ela in Cairo have continuously tended to simply reproduce the same solutions to the existing problems without considering the past faults and shortcomings. Therefore, central to this study is the investigation of how spatial quality has been addressed in the remaking of Bulaq. The investigation of Bulaq's planning schemes, processes, negotiations, decision making and accounts demonstrated undisputedly the high value and importance of the district's spatial quality on the agenda of the local planners, however, with little understanding of what this meant in practice. This fact is illustrated by the lack of understanding of the attributes of spatial quality, and how it could be achieved in Bulaq. Such lack of assessment derived from the absence of a conceptual structure of planning to achieve spatial quality. Therefore, when I approach Bulaq's planning schemes in this thesis, spatial fields of integration will be investigated through particular qualities of the built environment that contribute to effective spatial arrangements within a coherent and distinctive identity relevant to the place. In addition, such aspects of quality were significantly highlighted in the three re-planning schemes of Bulaq by the planning institution.

⁸⁹ McGlynn, S. and Murrain, P. (1994) *The politics of urban design*. Planning Practice and Research. 9: 3. 311 - 319.

⁹⁰ Hayward, R. and McGlynn, S. (1993) *Making better places: urban design now*. Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Architecture.

⁹¹ Punter, J. and Carmona, M. (1997) *The Design Dimension of Planning: Theory, Content and Best Practices for Design Policies*. London: E. & F. N. Spon.

⁹² Tibbalds, F. (1992) *Making People - Friendly Towns*. Longman. Marlow.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

3.3.2. Making Spatial Quality

'It is now widely recognised that well designed, high quality streets and public spaces have an enormous impact on the positive development of urban areas. But to be sustainable and fit for purpose in the 21st century, streets and other urban spaces need to respond to the demands of modern life, business needs and shifts in culture'⁹⁴.

Improving the quality of the built environment needs to be explained through a redefined configuration of the process of remaking that utilizes the attributes of spatial quality to respond to the actual socio-cultural organization of the space. The proposed configuration of spatial quality has emerged from the previous review regarding our understanding of the urban space as a three dimensional context from one side, and as an organizer of human movement and interaction (activities, living, working) from another. Therefore, we can determine three elements of spatial quality which have significant impact on determining the quality of the urban context: the aesthetic perception, the physical configuration of an urban space, and its constituted activities.

Selection of these elements is also based on the basic attributes and the practising of everyday life activities and their spatial organization in terms of remaking in Cairo and specifically the old district of Bulaq. While spatial qualities are indefinite, in a district like Bulaq, their values are significant and are accumulated on the basis of people's experiences and expectations in their particular context. Thus, it is possible to identify evidence of how planners and the planning institution in Cairo contemplated improving the spatial quality in the planning schemes drafted for Bulaq. In this stage the question becomes: what are the most appropriate conditions or circumstances for inhabitants of a district like Bulaq?

The Sense of place

Relevant literature on creating a sense of place holds that the meanings and memories of certain contexts are rooted in the people rather than the physical environment. Many researchers have suggested that a place's aesthetic, through its symbolic and emotional assets, contributes to formation of a realistic approach to understanding the visual quality of a particular context⁹⁵. As such, two crucial approaches of research have addressed people's perceptions of the quality of their environment⁹⁶. The first approach focused on how

⁹⁴ The Opening statement of The Annual Quality Streetscapes Conference (2011) *Reshaping urban spaces: Public realm improvements for the changing life of cities*. Organised by the Resource for Urban Design Information (RUDI) to be held on 26 May. London. See <http://www.rudi.net/node/22383>.

⁹⁵ For example, see Nasar, J. L. (1997) New developments in aesthetics for urban design. In: G. T. Moore & R. W. Marans (eds.) *Advances in environment, behaviour, and design*. 4.149 - 193. New York: Plenum Press. ; Porteous, J. D. (1996) *Environmental aesthetics: Ideas, politics and planning*. London: Routledge.

⁹⁶ Jones, C. D. et al (2000) *Evaluating the construct validity of sense of belonging as a measure of landscape perception*. *Journal of Leisure Research*. 32: 4. 383 - 395.

individuals evaluate the physical environment, and the second approach focused on the emotional connections with the built environment which are forged through personal experience and social interactions in particular contexts⁹⁷. The emotional connections approach, which focuses on the notion of place, pays attention to the direct human interaction and association with places over time, thereby moving beyond the simple safety and comfort of a place, like home⁹⁸.

The key to this understanding is derived from people's mental images of their spatial environment as a 'sensory quality', which used to be of marginal importance to the planning practice and the planners themselves due to lack of awareness⁹⁹. It is described as a constant stream that reflects particular cultural attitudes towards visualizing places; so to make good sense of a place is to effectively manage the way it supports our needs, bodies, and everyday activities. As such, good regions are recognized as accessible with no areas of exclusion. This, as well, includes aspects for creating a place's character through the mental image of a place, movement, and actions 'which not only allows people to function effectively but is also a source of emotional security, pleasure and understanding'¹⁰⁰. The appropriate sensory quality of a clear space allows its parts to be recognized and organized into coherent patterns, such as a collective pattern where roads, landmarks and districts can be identified¹⁰¹. For example, following the recent Egyptian revolution that took place in *Tahrir Square* at the centre of Cairo during January and February 2011, there has been a huge debate between planners, architects, and researchers in Cairo about how the character of the square could be shaped in the post-revolution era. What are the qualities that such a unique place should represent to the Egyptian society and the entire world in the modern and contemporary life of the city? Such a historic event, that attracted the attention of the entire world for three weeks, has added social, political and economical value and symbolism to this specific place that will determine its future¹⁰² (Figure 3.2).

There are many examples of attempts to achieve a sense of place as crucial aspects of spatial quality in history. These demonstrate that a sensory quality was achieved by responding to the nature of the context and the associated needs of its people. In this sense, quality was cross-referenced with local identity of places to represent the sense of place¹⁰³. Spatial quality, hence, emerges as the degree to which the space attends to socio-cultural and economical needs and activities of its local users (Figure 3.3). In this light, the narrow non-straight alleys of old areas, such those in old Cairo, retain the area's unique sense of

⁹⁷ Giuliani, M. V. (2003) Theory of attachment and place attachment. In: M. Bonne, T. Lee & M. Bonaiuto (eds.) *Psychological theories for environmental issues*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. 137-170.

⁹⁸ Hammit, W. E. et al (2006) *Place bonding for recreation places: Conceptual and empirical development*. *Leisure Studies*. 25 :1. 17 - 41.

⁹⁹ Lynch, *Managing the Sense of a Region*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² The Tahrir Square became a touristic attraction immediately after the revolution, with all western leaders and the UN chief of staff insisting on paying a visit to such a historic venue.

¹⁰³ *Perfect and Power, Planning for Urban Quality*, p.137. The authors offered a variety of nineteenth century examples in this regard.

place for its people as a sensory quality seen, for instance, in the security, safety and social intimacy it provides, which in return is entirely different from other recently planned areas, recognizable through their wide straight streets and modern buildings (Figure 3.4). Thus, attending to this quality encourages locally generated social interaction and cultural practice that affords a certain level of protection from the outside world which suits one particular era, but not another.



Figure 3.2 The Tahrir Square in Cairo before and during the 25 January revolution.

There has been a huge debate between planners, architects, and researchers in Cairo about how the character of the square could be shaped in the post-revolution era.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tahrir_Square_during_8_February_2011.jpg.



Figure 3.3 A view of Cairo Plaza twin towers, one of the new developments located on the riverfront of Bulaq.

The image was captured from the historical mosque of *Sinan Pasha* located close to a variety of historical monuments. It was attacked for its pure modern glass form which is not in keeping with the district's historical context.

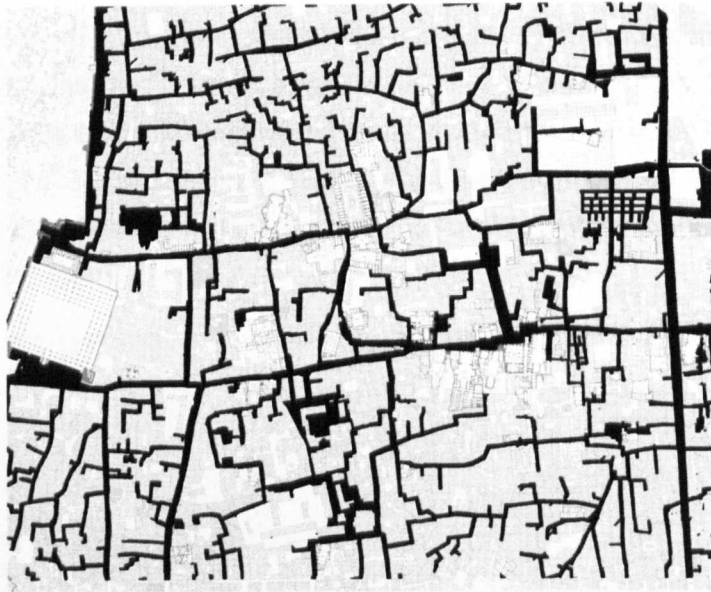


Figure 3.4 Streets in old Cairo.
The narrow and irregular streets and alleys.
Source: Courtesy to Egyptian society of Geography.

The Physical Configuration of Space

Attributes of the physical space include the basic elements of public and open spaces as set in the studies of urban morphology; this involves understanding and investigating aspects and meanings of change¹⁰⁴. Physical attributes, however, are not limited to fields of planning and design, as their spatial role in the built environment has integrated concepts of planning morphology as an interdisciplinary field of investigation, which, in turn, considers the potential for enhancing the spatial quality¹⁰⁵. The built space could be recognized through certain physical elements of the built fabric such as buildings, streets, parks and monuments, which are among the main elements of an outdoor space, and are constantly transformed through time. Their existence in a tight and dynamic interrelationship means that these structures shape and become shaped by open spaces and public streets to contribute to the configuration of physical characteristics.

The physical form of a space is geometrically defined by a mixture of streetscapes, building blocks and elevations¹⁰⁶, thus its quality is related to its geometrical characteristics that allow us to deliberately perceive an urban space: i.e. devoid of its occupants/people. Obviously, it is essential to critically consider these physical elements when designing outdoor spaces between buildings which are intended to generate activities¹⁰⁷. In this case, consideration of quality involves basic activities such as walking, standing and sitting as well as seeing, hearing and talking. These basic acts are the base for achieving spatial quality because they are part of almost all other activities. Thus, spaces are designed to

¹⁰⁴ Moudon, A. (1997) *Urban Morphology as an emerging interdisciplinary field*. Urban Morphology. Vol. (1). 3 – 10. p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Krier, R. (1979) *Urban Space*. Academy Edition. London.

¹⁰⁷ Gehl, J. (1980) *Life between Buildings*. Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.

accommodate these simple activities: actions imbued by their physical attributes with a spatial experience and quality in their own right¹⁰⁸.

Similarly, the core role of **street design** includes applying the proper widths, buildings lines, set-backs, and movement which serve to define its spatial qualities. The physical form in its two-dimensional shape is constituted in approaches driven by the neo-traditional or new urbanism planning which has introduced a set of principles regarding the spatial organization of streets¹⁰⁹. The application of the concept of street grids was basically an approach that aimed to ease traffic congestion, which later was criticized for leading to *one size fits all*, adding another stage of standardization of spatial features of urban spaces and ignoring the difference from one context to another. These standards, however, become, in a sense, anti-legal if we consider the width of the streets against the need for easily accessible routes and pedestrian safety, which require narrow streets¹¹⁰. Narrow streets, on their part, fail to attend to one basic safety need: they are not wide enough for the passage of emergency vehicles such as large-scale fire trucks and ambulances. This led to the standard average street width being increased from 8.5 / 9 meters (28 to 30 feet), to nearly 11 meters (36 feet)¹¹¹. Here emerges the problem of standardization and the danger of *one size fits all* theory, which, in the light of the complexity of modern urban planning and different contextual needs, does not provide a convenient solution.

Accordingly, street schemes, or street alignment plans are specific approaches concerned with the physical enhancement of street quality¹¹². Currently, spatial qualities of streets are driven by traffic control factors, which have caused the lack of integration between functional concerns and the livability of streets. While present street design standards have a long history and their use has improved safety, efficiency, and privacy, their quality is subject to variables of function suitability, which are not only applicable in terms of the role of a transportation network, but as part of a social and active space. To that end, qualities of residential streets are defined in terms of their performance for traffic movement, activities, and community interaction as one inseparable whole aspect of quality. Thus, an understanding and integration of social needs and users' behaviour is required as well as standards. In this sense, planners and landscape architects need to focus on residents' needs rather than those of the vehicles in determining street widths¹¹³.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* However, when these attributes respond to environmental conditions such as sunlight, winds and nature, they retain another level of quality that reflects that human activities are central to most spatial qualities that are being enhanced to accommodate these activities.

¹⁰⁹ Kunstler, J. (1996) *Home from Nowhere*. The Atlantic Monthly. 278: 3. 43 - 66.

¹¹⁰ Bohl, C. (2003) *Controversy: To What Extent and in What Ways Should Government Bodies Regulate Urban Planning?* Markets & Morality. 6:1. p. 2.

¹¹¹ Cohen, B. (2000) *Narrow Street Database: Congress for the New Urbanism*. Transportation Task Force Initiative, available at <http://www.sonic.net/abcaia/narrow.htm>.

¹¹² Perfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*, p. 90. It is also important to note that the authors have listed other aspects of environmental improvement such as recent planning gains for art, grant aiding and pedestrianisation schemes. For a full account of each see p. 88 - 97.

¹¹³ Southworth, M. and Ben-Joseph, E. (2003) *Streets and the shaping of towns and cities*. Island Press. p. 132.

Spatial quality in its three-dimensional forms requires special attention to the influence the intrusive element of **building height** has on the character and image of a place. While buildings are mostly considered in urban planning as solid masses or physical objects of the built space at best, the impact their aesthetic quality has on the open space cannot be ignored¹¹⁴. Today, local authorities in charge of planning policies are more concerned with the image of collective building heights. It is not surprising that there has been a corresponding tendency to draft rules specifically to regulate building heights¹¹⁵. Planners working with local authorities to produce and implement planning regulations have tended to set out height guidance and averages for particular spaces and areas. In return, the consideration of standard heights for a specific space, whether high or low-rise buildings, requires an effective policy to control these elements and prevent the destruction of the distinct nature and needs of each space¹¹⁶. A policy in this sense requires an understanding of the place and its sensitivities to change in terms of the dominant character of the locality¹¹⁷.

The physical form of space in this case is determined through certain spatial factors as seen in street width and building heights as well as its homogeneity. However, such aspects of spatial quality cannot be separated from the activities and values of people's interaction within these spaces. We saw that pedestrian needs and accessibility could determine the street width, while land-use is a principal criterion for deciding building heights in particular zones in the city.

Activity

The city urban environment is a diverse set of activities constituted as vital elements of the urban fabric¹¹⁸. A land-use plan defines the clear sub-areas of different land-uses within each local area on the macro level of a city or on the micro level of a district: the nature and allocation of land-uses and the grain of development. They aim to determine and allocate the predominant variation of uses; commercial, residential, administrative, civic activities, open spaces, or industrial uses, or in the case of existing areas, they indicate proposals for redistributing the primary uses of each zone or parcel of land. While diversity is conceptualized so as to increase the functionality of cities, the practice of urban design and

¹¹⁴ Dornbusch, D. and Gelb, P. (1977) High rise visual impact. In: D. Conway (eds.) *Human response to tall buildings*. Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden Hutchinson Ross. p. 101 - 111.

¹¹⁵ Delafons, J. (1990) *Aesthetic control*. A report on methods used in the USA to control the design of buildings (Monograph 41). Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development. University of California at Berkeley.

¹¹⁶ Perfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*, p. 64.

¹¹⁷ For example, implementing standard height regulations on existing space impacts the character of the space by altering its existing visual quality by increasing or decreasing building heights to match the new regulations. This strategy was followed by consideration of the proper average heights for the local built space in terms of acceptable ranges rather than specific limits. This means allowing an acceptable height range for each individual locality and in most cases, for each individual street in one locality, rather than legitimizing a single unified height limit.

¹¹⁸ Jacobs, A. and Donald A. (1987) Toward an Urban Design Manifesto. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 53:1. 112 - 120.

planning has long supported mixed use as a necessary ingredient of spatial quality¹¹⁹; and a necessary condition for achieving this quality is to create spaces of diverse mixed uses within the arena of detailed consideration and refinement of the space¹²⁰. Thus, promoting *mixed use development is connected with interrelated concerns of 'safety and environmental quality'*, which are both responses to the notion of variety within the public realm¹²¹.

Diversity of activities and land-use plays a central role in the development of meaningful and lively places, which means that planners and architects are required to pay attention to certain decisions, i.e. the inclusion of a carefully designed mix of relevant uses that develop the unique experiences of such micro urban environments. Also, the promotion of 'putative uses' to attract new users within urban districts encourages the infusion of new uses in districts which suffer from grain problems¹²². Concentrations of the diverse uses should be large enough to make a difference. Thus a balanced mix of activity spaces for commercial, working, or living activities, for instance, would provide a lively, stimulating quality within the public realm¹²³. Moreover, there is a need to implement complex concepts of zoning and diversity in developing planning schemes for existing areas and central areas in particular¹²⁴. In order to pursue the proper land-use, planning proposals need to consider the existing mix of uses and to enhance public interaction, and demand 'achievability', taking account of the necessity to provide a non-arbitrary contemporary design stance for the existing context¹²⁵.

Attempts to control land-uses and mixed activities are obvious in contemporary planning practices that are no longer as prescriptive as the zoning schemes of the past. Rather, they are widely based on defining particular zones for specific uses¹²⁶. A variety of methods to improve the quality of land-usage have been adopted, in many cases in recognition of previous planning failures¹²⁷. Regulating and controlling the extensive relationship between land uses and the built-up space was the first method used to achieve good quality. For example, Parfect and Power referred to areas in England with one dominant land use, such as residential or commercial, which were preserved for future developments of the same use and known as 'white lands'¹²⁸. Also, areas of high landscape value as well as the 'Green Belt zones' were clearly earmarked to remain as undeveloped lands with the intention of absorbing the uncontrolled sprawl of urban land uses and activities and associated pressure on the infrastructure of the city¹²⁹.

¹¹⁹ Talen, E. (2006) *Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal*. Journal of Planning Literature. 20:3. 233 – 249. p. 237.

¹²⁰ Canter, *The Psychology of Place*.

¹²¹ Roberts, M. and Lloyd-Jones, T. (1997) Mixed Uses and Urban Design. In: Coupland, A. (eds.) *Reclaiming the City: Mixed Use Development*. E& FN Spon. p.150.

¹²² Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. London. Jonathan Cape.

¹²³ Roberts and Lloyd-Jones, *Mixed Uses and Urban Design*, p. 152.

¹²⁴ Tibbalds, *Making People - Friendly Towns*, p. 32.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 -25.

¹²⁶ Roberts and Lloyd-Jones, *Mixed Uses and Urban Design*, p. 171.

¹²⁷ Parfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*, p. 62.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

Another method entails the publication and application of constructive planning policies that make a great shift in the mechanism of sustaining spatial quality. Remarkably, legislation on mixed land-use policies introduced a radical shift from the traditional approach of clear-cut maps, which designated a strict order of zone-activity division. These policies, in effect, advocate a legitimized spatial quality in the form of redistributing densities and activities, as well as areas of redevelopment. Yet, while quality activities could become functionally active and successful through the application of physical modern standards of space, this could have implications for other aspects of spatial quality, such as the sense of place.

The previous discussion was intended to be provisional and explanatory of the hierarchal significance of spatial quality in the old districts of Cairo. It is not proposed as a rigid model applicable to each re-planning scheme of Bulaq, but rather as a way of understanding the process of remaking the district and the extent to which it was successful in addressing these qualities. Evidently, fields of spatial quality could vary from one context to another and could show extreme differences. The simplest example is that the quality of the physical form in old Cairo streets completely differs from that of the downtown area planned during the nineteenth century. Although the remaking of any area within the city will collectively comprise these fields either completely or partially, the priority of each quality would vary from each area to another based on the dominant planning practices, the type of urban context, or even the rules and policies that control its application.

3.4. The Homogeneity and Fragmentation of Spatial Quality in Old Districts of Cairo

Spatial quality in Cairo, historically, was abstracted into the visual quality as manifested in two dimensional and superficial facade designs and was limited to, for example, gaining wider streetscapes. In effect, in several situations, like Muhammad Ali's early trials, the change of building facades was in contrast with the nature of activities and natural organization of the space, which corresponded to several social venues of interaction, including old facades. Imposition of white facades on houses in old Cairo created a superficial image that conflicted with the activities, land-use and social integrity of local communities. Moreover, it was a remarkable break with the past, heritage and meaning of the place¹³⁰. This is why it was resisted and ended in abject failure. In contrast, implementing these policies and practices in new quarters such as Ismailia and Heliopolis, during Ismail's era, was more successful due to the virgin nature of vacant desert land.

¹³⁰ Lane-Pool, S. (1902) *The Story of Cairo*. London: J.M. Dent & Co.

Cairo's account of transformation presents a case of a traditional urban culture that is in transition and has experienced many development pressures and destructive internal forces, symbolizing the interaction between continuity and change, deconstruction and reconstruction, as well as heterogeneity and homogeneity¹³¹. The urban scene in old Cairo is composed of a mixture of a consistent combination of compact building masses of various typologies with a high degree of context responsiveness and minimal inner spaces and external walls¹³² (Figure 3.5). In most cases of remaking, not many historical buildings have survived in terms of being conserved or renovated; instead, they remain as isolated constructs deprived of their unique context and symbolic meanings (Figure 3.6).

In old Cairo, the physical configuration of spaces is constituted by the network of traditional winding and narrow streets and public spaces combined with new street patterns, redesigned squares and public facilities which contribute to the visual composition of such areas. Here the spatial structure of the local society is explicit in the spatial configuration of its space-activity relationships. Major spinal routes are also composed within the dense street network, which is integrated through extremely active and busy commercial usage, forming a concentration of traditional mixed use activities. This concentration derives from the fact that the location of such uses has always been adjacent to residential units, devoid of any physical separation. Apparently, the quality of the urban fabric of old districts in Cairo has intrinsic meanings that are represented in the complicity of relatively consistent adjacent physical forms, such as the historical buildings and monuments which form the identity of the place, the old decayed housing and streets which constitutes the physical built form, and the activities zones. The spatial quality's significance, in this sense, is deliberated through understanding the way each historical layer of quality was formed, composed, and lived, which in return created a living urban continuum of a coherent urban form. The typology of the urban grain points out that these layers had obtained a certain degree of 'capacity of change' to absorb, be transformed and adapt to manipulation of their physical elements without disturbance of the original structure. Thus, coherence was maintained throughout its history by means of incorporating, adapting and altering previous morph-typologies according to the changing needs of an expanding population (Figure 3.7).

¹³¹ Abada, G. (2004) *Heterogeneity within Homogeneity: Fragmentation and the Possible Re-Coherence of Traditional Urban Forms in Cairo*. GBER. 4:1. 3 – 14.

¹³² Al Sayyad, N. (1991) *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*. Greenwood Press. Washington.

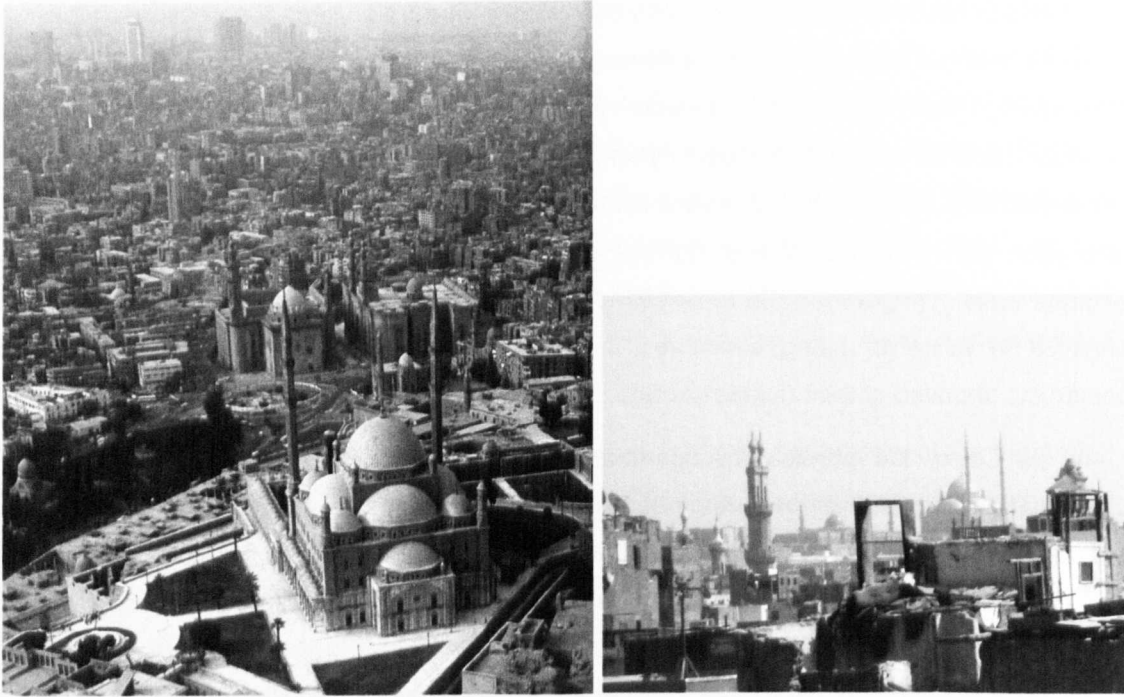


Figure 3.5 The appearance of visual quality on the historical Cairo skyline.

Above: this area extends from Muhammad Ali Citadel to Bulaq, located on the edge of the image.

Bottom: the combination of compact building masses of various typologies with a high degree of contextual responsiveness and minimal inner spaces.

In the past two decades, the quality of these areas has been subject to significant fragmentation due to the excessive development of the historical domain, which increased levels of discontinuity of the urban space. Modern remaking actions constituted cutting through the traditional urban fabric to create linear street patterns and separate squares, monotonous linear blocks of public housing, and high-rise buildings. In al-Gammaliya area in old Cairo, for example, the understanding of recent changes demonstrates that several forms of fragmentation have occurred: the fragmentation of functions and land-uses due to densification and intensification; the active replacement of historical buildings; deterioration combined with a process of demolition; changes to the spatial and visual sense, and the formation of slums¹³³. However, in most cases, attempts to improve spatial qualities in the context of old districts lacked formal and functional attributes and proved to be disorganized, disordered, and to lack a sense of coherence and assimilation within the surrounding context.

A major problem facing planners and local authorities in Cairo derives from the serious lack of understanding of the dimension of transformative capacity, which accordingly could affect their ability to accurately define spatial quality in this sense. The interruption of the stream of informality and the corruption of activities, bounded by the rigidity and inadequacy of the indoor living spaces, had added further complications to the mission of remaking these places in a way that would attend to the individuals' actual needs. In this respect, it

¹³³ Abada, *Heterogeneity within Homogeneity*, p. 10.

became part of the planning institution's mission to adopt particular remaking actions and practices in order to fulfil the task of arresting the major signs of decline in such transformed areas. Therefore, it is significant to consider the context of old districts in Cairo through its tight alleys, traditional activities, and identity and to understand how its original spatial qualities were formed and manipulated through time in order to achieve a successful remaking of its spatial qualities.

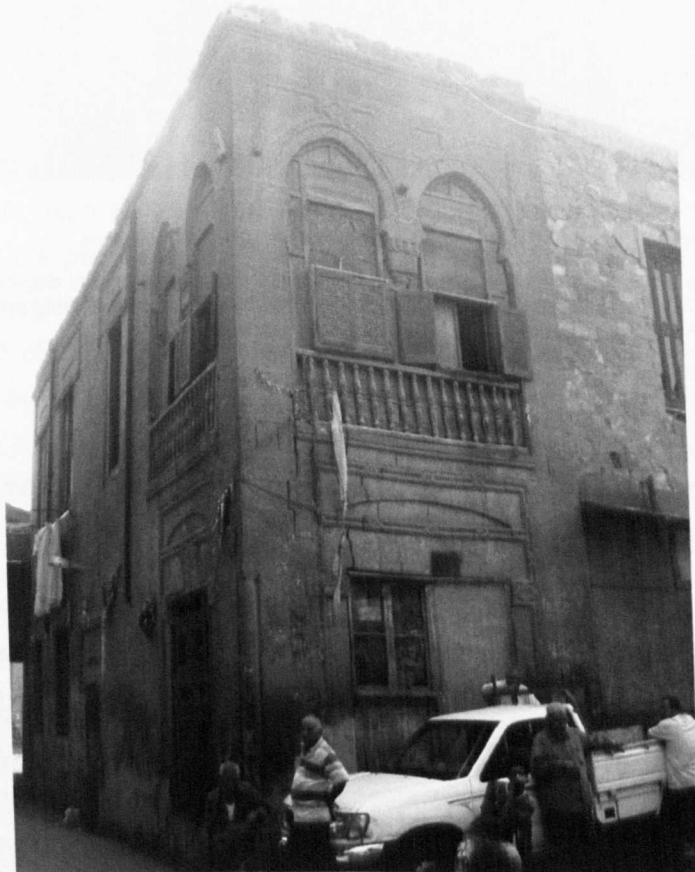


Figure 3.6 Old and historical buildings in Bulaq.
They were mostly not conserved or renovated, but remained isolated constructs deprived of their unique context and symbolic meanings.



Figure 3.7 Daily domestic activities in *al-Darb al-Ahmar* district in old Cairo.

The typology of the urban grain points out that these layers had obtained a certain degree of 'capacity of change'. Coherence was maintained by means of incorporating, adapting and altering previous morphologies according to the changing needs of an expanding population

Source: (AKTC, 2005).

3.5. The Practice of (Re) making places in response to the socio-cultural needs

The exploration of the notion of spatial quality in the context of Cairo raises the question of how planners or architects could consider and integrate quality in the practice of remaking places. Planning, and particularly remaking places, where deep-rooted practices have developed over the centuries. Remaking, however, has been conceived in different ways according to time and space. In medieval cities, for example, the quality of certain areas has been affected by visions and decisions of the individual planners¹³⁴. The production and reproduction of spaces were alienated through the formal production of spatial quality constituted in creation of the broader image of the city, its streets and buildings, and even involved classifying specific areas according to its inhabitants' social class. However, the traditional production of quality was based on the socio-cultural needs of individuals: a spatial quality which is embedded and reflected in terms of their social norms and historical setting¹³⁵.

Since the establishment of planning institutions in most cities, planning has become international in scope and largely constrained by a wide range of regulations and planning guidelines which are assumed to respond to people's needs but are also constrained by certain political agendas and strategic planning ambitions. In fact, this has led to a wide gap

¹³⁴ Perfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*.

¹³⁵ Rapoport, *space and spatial quality*.

between the planning outcomes, which are represented in the quality outcomes in our case, and recognition of the people's needs. Also, it seems that since the involvement of the institution, the fashion of identifying planning schemes with their planners has gradually disappeared. While planners and architects have long perceived their profession as an exclusive practice, the current circumstances of the practice showed a wider gap between planning actions and the everyday life needs. Such an elitist position is seen to compromise any more radical or alternative proposals for everyday planning practice¹³⁶, which considers such activities and habits as essentials for a sensible built environment.

Many cities during certain moments of political or economic shifts have adopted policies of mass production, particularly in housing and provision of living spaces. During the last century, for example, the subject of how to make liveable places has tended to focus on addressing particular problems such as traffic and overpopulation. The solutions offered at that time have often been simply to either abandon the city or to improve its quality. This showed that when the people were situated on the planners' agenda, the reproduction of quality meant a move towards large-scale house building and standardized neighbourhoods, while the exclusion of individuals from any decision making proved problematic in the long term. As a result, the active relationship between the planner and user that should inform design and output was lacking in the majority of planning production during the twentieth century.

3.5.1. The Realities of the Practice: The Practice of Dialogue

Charles Jencks stressed in his book *The Prince, the Architects and the new wave Monarchy* that planners and architects have gradually accumulated their own ways to maintain their own language, which has 'its own particular quality'¹³⁷. The basis of this quality of language derives from utilization of their expertise, skills and knowledge in achieving the proper excellence of practice. Although there are clear conflicts embedded in defining good quality for planners and architects: obviously there is no exact style or quality for all practices, but there is a reactionary reigning 'taste'¹³⁸. If this taste varies in the field of the practice itself, individuals are unlikely to be any more open minded or tolerant of each other's taste. Issues of conflict arise from the fact that every individual is part of a struggling minority, while the powerful majority are desperately trying to impose the controlling taste. Within these struggles a diversity of good practice can be served. Understanding how to deal with such pluralism becomes a natural part of the situation, and quality will only emerge if each

¹³⁶ Haig Beck, the editor of *Architectural Design* (1976) as cited in Berke & Harris (1996) *Architecture of the everyday*. p. 85.

¹³⁷ Jencks, C. (1988) *The Prince, The Architects and The New Wave Monarchy*. Academy Editions . p. 33.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*.

minority stays true to the language it has developed. So the choice of quality should be 'relative to the job at hand and the tastes of the users'¹³⁹.

The shortfalls come, in most cases, from the lack of 'human fundamental expression' for people to take control over their living places¹⁴⁰. This probably is due to the overwhelmingly professional emphasis of the plans that professionals rely on. It has been argued that these shortfalls could be overcome by 'effective communication' and consultation about decisions that address the spatial qualities of the public space. Such communication aims at developing a shared understanding of the spatial qualities that is understood by the users as well as the professional planners: a possible 'language for quality'¹⁴¹.

The inclusion of different perceptions, actors, experts, planners, and attitudes in shaping the built environment is habitually perceived as an impediment to achieving sound results from such an agreed language of quality. This language contributes to generating a 'dialogic space' in which involved actors are able to engage in the decision making process, that is the steam engine for spatial quality¹⁴². This space is the context in which 'hopes, fears, ideas, and frustration about a place and the people who live there are discussed' through knowledge and insights of needs¹⁴³. It is at the moment when a single actor withdraws from this dialogue that the practical implementation of the process becomes destined to failure; a fairly democratic process. Schreurs explains the mechanism of this language/ dialogue in the Belgian Coast plans which were an exemplary effort to bring more quality into the public domain. He showed that a framework combining ideas of quality and their meaning in relation to the context and implementation methods (as a collective set of indicators and designs) could be a useful approach for gaining this language:

'Indicators are concrete descriptions of spatial characteristics concerning values such as vitality, sense, fit, access and control... these can emerge from the systematic confrontation of values and interests, elucidated by a matrix. Designs project visual representations of qualities into preliminary synthetic images, thus generating possible spatial articulations for specific places. Together both are able to express visions on spatial development, related to values, wishes and wants. In their mutual interplay, they can stimulate discussion and enhance the imagination'¹⁴⁴.

Kevin Lynch introduced a useful approach to the control and management of the practice of design, in four distinct activities: understanding and analysing places; setting policies, principles and design concepts; rules and design codes; and designing schemes and plans¹⁴⁵. Lynch's thoughts are that the failure to achieve quality is rooted in the *divorce* of the users of space from control over the shape and quality. Rectification of this inadequacy derives from understanding how patterns of sensation, movement, and activity make up its

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32 – 33.

¹⁴⁰ Schneekloth, and Shibley, *Placemaking*.

¹⁴¹ Schreurs, J. (2007) *Communicating quality: words and images*. ARQ 11: 3-4. 325 - 333. p. 325.

¹⁴² Schneekloth, and Shibley, *Placemaking*.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

¹⁴⁵ Lynch, *Managing the Sense of a Region*, p. 8.

quality¹⁴⁶. Lynch's contention is that while urban design is recognized as a problem solving activity, architects and planners have habitually failed to deal with issues of space quality.

'They will make plans to preserve some physical aspects of a place, forgetting that identifiable character is a quality of interaction between observers and observed'¹⁴⁷.

Such patterns, in recent decades, have been framed as guidance policies and planning practices which have increasingly become more widely recognized as ingredients of spatial quality: the actual circumstances, strategies, agencies and legislations that frame them. However, these practices need to be applied in a 'locality, and each locality will have a different combination of these patterns'¹⁴⁸.

'In a globalized world, it is this particular local combination that may help establish a local identity, using the same ingredients, but in distinct and unique ways. Importantly too, when local populations are part of the process of design, development and management of a place, the place will become different by virtue of their involvement. If successful, this intervention will make it suitable to local needs and conditions, rather than a bland imitation of a universal pattern with no connection to the context'¹⁴⁹.

Altman and Zube questioned the ability of architects, planners and users to understand the role of controlling the quality of the public realm, that of public spaces in their case, as a fully integrated concept in the design process¹⁵⁰. They raised the role of users' participation during the design process as a significant mechanism of space quality control which can 'increase the perceived attachment of people to environments they have input in designing'¹⁵¹. Various techniques have been examined to guarantee the highest level of user participation during the early stages of redesign. For example, Kaplan and Kaplan stressed that decisions made by planners showed that many 'intangible' space qualities with considerable psychological significance tend to be ignored. They proposed a model-guided procedure for obtaining public input with respect to such intangibles as aesthetic values of the visual public realm. This can 'make public concerns more articulate, make better use of the talents of the profession, and make the process considerably more satisfying for all concerned'¹⁵².

However, the practical approach to recognizing people's input in the pre-implementation stage in Cairo remains superficial and carries no weight in the actual implementation of the pre-designed plan. While planning legislation in Egypt, following its European and British counterparts, stresses the need for a period of public consultation, it gives state authority,

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Townshend, T. and Madanipour, A. (2008) *Public Space and Local Diversity: The Case of North East England*. *Journal of Urban Design*. 13:3. 317 - 328. p. 321.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Altman, I and Zube, H. (1989) *Public places and spaces* New York ; London : Plenum.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Kaplan, S. and Kaplan, R. (1989) *The Visual Environment: Public Participation in Design and Planning*. *Journal of Social Issues*. 45: 59 - 86.

represented in the minister of housing, the power to override any objections or comments from the public consultation stage¹⁵³. In reality, consultation and participation in Egyptian planning practice have never come to actual and significant implementation¹⁵⁴. It is part of the state manipulation and tactics to retain its upper hand and undisputed control in any development process.

The practice of Remaking, in general, is concerned with reconfiguring spaces of activities and social interaction with the aim of creating successful urban places, and subsequently, spatial qualities. Comprehensive study of previous practices, attitudes and attempts is, therefore, a crucial part of any practice aiming to achieve spatial quality in existing urban fabric. Remaking in Cairo is not exclusively a theoretical approach. Modern practice of planning, especially reshaping the urban experience, is oriented towards the existing population; hence, understanding their perceptions and understanding of their perception of quality urban experience, has become in fact a feasible and test practice.

3.5.2. Achieving Spatial Quality in Bulaq Abul Ela

The previous investigation showed that it is not possible to provide a simple definition of spatial quality, but instead, it is an open term which encompasses many different elements and dimensions; different groups have different perceptions and preferences in terms of urban quality. Its achievement not only depends on people's experiences, needs, and expectations, but in addition requires understanding of how to materialize and practise such quality within the built environment to reach its most fitted *gawda*. Having explained quality as a relational and multi-dimensional term, its achievement is certainly also linked to the planning authority's understanding of how to rethink spatial quality in vibrant living spaces like the old districts of Cairo, which is in turn informed by a series of unique qualities: its *hawari*, buildings, and mixed uses.

The above investigations suggested that the most appropriate form of spatial quality lies in the fit between the space physical requirements and the *habitus*. It was important to discover the specific components, or the specific mix which could provide a basis for the exploration of spatial quality in the context of the thesis and which will be investigated in Bulaq's three schemes. These could be defined as:

1- Considering the urban context, the meaning and sense of place and the practical consequences of change or transformation in an authentic historical district like Bulaq.

2- The spatial configuration and order of physical forms articulated in amending the existing street widths, street lines, building set-backs and heights.

¹⁵³ This will be discussed in detail in chapter nine.

¹⁵⁴ Sedky, A. (2009) *Living with heritage in Cairo: area conservation in the Arab-Islamic city*. American University in Cairo Press.

3- And changing the diverse form of land-use activities as distributed on the floor layout combined with the exclusion or inclusion of new ones.

While these aspects are not limited to the definition of spatial quality, they will be employed to contribute to an explanation of the extent to which planners and the planning institution in Cairo materialized the notion of quality during the phases of drafting the Bulaq schemes, and during phases of negotiation and implementation. Moreover, it would represent a tool for comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness and the reliability of the drafted plans as well as planning institutions' deliberations as a deep rooted objective for planning in Egypt.

Although the present study of Bulaq is fundamentally a study of paper planning, aspects of determining the district's spatial qualities require great consideration during the early stages of drafting the plans. Thus, in the context of planning practices in Cairo, a careful understanding of the active dynamics within each public space is crucial. A coherence of spatial quality can be achieved by considering the historical urban form as a main reference for redevelopment¹⁵⁵. In al-Gamaliyya district, like Bulaq one of Cairo's significant historical districts, Galal Abada explained that the proposals for addressing the spatial qualities of this area suggested an infill of mixed use developments to reconnect the fragmented structures with the aim of regulating the urban pattern of the district and creating a sense of coherence and continuity with the traditional fabric¹⁵⁶. Several guidelines to increase legibility of the districts urban quality were proposed in the scheme, such as pathway alignment, emphasizing landmarks, and maintaining the edges.

Indeed, cases of al-Gamaliyya and similar districts could become significant cases in terms of addressing spatial quality in the context of old and historical districts of Cairo during the twentieth century and onwards. The purpose here is to identify how the practice of remaking places in Cairo had addressed and articulated spatial quality during stages of drafting re-planning schemes and consequent implementation during the period covered by the study. In the light of discussion of the planning schemes in the coming chapters, it appeared that qualities proposed for improving the district were determined according to visions of manipulation of the deterioration found in the image of the district's old historical buildings and monuments, the narrow and dark streets, and the unpleasant activities of the old workshops, to be replaced by a totally contradictory quality. It seemed that a lack of deep understanding of the implications of such visions could definitely lead to failure in terms of application. In this context, the question is, what is the way out when the planners and the planning institution deal with such complicated contexts of old districts whose original spatial qualities have been shaped through centuries and whose inhabitants have the maturity to

¹⁵⁵ Abada , *Heterogeneity within Homogeneity*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

accept this quality throughout their lives and for the coming generations¹⁵⁷? So the question becomes rephrased like this: which type of spatial quality needs to be implemented in Bulaq? Is it the type of quality perceived by the planning institution or the quality perceived by the district's inhabitants?

3.6. Searching for spatial quality in the Cairene planning practices

The discussion in this chapter has explored the notion of remaking the spatial qualities of urban spaces and has focused on the practice of urban design as a process in terms of conceptual performance, practices and fields. Understanding the importance of approaches to quality for visually and physically informing the urban environment is central to realizing the design values, which planning practices and authorities in Cairo target with the aim of providing an optimum emotional fit between people and their physical settings¹⁵⁸. Following Bourdieu in his idea of a kind of fit between the habitat and the habitus, I believe that when people were able to affect their environment directly they produced an appropriate habitat fairly automatically, with a quality that reflected their values. Mechanisation and bureaucracy have come to redefine the built world leaving people to get on with it as best they can, often feeling alienated. But the big sin is the *tabula rasa*. We don't start with nothing: there is an inherited landscape full of meaning, so we should just be involved in conversion, and we can adapt it to our needs and values, if we are not expropriated. That's where participation comes in. But, in this sense, the rational question that could be raised is how to control this design process in terms of ensuring the quality of the design outcomes.

Therefore, the interpretation of spatial quality could be reflected in our planning and urban design as a product of our understanding of the spaces, and their quality. To achieve meaningful qualities of places, as a central essence for re-making, a number of factors need consideration. First, there is the need to learn from the past. This could be handled by focusing on valuable aspects of the past that emphasize the provision of 'historical and contextual attributes and social, economic, and cultural imperatives. The second factor is the examination of the role of 'planning, development and people', as major sources for quality implementation and achievement. This factor draws on the design process and product, for example, drafting plans and development schemes, users' involvement and public participation; and finally, there is 'the operation of design and planning control'¹⁵⁹.

At this point, I will stress the importance of the role of governments and politicians in achieving good spatial quality for places. For example, Tibbalds drew heavily on restructuring urban areas over a longer period of time, wherein the need for people's

¹⁵⁷ I am saying this because during interviews with the Bulaqi residents almost no one expressed any intentions or willingness to abandon the district at any cost, although the majority are living in low standard houses or *Ishash* in some sections, they acknowledged that *this is our place, we were born here and will also die here*.

¹⁵⁸ Simes, D. (1986) *Creating places or Designing Spaces*. Journal of Environmental Psychology. Vol.6. 49 – 63.

¹⁵⁹ Perfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*.

participation takes precedence over other physical aspects of places¹⁶⁰, and the vitality of the role of the planning authority, which constitutes the main official and formal planning body of any city's development, requires further attention. In terms of local planning authorities, Tibbalds final list of recommendations stated that to 'break down professional demarcations the environmental professions should all be natural allies, working together for the good of the environment'. In addition, his advice to central governments was: 'to give greater priority to the physical environment and long-term future, and to promulgate clear design advice in ministerial circulars and policy statements'¹⁶¹. In short, a commitment to quality, completion, and maintenance of urban places¹⁶².

In this chapter, the aim was not to list a number of guidelines for creating spatial quality of places: although this topic and possible paths to achievement of this goal were discussed. Rather, the intention was to justify the argument that a search for spatial quality has been increasingly at the centre of success or failure of any potential planning practice during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In addition, spatial quality as a term has been recognized and analysed in this chapter in the context of contemporary urban theory and practice. Spatial quality is understood as fundamentally grounded in the socio-cultural practice of the users, the physical attributes of outdoor environments, and the criteria involved in understanding the mix of land use and associated distribution of activities and economies within a particular urban quarter. Spatial quality is a fundamentally rich and porous term that can accommodate both the physical attributes and the social needs in the evolving habitus/nature of cities.

¹⁶⁰ Tibbalds, *Making People - Friendly Towns*, p. 95.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

CHAPTER FOUR

REDEFINING BULAQ ABUL ELA



A Shari scene in Bulaq during the end of the 19th century

Source: Khoori, p. 43.

'Nevertheless, should it feel inclined, Bulaq could command all communications, gas, electricity and drinkable water. Barricaded in its Tabs [medieval buildings], elusive in its labyrinths, it could hold the capital in check. It already is conscious of its power and has several times set fire to trams and buses, plundered workshops, and raised the scare of strikes'¹.

'Heedless of the river god, it hammers away, forging proletarians. Should the modern city wish to resume the old colloquy with the sacred Nile, and, in the interests of hygiene and beauty, push the industries of Bulaq off to the outskirts, this quarter might undergo profound transformations but its soul would never be entirely changed'².

¹ Leprette, F. (1939) *Egypt: Land of the Nile*. In: Early, E. (1993) *Baladi Women of Cairo*, London: Lynne Rienner. p. 32.

² *Ibid.*

4.0. Why Study Bulaq Abul Ela?

Bulaq Abu El-Ela, or Bulaq as it is referred to throughout the thesis, is obviously one of the truly authentic districts of Cairo, whose history is paralleled in significance with the history of the city. It is known as a baladi³ district whose value lies not only in its well documented history which has attracted the attention of a number of researchers⁴; rather, it stands out in Cairo as the land of contradictions, a fusion of the extraordinary. As we can see in the above statements of F. Leprette, it is the land where authentic Cairene culture is practised, while it is the prominent site of several projects of modernity. It is popular for its distinctive trades and markets, but ironically, at the same time, known for its drug dealing activities. It is very secure for its own residents, but it is hard for the police to gain access to its inner areas. For a long time, it has been seen as both the problem and the potential solution.

Until the beginning of the 1990s Bulaq was not an attractive destination for tourists or upper class visitors; rather, it was an unappealing historical district. At the beginning of this chapter it is important to address the major question as to why the history of Bulaq should be examined when we are considering the recent circumstances of remaking its spatial qualities. The importance of studying this history lies in the need to understand the forces that contributed to the current situation of decline. Most of the contemporary practices and traditions, as we shall see in the coming chapters, were driven by past experiences, and this applies also to planning schemes and the formal policy of remaking. If we were to put a title to two centuries of planning attempts in Bulaq, it would have to be: remaking the urban experience and image. Through the reading of Bulaq's urban and architectural artifacts, one might be able to understand its contemporary conditions and therefore understand the forces and circumstances that have driven the state's ambitions to improve its spatial qualities since the early 20th century. This history is not only positioned in the chronological description of events in the district, but also, in a set of fundamental lessons learned from significant periods of transition and urban transformation. Accordingly, efforts to improve the spatial qualities of Bulaq under British colonial rule during the 1930s definitely constituted a crucial stage in Cairo's urban planning history. As explained earlier, this period was one of political and conceptual changes in determining Cairo's intellectual and economical relations with the outside world which consequently influenced the urban planning trends in the city⁵.

Also, pilot investigations of the previous and current remaking projects for Bulaq acknowledged (by personal exploration and interviews) the high priority this project was

³ *Baladi* is a self descriptive term that can be more or less be equivalent to the term traditional but which also retains a rich infusion of the local. For further readings about the term see Early, E. (1993) *Baladi Women of Cairo*. London: Lynne Rienner. ; El-Kholy , H. (2002) *Defiance and compliance: negotiating gender in low-income Cairo*. Berghahn Books. p.51.

⁴ See Rugh, A. (1984) *Family in contemporary Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo. ; Louca, I-M. (1984) *The culture of Bulaq as it is viewed by its children*. The American University of Cairo Press. ; Early, *Baladi Women of Cairo*.

⁵ Abdel Hallm, *Transformations in Architecture and Urbanism*, p. 44.

accorded by the planning authority on one side and private investors on the other side⁶. Through a careful review of Egyptian newspapers, it became evident that its remaking had become a central issue in the planning discourse in Egypt⁷. Throughout the following chapters of this thesis, it will be revealed that the subject of remaking Bulaq was a significant issue not only for the local planning authority in Cairo, but also for the political authorities, as was made apparent by the 1978 scheme undertaken during the regime of President Sadat (1970-1981). In that respect, Bulaq, since the early stages of its spatial deterioration, had witnessed significant changes in its spatial qualities, while its residents maintained a noticeable degree of solidity against these changes. Apparently, any account of remaking Bulaq's spaces is actually an account of its residents' struggle to adapt, manipulate and maintain their history, their homes and future lives in the face of the remaking intentions. This extended history dates back to its early foundation as a natural land formed by the receding of the Nile during the early medieval days of the city.

4.1. Bulaq: Location and Emergence

'The city of Cairo had spread between the old Fatimid wall and the Nile, and the river had conveniently receded and allowed the new port of Bulaq and a whole colony of houses to be formed on what had been the Nile bed till the wreck of the good ship Elephant helped to make a sand bank, called Elephant's Island (*gezierat el-Fil*) which altered the river's course and provided an excellent building site'⁸

Bulaq is one of west Cairo's administrative districts, located to the North West, outside the walled city of medieval Cairo and to the east of the Nile River, in close proximity to central Cairo (Figure 4.1). It is bordered by *Shari Khat sekkat hadid al qahira* to the north, *Shari Yuliya* to the south, *Shari Shanan* and *al mansoury* to the east and *Shari al Corniche* to the west. Since the time of the French occupation (1798-1801), the core area of Bulaq⁹, which forms its current inner sections, has been administratively divided into 18 *shyakha* or sections¹⁰ (Figure 4.2). The above account from Lane-Poole explains how Bulaq was a natural land, created by the Nile, that emerged around the turn of the thirteenth century as a result of the change in the river's course and the gradual formation of an alluvial plain that left behind hundred of new *feddans* of lands waiting to be built on (Figure 4.3). By the fourteenth century, the Nile downturn had created the island of *Al-Fil (Gazerat Al-Fil)* and

⁶ A number of interviews were conducted with residents in Bulaq during 2008 and 2009.

⁷ It seemed that Bulaq had become the site of several planning debates which had been instigated by the daily struggle of the residents to survive their living spaces or even to secure any other alternatives.

⁸ Lane-Pool, S. (1902) *The Story of Cairo*. London: J.M. Dent & Co. p. 257.

⁹ I will refer to inner sections of the district as old Bulaq, reflecting its early beginnings.

¹⁰ Clerget, M. (1934) *Le Caire: Etude de geographie urbaine et d'histoire Economique*. Paris : Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Also see figure (4.15) for Clerget's map showing the 18 *shyakha* in Bulaq. Currently there are 16 only. These are *al Sabtiyya, Souq al Asr, Sinan Pasha, Darb Nasr, al-Tourguoman, al Sandabeesy, al Sheikh farag, al fransawy, Houd al-Zouhoor, al-Galadeen, al-Gawaber, Ishash al Nakhl, al Khadiri, al Ahmandeen, al Adawiyya, and al Qalaya*

isolated an expanse of dry land which became the port of *al-Maqs*. The *Mamluk* used this newly vegetated land for hunting and other sports. Later, *Sultan Al-Nasir* announced that this area was to be opened for settlements and it started to be filled with orchards, farms, and houses¹¹ (Figure 4.4).

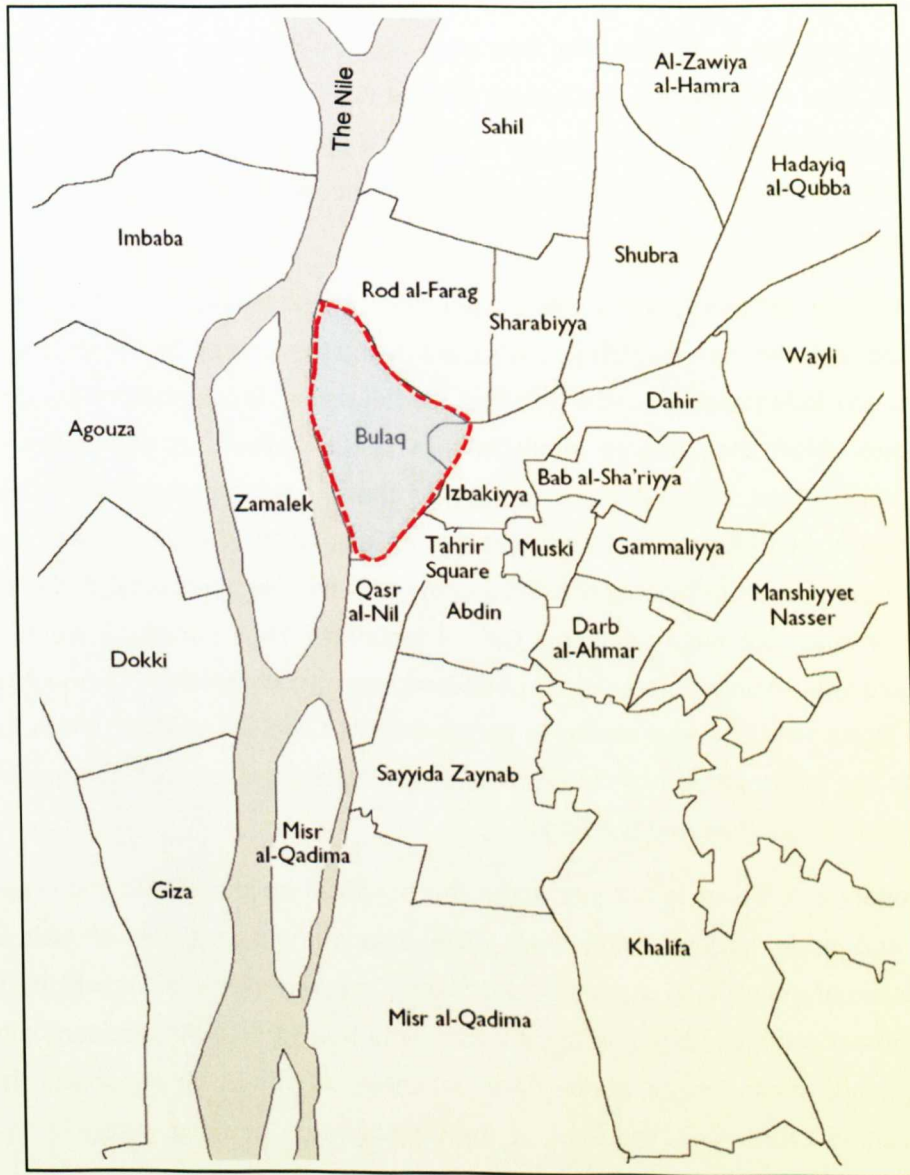


Figure 4.1 Location of Bulaq Abul Ela in the Cairo Governorate.
Source: After Ghannam.

¹¹ Al-Maqrizi, T. (1959) *Al-Khitat Al-Maqriziyyah, Safahat min Tarikh Misr Series*. Cairo.

Several history scholars have investigated the origins of the name Bulaq. An Egyptian historian explains that in the French language Bulaq means *bou* beautiful, and *laq* is the lake, which ends up as the beautiful lake¹². Others argued that the name Bulaq Abul Ela comes from the local saint, Sultan Abul Ela, whose mosque commands the vantage point of the Nile Bridge at the edge of modern Bulaq¹³. Nelly Hanna suggests that the name could be derived, in a similar way to the original name of the island of Philae (*bilaaq*), from the Coptic word meaning fragmentum or frustulum. She adds that *Ibn Muyassar* mentioned among the achievements of *al-Afdal Ibn Amr al-Guyush* the fact that he constructed a garden in Bulaq. Also, the Turkish meaning of the name as *a well or a spring of water* seems realistic as it relates to the condition of the land, containing many islands, upon which Bulaq was eventually built.

Bulaq's spatial connectivity with western Cairo was formed through a set of routes; one of the most important was the main road constructed during the time of the French presence in Egypt. Cairo and Bulaq shared similar activities, as the port of Bulaq affected the location of trade in Cairo. Also, they shared similarities in spatial layout, road patterns and the distribution of buildings. However, due to the fact that it was separated from Cairo by a distance of about two kilometers, Bulaq was not an extension of Cairo's urban growth or even a suburb; it was an independent spatial entity with its own configuration and patterns, which may or may not have matched Cairo's patterns. Their functions were different because Bulaq was mainly a port, and it possessed its own commercial thoroughfare. For example, in Bulaq land use was similar to that in Cairo's *Qasabat al-Muizz* which formed a focal point in the urban pattern of old Cairo and was considered a reference guide for the location of different activities and buildings¹⁴.

The importance of Bulaq is not just about the historical buildings; it is more about the community and social groups living there. The area witnessed some of Cairo's most important historical events and shared in developing a series of traditions which still exist within the Cairene society today. It also for a long time hosted several important industries, such as a printing press, metal working and machine shops, which supported the early stages of building Cairo. With the start of the development process, many of the small industries were squeezed out and large numbers of people lost their jobs and shops, especially during the relocation attempts in the time of President Sadat, when many of the extended families that had lived in Bulaq for generations were broken up.

¹² El-Tarabily, A. (1997) *Streets with a History: A Tour in the Nation's Mind*. Cairo: *El-Dar El-Misriya ELibnaniya*. p. 26.

¹³ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 64 - 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid*.

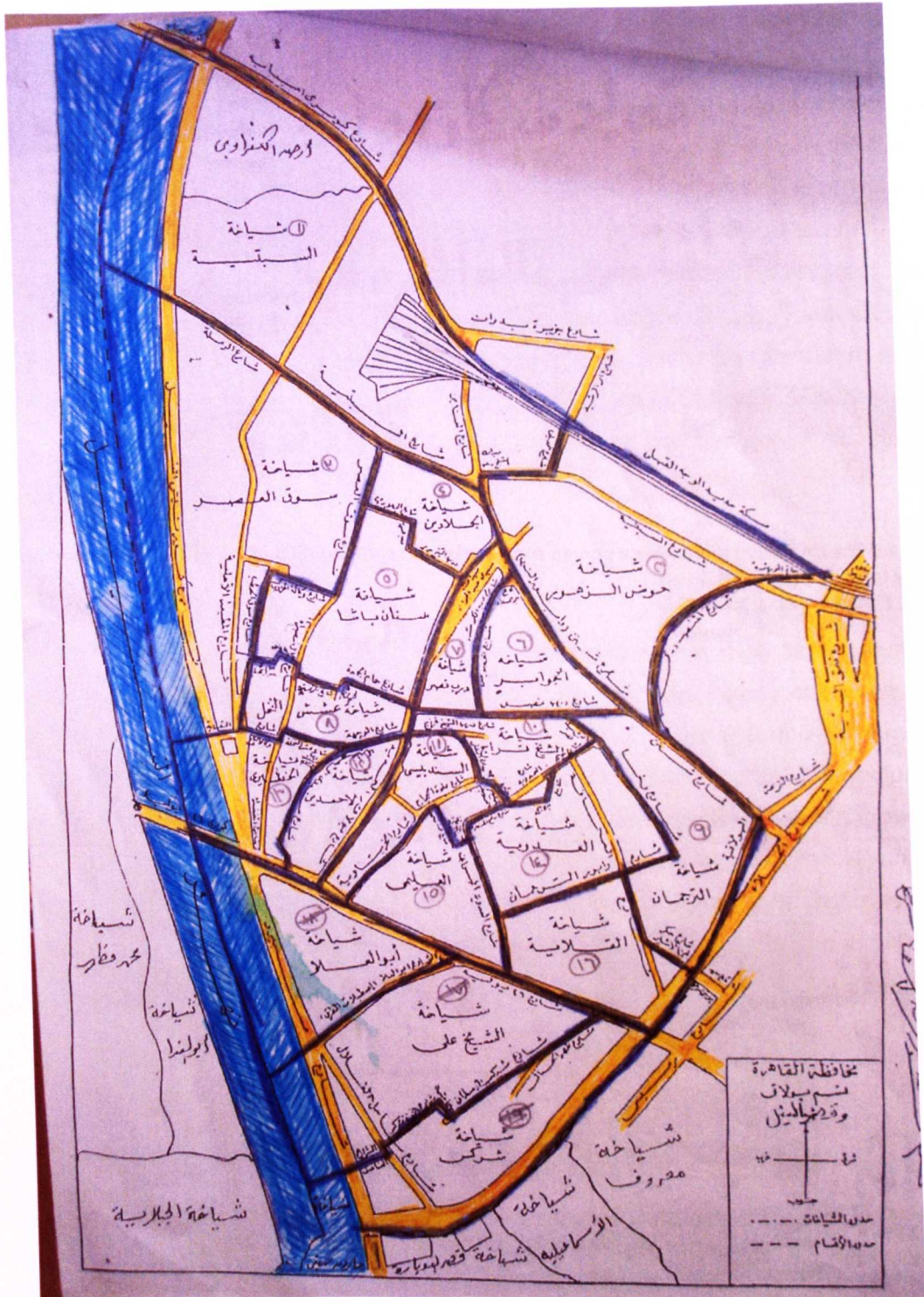


Figure 4.2 The district of Bulaq Abul Ela; its borders and shyakhat.
Source: Cairo Governorate documents.

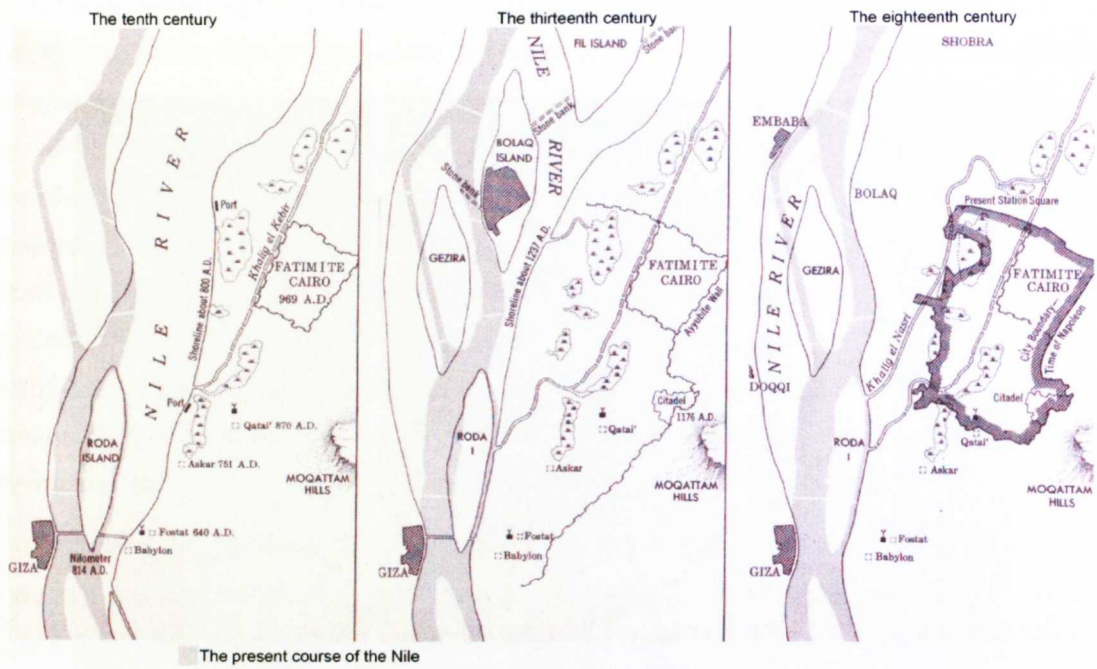


Figure 4.3 The recession of the Nile's course from the tenth century until it stabilized in the eighteenth century forming the site of Bulaq.
 Source: Platt and Hefny, 1958, p. 6.



Figure 4.4 The newly formed island of al-Fil (Gazerat Al-Fil)
 This allowed for the creation of the port of al-Maqs, illustrated in 1800
 Source: Abu- Lughod, *Cairo*.

4.2. Bulaq: establishing the urban district

Bulaq is a dense indigenous district filled with small workshops of small-scale industries. It is populated with a mixed working class from all parts of Egypt, who migrated to the city during the 19th century to work on Muhammad 'Ali's projects¹⁵. To the north of the district is located the bulk of the city's newer industrial plants. The history of Bulaq goes back to the Mamluk rule of the fourteenth century when the site was the main port of Cairo, allowing the construction of several *Wikalas*, mosques and houses for merchants near the port¹⁶. From this time, the district started to acquire its famous skyline: the landmark *Sinan pasha* mosque minaret, as well as a remarkable number of monumental *Wikalas*¹⁷ that still define its historical public spaces. Also, Bulaq was considered to be one of Cairo's historic districts that over the past decades had a strategic location and proper social order. For this reason, it has disrupted the economic strategies of city rulers from the *Mamluks*, Ottomans and Muhammad 'Ali through to Anwar Sadat in the late 1970s.

4.2.1 Pre-modern development

Bulaq has witnessed several stages of urban transformation through the centuries as several different groups have been involved in this process. The history of Bulaq's urban development can be monitored through two periods: before and after the modernization project of Muhammad 'Ali and his successors. Nelly Hanna notes that before the modernization project four groups were considered the patrons of Bulaq's urban growth: the *karimi* merchants¹⁸; the Mamluk rulers; the early Ottoman *Walies*; and the *A'yan* Bulaq (Local aristocracy of Bulaq)¹⁹. While the *Karimi* Merchants played a limited role in the development of Bulaq²⁰, under the Mamluk rulers it became Cairo's main port in 1438, with flourishing industries, and an upper-class suburb where princes and wealthy traders built

¹⁵ Marsot, A. (1984) *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad 'Ali*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁶ Abu-Lughod, Cairo, p. 44 - 49.

¹⁷ A *Wikala* is a type of facility for commercial and craft activities and for giving temporary shelter to travellers and merchants. It is a large square or rectangular enclosure with inner courtyard.

¹⁸ Abu-Lughod, J. (1989) *Before European hegemony: the world system A. D. 1250-1350*. New York; Oxford. Oxford University Press. p.227. She argues that orientalist have devoted considerable attention to the *karimis*, attempting to create an image with their name. She believes that the concept and the name refer to more ordinary phenomena. She explains that *Karimi* means *great* to refer to their rising importance in the role of trade. The foundation of the *Karimi* Merchants goes back to the Fatimid's. Also The Egyptian *Karimi* merchants had since the early 12th century been very active in trade with China, India and Yemen. These *Karimi* merchants were commonly known as *Dashi* or *Tazi* (Arabia) merchants in China. *Karimi* merchants lived in large luxurious houses and were the big spenders. In the early 14th century, however, *Karimi* merchants in Egypt helped the sultan and his governors endow *madrasas* (privately founded religious schools), *waqfs* (hospitals) for charitable purposes and to patronize poets and scholars, in both Mecca and Cairo. <http://www.1421.tv/pages/evidence/content.asp?EvidenceID=465>

¹⁹ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bula*, p. 33.

²⁰ Hanna refers to two *Karimi* merchants who made notable contributions to construction development in Bulaq. One of these builders was *Nur al-Din al-Tanbadi*, who erected three buildings: a *Wikala*, a *qaysariyya*, and a palace known as *al-Tanbadiyya*. The other merchant was a *khawaga* named *shams al-Din Ibn Zaman*, who built a *madrasa* and a palace.

their winter palaces²¹. Gradually, through the expansion of usage more developments emerged, which included residential and commercial services.

Subsequently, during the rule of *Sultan Baybars* in 1422, he monopolized the spice trade, and instead of stopping off at Red Sea ports near Sudan, merchants' ships had to come through Suez, which made the new port in Bulaq more convenient and offered merchants the opportunity to construct new buildings²² (Figure 4.5). However, the economic downturns had left many of these Nile palaces in ruins and the focus of building for the aristocracy moved further north along the Nile. After this community infiltration by high class society, Bulaq evolved into what it has always been since, a working district. Various sultans and high ranking officers started reconstructing a number of property in Bulaq²³. During the next three hundred years there were only minor changes in Bulaq's size, with the French maps from the late eighteenth century showing no significant changes in the layout from those of the fifteenth century (Figure 4.6)

Another notable shift took place during the rule of the ottomans to establish a new urban centre named *shari Suq al Asr* near the *Qadi Yaha* mosque. This *Shari* became the main commercial street, and housed a large variety of buildings with different functions, which were occasionally sponsored by the ottoman sultans²⁴. The pashas, who governed Egypt on behalf of the Sultan, were involved in construction work in Bulaq, especially during the 16th century. Notably, the development of the commercial street gave Bulaq the spirit of a town rather than a quarter or a suburb²⁵. In 1530, *Sinan Pasha* constructed large-scale projects such as *Sinan Pasha Mosque*²⁶, a *hammam* and several *wikalas*, which are still considered major landmarks in Bulaq today²⁷. Such projects provided revenues to the owners, while at

²¹ Popper, W. (1958) *The History of Egypt: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghri Birdi's Chronicles of Egypt*. part IV, Vols. 18. The University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, University of California press. It had formally become a port by the year 1438, as a transmission point for the navy, and subsequently became the official port in Cairo, carrying the industrial facilities until the district was destroyed by fire in 1458 and rebuilt in a new form that suited its changing function.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 44 - 49. This was the time when money started pouring in and many of Bulaq's monuments dated from this period.

²³ See Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 34 - 35. She produced a list of their real estate holdings, which, at a glance, exposes the range and diversity of Bulaq's development. For example, Sultan *Inal* constructed *Wikalat Qaytbay* (a warehouse for cereals), a *makhzan* (warehouse store), *Al-Ghuri* two *wikalas*, two *Hammams* and a *rab'*.

²⁴ See Hanna, Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 61 for detailed description of the changing of *wikalas* design plans. She states that the centre of Bulaq became crowded with buildings and spaces were getting smaller at the time when the boundaries of Bulaq were not expanding. For example, the *Wikalas* were neither as large nor as regular as those built before in the 16th c., therefore, the typical plan of earlier buildings in Bulaq gave way to the more urban Cairene type of plan, in which the building took the shape of the piece of land it was built on, with all its irregularities.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ The Mosque of *Sinan Pasha* was built in 1571 at the port of Bulaq. The mosque consists of a square prayer hall covered entirely by the largest stone dome in Cairo, with domed porticoes on three of its sides. The dome's transitional zone, which is invisible from the exterior, starts inside the walls of the chamber and displays a tripartite system of squinches. It is this feature that gives the interior a late Mamluk character. The exterior, on the other hand, with its large buttress-supported drum and dome rising above the cupolas of the porticoes along with the pencil-shaped minaret, is unmistakably of an Ottoman mosque, dominating the horizon at this vital port which was Egypt's gateway to Istanbul, and was therefore frequented by international merchants and pilgrimage caravans.

²⁷ See Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 50 - 51. She explained how the pressure of public pedestrians had reached high rates of crowding, the fact that led some *Wikalas* to consider opening new entrances facing the other parallel *Shari* of *Soliman pasha*.

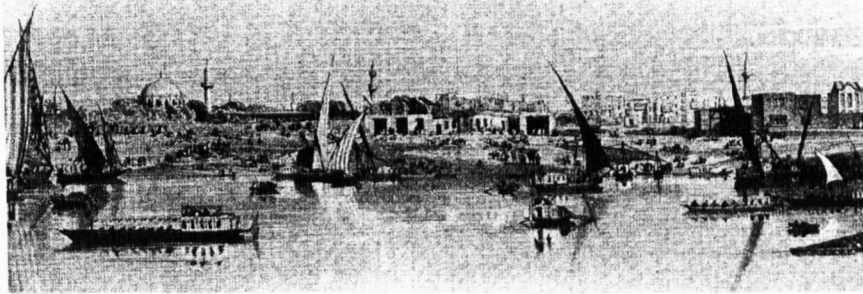


Figure 4.5 The port of Bulaq towards the end of the sixteenth century, at the time of the French expedition.

The Ottoman Turkish mosque of *Sinan Pasha* is shown in the central background of the illustration surrounded by several constructs.

Source: Robert Hay (From *Illustrations of Cairo*), pl. 27.

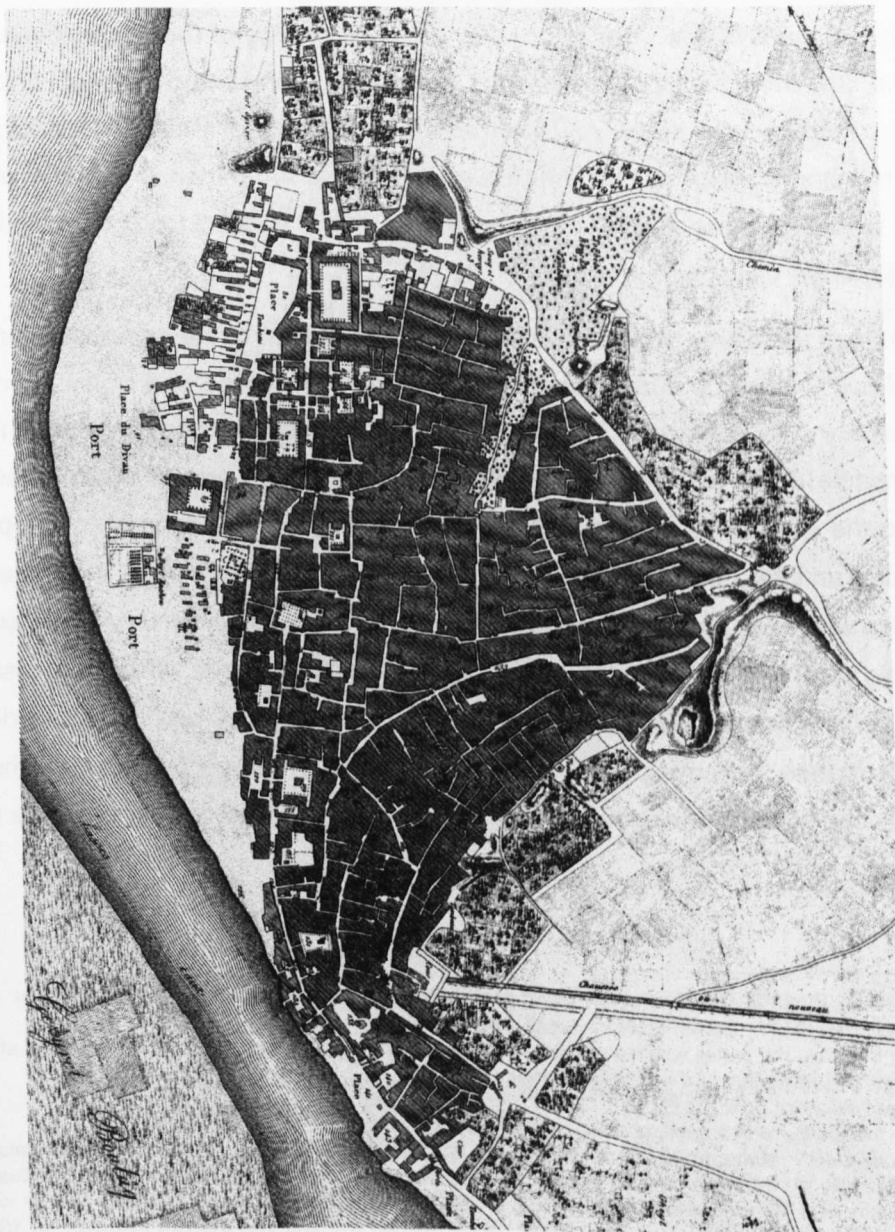


Figure 4.6 The physical urban pattern and street networks in 1798 prior to the rule of Muhammad 'Ali.

The core of Bulaq was originally formed with irregular street patterns.

Source: *Description de l'Egypte*, 1898.

Dark grey indicates the location of old Bulaq, the light grey indicates the empty land plots which had been later added to the district.

the same time they expanded the commercial infrastructure of the port and simultaneously declared the Ottoman authority in a visible sense²⁸.

By the beginning of the 17th century, as the political power of the Ottomans began to be threatened, they became less interested in initiating new construction projects, and construction activity began to tail off. This slowed down the expansion of urban space in Bulaq, although development and construction still tended to take place within the existing fabric. Moreover, the architectural style of these buildings became outdated, and their stylistic influence in Cairo remained very limited²⁹. Until the 18th century the direction of urban expansion was towards the north and west towards the Nile River due to the availability of building land here. Hanna states that 'every time the Nile gave up new land, it was directly incorporated in the urban layout of Bulaq, following the same pattern of expansion'³⁰. Like Cairo, the expansion of Bulaq took place in the direction of its economic development and trade routes. The north side of Bulaq portrayed the concentration of its trade relations, and the west side, towards the Nile River, represented the main channel of its economy. Jomard's estimations indicate that the inhabitants of Bulaq by the end of the 18th century numbered about 40,000, and Bulaq witnessed an immense surge in planning development during that time (Figure 4.7). The large number of buildings constructed during this time reflected the rise of economic trade³¹.

The first half of the nineteenth century was the turning point in the urban transformation of Bulaq, and this took place during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali as part of his attempts to modernize Cairo and its economy³². The second stage of Bulaq's urban development dates back to the middle of the century, when the river banks of the Nile in north Bulaq were stabilized, and the *Ismailia* canal was built. The intervening spaces, separating the parts of Bulaq, old Cairo, and the medieval city, were filled in so that the lands were connected. The site housed the water and gas company and by the early twentieth century water services provided by this company replaced the functions of the *Ismailia* canal, which was also filled in. However, the port was closed during the rule of Khedive Ismail, and the Nile side area declined in importance, becoming a decaying industrial zone typified by unhealthy housing and low social conditions. It was around this time that Bulaq ceased to be a separate district

²⁸ Creceluis, D. (1998) Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. In: Petry, F. *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Modern Egypt, From 1517*, Daly, M.W., Cambridge University Press.

²⁹ We can exclude from this the pencil shaped *minarets* that became integrated into the local Architectural style. But the most influential style was that of the Mamluk Period.

³⁰ Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 62.

³¹ *Ibid.*, twenty five mosques, twelve *sabli*, and seven *hammams* were built.

³² See Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*. Muhammad 'Ali chose Shubra, just north of Bulaq for the location of his palace and transformed Bulaq into an industrial area. He targeted the district for his industrialization program due to the existing light industry and the area was established as a major industrial centre. In 1818, a wool factory was built and other textile factories for cotton. Two years later, Bulaq gained the first iron foundry in Egypt. In 1822, the country's main printing press was built on the site where *Dar Al Kutub* is now and to this day the 19th century "Bulaq editions" are well recognized books and publications. Additionally, Bulaq was one of the favoured locations for Muhammad 'Ali schools. In 1823, a civil engineering school was opened, specializing in roads and bridges, and then the same building was transferred to the palace of Ismail and by 1834 it had expanded into a fully fledged polytechnic.

and became physically joined with the rest of Cairo, although many of the industrial warehouses were not relocated and remained in Bulaq³³.

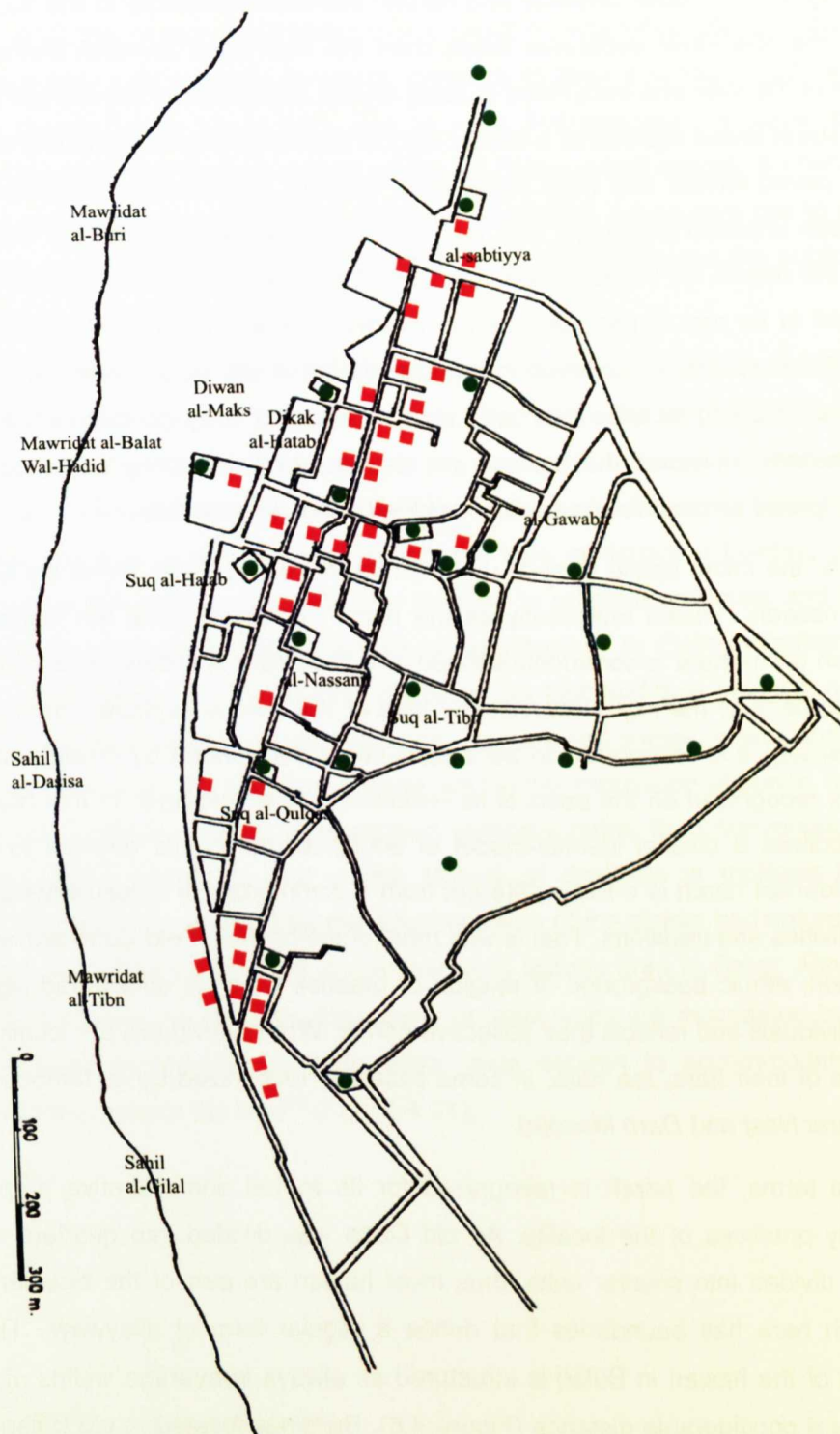


Figure 4.7 Mosques and Wikalas in old Bulaq constructed the 14th till the 15th century.
 Red indicates a *Wikala*, green indicates a mosque.
 Source: *Description de l'Egypt* in 1798 (After Hanna).

³³ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 79.

4.2.2. Bulaq and its spatial configuration

While Bulaq's spatial qualities and social classes produce some sort of distinction from surrounding districts, other physical and natural elements contribute to this separation. For example, the Nile River separates Bulaq from the high-class Zamalek district facing the other side of the river and from Roud al farag district separated by the railroad (Figure 4.8). Also, the street layout represents a further sign of distinction from surrounding well-off areas with their paved streets and wide boulevards. Notably, most streets of Bulaq are narrow, irregular with unpaved alleyways. The main paved streets, symbolizing the main axes and spines in the district for traffic access and commercial land use, are found at the district's borders and in its new zones such as the riverfront, Shanan, Bulaq el gadid and others, while the micro spaces of unpaved streets are found in old Bulaq, which accommodates many of the shopping facilities that cater for the residents' daily needs, such as vegetable and fish markets. However, these areas are also crowded with many workshops, and light industries, spread across the ground floors of the houses (Figure 4.9)

Evidently, the micro space of such unpaved streets in old Bulaq forms the basic unit of the street network, known universally as the *hara*³⁴. In Cairo, while the historical spatial configuration of the *hara* is commonly defined, the term *hara* is widely used to describe old or traditional parts of the city. However, the idea of the *hara* is explained through different views. Physically, it is recognized to be a local street surrounded by masses of buildings; socially, it is recognized on the basis of its residents' social practices. In that respect, each *harah* symbolizes a distinct identity-model or social-cultural habits relevant to the place, whilst a residential *harah* is entirely different from a commercial or industrially-based one in terms of activities and traditions. That is why most of the *hawari* of old Cairo are named after the profession, ethnic background or religion or practice which is considered significant to the local individuals and reflects their collective norms. While individuals are locally identified by the name of their *hara*, the *hara*, in some cases, is recognized by its famous users, for example, *haret Nasr* and *Darb Masoud*.

In Spatial terms, the *harah* is recognized for its formal administrative purposes and informal daily practices of the locality. As old Cairo was divided into quarters, and each quarter was divided into smaller units, thus most *hawari* are part of the broader unit of a quarter. Each *hara* has boundaries that define a regular form of alleyways. The spatial configuration of the *hawari* in Bulaq is structured as always in average widths of 3 meters and stretches a considerable distance (Figure 4.6). Buildings located in old Bulaq probably constitute 2 or 3 storeys, while buildings in newer *haras* house a hybrid mix of low-income groups in buildings with 5 to 6 storeys. What is most problematic about the narrow alleyways is that only a minority benefit from electrical light, provided by a small number of poles, while

³⁴ For detailed descriptions of the historical establishment of *haras* in Cairo see Al-Messiri-Nadim, N. (1979) *The Concept of the Hara: A historical and Sociological study of al-Sukkariyyah*. In: *Annale Islamogiques*, Vol.19. *Le Caire: Institut Francais d'archeologie Orientale*.

the majority have to go without; however, they are lit by the stores, open till late at night, or the limited amount of light coming from the houses (Figure 4.10). As the spatial quality of the district has become more vertical and denser, its residents have struggled to survive in their living spaces. While the *hawari* of old Bulaq today constitute less influential units than during early times, the alley and its street hierarchy continue to form a spatial organization that represents a defined social space with sets of rules that regulate the social life of its inhabitants³⁵. Therefore, the *hara as a lived space*, as Salwa Ismail argues, is characterized by the spatial configuration and modes of everyday sociability, 'which give rise to particular understandings and experiences of privacy and the boundaries between the public and the private'³⁶.

The previous review has illustrated several significant issues about Bulaq's spatial qualities related to the subject of the current study. The first is that the district was originally founded as a port, which clearly suggests that the dominant land uses were constituted by trading activities combined with a variety of mixed uses, particularly commercial uses. The second is that this fact is also evident through the type of dominant building constructs, which varied from the *Wikala* as a prototype building to religious mosques and residential buildings. Notably, the most striking feature of architecture in Cairo, whether religious, commercial, or residential, is its verticality. Buildings are high and their height is designed to be a feature. Vertical recesses, narrow openings, monumental portals, which stretch upward but rarely rise higher than the top of the facade, add to the impression of power. Interiors are given the same treatment. Living units expand vertically rather than horizontally; multiunit constructions (*rab's*) consist of one or two storeys of duplexes or triplexes built above commercial spaces³⁷. The third is that the street patterns of the district had naturally followed the dominant type of patterns found in any medieval Islamic area in Cairo. Although these streets were described as irregular, they were, at least while still maintained by the Public Works and, most importantly, by their users, wide enough to accommodate all public activities and land uses of the time³⁸ (Figure 4.11).

³⁵ Ismail, S. (2006) *Political Life in Cairo's new quarters: Encountering the everyday state*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. p. 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁷ Ibrahim, L. A. (1984) *Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo: the Art of the Mamluks*. *Muqarnas*. 2: 47 - 59. Houses differed very little in style. A *manzara*, a royal or amiral residence outside the city, offered, as the name suggests, a view to the outside (looked onto the street), and was apparently almost identical to houses in Bulaq with an upper *q'a*. Not many houses have survived in Bulaq. Also see Hanna, N. (1991) *Habiter au Caire: la maison moyenne et ses habitants aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Cairo, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Hanna gave detailed descriptions of several houses in her book, such as al Istanbuli house, located in Harat Qasawat No. 6., al-Dabbousea house located in Darb Masoud No. 16, and an Unknown house located in Harat Zatar, No. 2, Bulaq Al-Gadid St.

³⁸ See Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq*, p. 58 - 59. She explains how many Bulaqi residents figured out ways to owning and maintaining the buildings and streets in Bulaq.



Figure 4.8 The railroad separates Bulaq from neighboring districts from its north boarder.

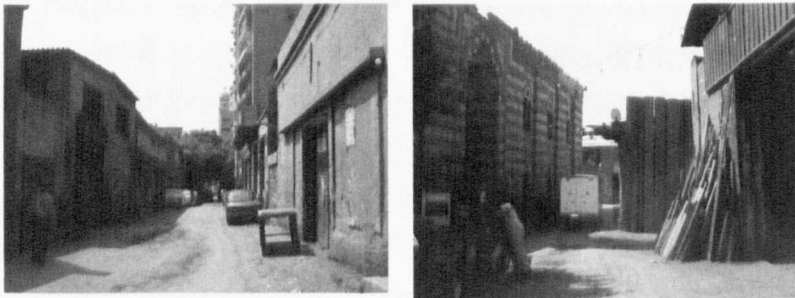


Figure 4.9 Workshops and light industries in Bulaq. They are spread in lower ground floors of the houses and mixed with the historical buildings.

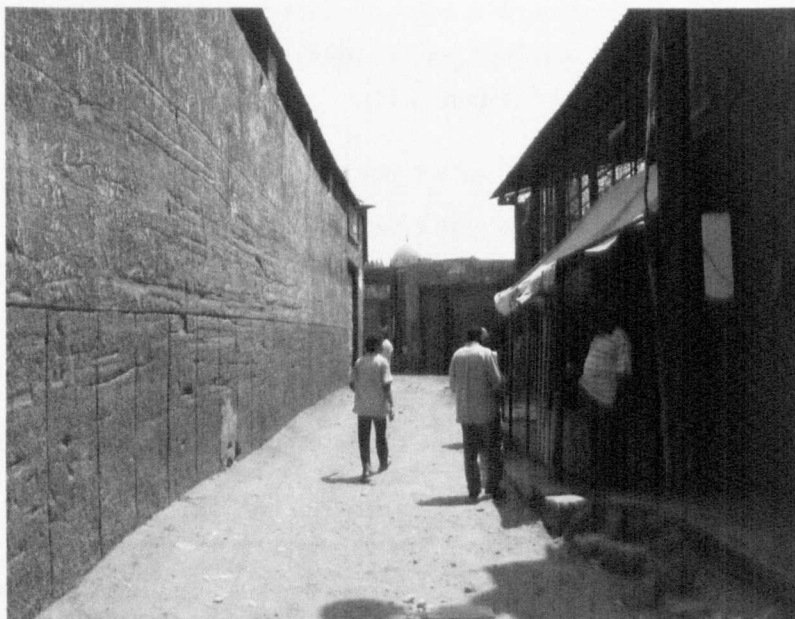


Figure 4.10 An alleyway located in old Bulaq. The image illustrates a case of a narrow unlit alleyway in old Bulaq.



Figure 4.11 A Shari scene in Bulaq during 1857.

Left: The human scale illustrates that although the inner streets were irregular they had reasonable widths for accommodating urban activities.

Right: The unified building heights of two stories of duplexes or triplexes built above commercial spaces.

Source: Abu Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 90.

4.3. Decline of spatial quality in the 20th century

During the early 20th century, The Egyptian Ministry of Town Planning had identified that the living conditions of social élites in Bulaq were becoming unacceptable. It seemed that the development implemented under the British rule had brought the district of Bulaq, which was later viewed as an area infected with many urban problems, under the direct review of city authorities. The expansion of European neighbourhoods in downtown Cairo and subsequent growth of large foreign settlements encouraged wealthy people to abandon their houses in Bulaq and relocate. The collection of census data across the state during 1915 had helped to identify such movements and to highlight problem areas. It was the Ministry of Town Planning Act in 1920 which provided a framework to identify Bulaq as an industrial and residential district of poor workers³⁹. But the question here is why Bulaq dramatically deteriorated within such a short time span, having formerly been the best location for palaces and gardens. Evidently, poor spatial qualities of the district gave rise to new legislation based on the state's view that low-income districts created serious and complex problems due to its existing land uses (Figure 4.12).

³⁹ Mahboub, *Cairo*, p. 293.



Figure 4.12 Bulaq Abul Ela's urban development at the turn of the 20th century.
 Source: after Arnaud, *Le Caire*.

4.3.1. The Ministry of Public Works and Manifestations of Decline

The spatial quality of urban contexts is not always considered in the adoption of planning and governmental policies; rather, it can sometimes suffer from the conflict between these policies and the benefits private sector owners anticipate. In the Egyptian context, although the government has applied restrictive policies for construction on land subdivisions since the early 20th century, these policies were not adhered to in Bulaq. Even though every attempt was made to have clear and definitive policies for division and organization of land during Ismail's modernization, the result in Bulaq was not even close to initial objectives. Private landowners drove the development in a different direction, benefiting from the lack of monitoring or effective supervision of implementation in the long term. Hence, to better understand the urban context of Bulaq, we need to recognize the reasons behind the decline of its urban fabric from organized planning into an un-organized random division of lands, and in some cases shanty town-like settlements.

While the Ministry of Public Works, during that time, retained strict control over road hierarchy, widths and pathways, leaving the use and subdivision of land plots to individual interpretation, this type of control was not followed in all cases. This was evident when the *Tanzim* simultaneously offered oversized plots of vacant lands outside the borders of old Bulaq, and even inside its occupied lands⁴⁰. Huge parcels of land, which varied between 800-1300 m², were offered to private investors without obligating them to follow any of these regulations⁴¹ (see Figure 4.6). Whilst the plot sizes were considered sufficient for the construction of houses, they were not large enough to force the investors to participate in planning a proper street network to serve the new constructs. As such, private owners thought of a better idea, that of dividing the lands into smaller portions in order to gain more profit. Each area of land was divided into smaller parcels of 80-100 m², based on the opening up of an inner dead-end street within the original land that was not bound by the Ministry street network regulations⁴². Due to the absence of official control from the Ministry, an unplanned, but linear road pattern emerged as a result of these subdivisions. At the time, part-lands were sold to the private sector, and a reasonably well planned road network and draining channels served them. In addition, public spaces were accorded high priority, and transportation facilities were able to reach these areas because of the adequate width of the streets (Figure 4.13).

However, dividing the lands in an unregulated manner led to inconsistency in the provision of services: a pattern too unbalanced to be compatible with the density of construction. It was clear that the Ministry had realized that selling off land could become a practical method for reducing the extra financial burdens of constructing new streets and buildings. Conversely, the new private landowners considered this process an immense opportunity for financial benefits and income. However, land subdivisions in previously planned districts were still well maintained and controlled under legislation from the Ministry and introduced a good representative model of modern buildings and apartments⁴³. It also became apparent that streets that had served Bulaq since the rule of Muhammad 'Ali were neither improved nor changed, but became more congested with workshops, warehouses and apartment buildings. By time, land subdivisions evolved into trapped, enclosed areas, typified by dead-end streets and inaccessible blocks of buildings.

While the idea of land subdivision represented a secure means for the Public Works to prevent unofficial land seizure, the presence of large numbers of workers on low incomes resulted in illegal acquisition of vacant government lands. The rise of industrial activities in

⁴⁰ The Ministry of Public Works took over these lands after Ismail's bankruptcy, and then successive British administrations proceeded to subdivide the lands into large portions, and sold them to private investors during the end of the 19th century.

⁴¹ See Noweir and Volait, *Le Caire*. This policy applied to Bulaq, al-Twfiqiyya and *Qasr al-Doubara*.

⁴² Arnaud, *Le Caire*, p. 283.

⁴³ For more details see Asfour, K. (1993) *The Domestication of Knowledge: Cairo at the Turn of the Century*. *Muqarnas*, v 10.125 - 137. ; Arnaud, *Le Caire*; Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya*. For example, in 1893, *al-Helmiyya* district went through a land subdivision process. The Ministry of Public Works declared the *Helmiyya* garden as public land and it was taken over. It was redesigned into a network of streets and plots for residential lands. In 1903, the *Helmiyya* palace was torn down and the cleared site underwent the same process of subdivision.

Bulaq during the end of the 19th century greatly increased the demand for labourers and influx of rural immigrants to the district⁴⁴. This resulted in the formation of large groups of Ishash by the beginning of the Ottoman rule. By that time, Bulaq accounted for two thirds of the total percentage of derelict spaces in Cairo⁴⁵. It was also home to the poorest citizens in the city and a large percentage of people with no permanent houses, with one fifth of the citizens considered as living in very bad conditions⁴⁶. In 1892, slums occupied more than 35.000 square meters of these lands⁴⁷. Notably, the land acquisition legislation allowed thousands of Bulaqi citizens to seize these lands, whilst the government was powerless to evict them or even to control this activity. In response, during the 1890s, the government started to subdivide huge swathes of vacant land in Bulaq into small portions of lands, which were sold or rented to workers in the district⁴⁸ (Figure 4.14).

In fact, *Ishash* found in particular sections of Bulaq such as *al-Tourguman* and *charkas* fit within two categories of housing descriptions: the *Housh*, a courtyard house (plural is *ahwash*) and *Isha* (plural is *Ishash*) Canvas huts. The *Housh* is an informally built house with one entrance that contains a courtyard in the middle surrounded by many rooms⁴⁹. Such a type of housing was constructed within the old fabric of the city, and occupied unused plots of land. On the other hand, the *Isha* is of a notably lower standard of construction, built from light materials and leftover wood, with several entrances. In Bulaq, groups of attached *Ishash* form large-scale areas of slums accommodating several thousand people, often located on the district's periphery and comprising narrow streets and alleys on informal lands seized from the government⁵⁰ (Figure 4.15 and 4.16).

In summary, the government policies of selling lands to private owners contributed to a wide breakdown of spatial qualities of the district's urban pattern. While the Public Works' initial intentions were to allow private investors to participate in improving the quality of public and urban spaces of the district, the outcome was that they sliced the plots into small portions of land to gain higher profits. And accordingly, low-income populations with difficult social and working circumstances were the most suitable groups to accommodate these

⁴⁴ The growing need for various services attracted rural immigrants into Cairo. In addition, the number of government officials, building and transport workers, traders and members of similar occupations rose considerably. Therefore, Cairo witnessed an average growth of rate of 12.6 percent. The legalizing of the private ownership of tax exemption in 1883 and land under cultivation in 1892 caused an increasing number of *Mullak* (landowners who held private property) to have equal access to the means of production (Baer 1969:85). In addition, The British colonial administration's restrictive policy blocked any serious attempts at industrial development and production of goods manufactured in British factories, and at the same time, the large landowner class did not express interest in investing in such industries. On the other hand, a class of workers was increasing as rural immigrants moved to Cairo in order to seek a better life.

⁴⁵ See *Recensement general de l'egypt, le Caire* (1889) Impr.nat., p. 15 - 35.; and plan general maps (1896) Cairo, Egypt. Figures indicate that by 1891 Bulaq contained 14020 inhabitants and 1515 *Isha*; *Shubra* contained 281 inhabitants and 71 *Isha*; *al- Gamaliyya* contained 357 inhabitants and 60 *Isah*; *Misir al-Qadima* contained 3163 inhabitants and 408 *Isha*; *Sayda zainab* contained 3265 inhabitants and 433 *Isha*. Also see Arnaud, *Le Caire*,

⁴⁶ Raymond, A. (1994) *Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views*. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. 21: 1. p. 3 - 18.

⁴⁷ Jean- Luc Arnaud worked out these figures, based on the map of Cairo and environs, according to the Department of Public Works report in 1892, p.314.

⁴⁸ The *Tanzim* Department Archives (1898), Dossier 8/2/C. *Dar al-Watha'iq al-kawmmyia al-Missriyya*. Cairo Archives.

⁴⁹ Raymond, *Le Caire*, p. 223 - 4.

⁵⁰ Arnaud, *Le Caire*, p. 282.

areas due to their affordability: which resulted in poor housing conditions and, in the worst areas, slums.

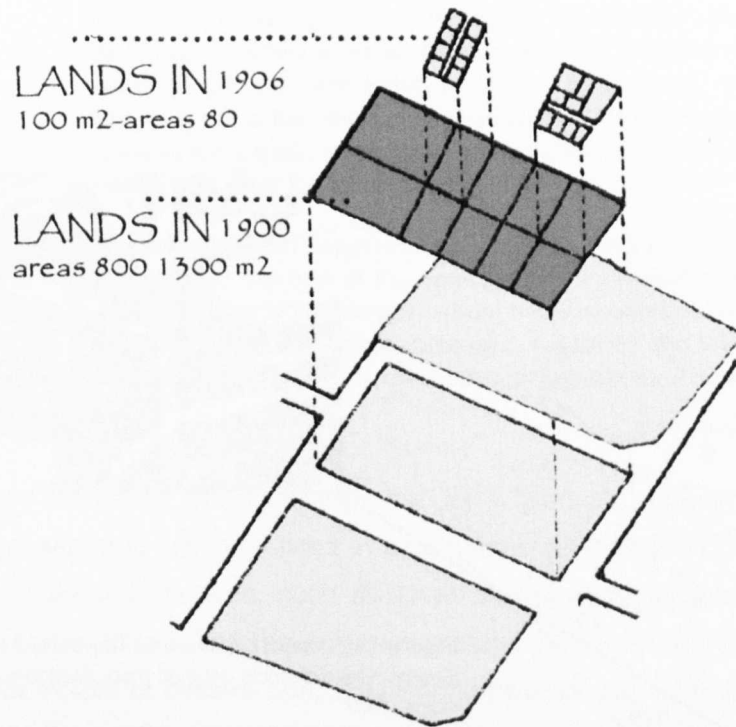


Figure 4.13 Schematic diagrams to illustrate the sequence of dividing governmental lands, which was later intentionally sold to private owners.
Source: after Arnaud, *Le Caire*.



Figure 4.14 The smaller portions of lands which was sold or rented to workers in Bulaq.
Source: Cairo survey department 1924.

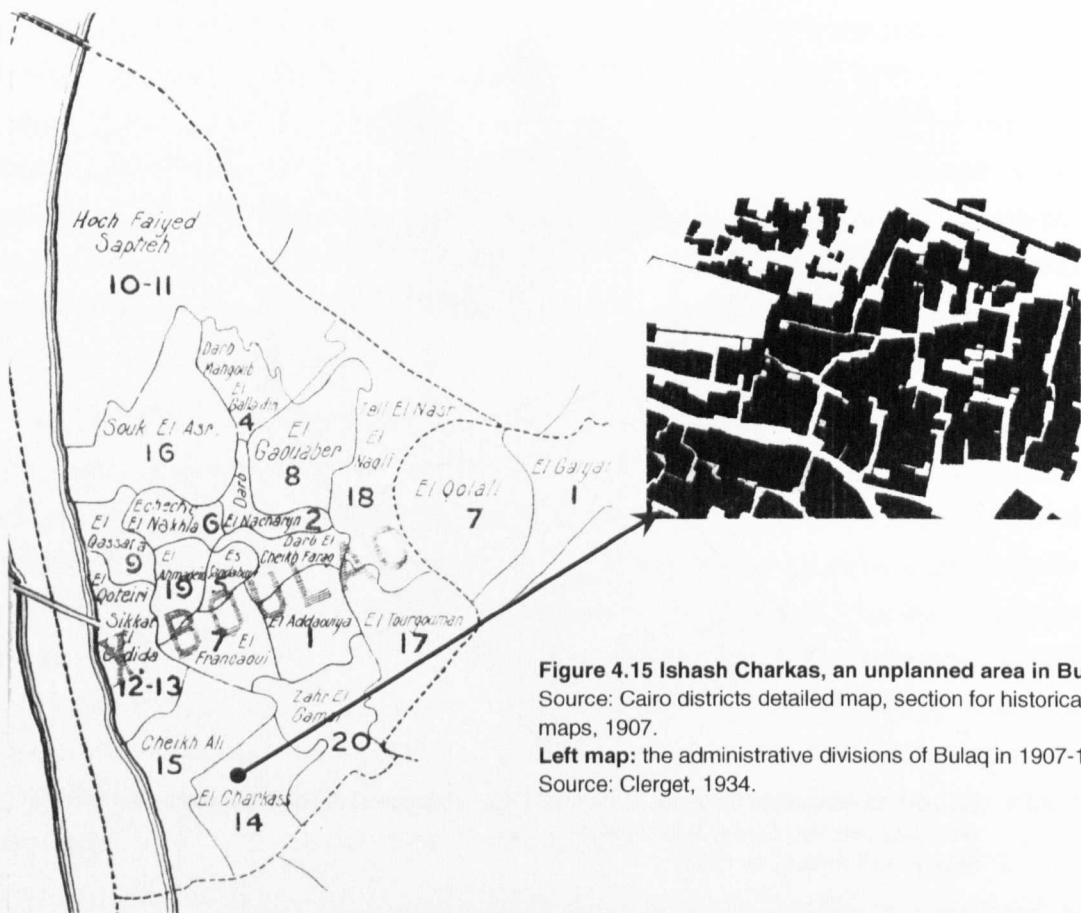


Figure 4.15 Ishash Charkas, an unplanned area in Bulaq.
 Source: Cairo districts detailed map, section for historical maps, 1907.
Left map: the administrative divisions of Bulaq in 1907-1924.
 Source: Clerget, 1934.

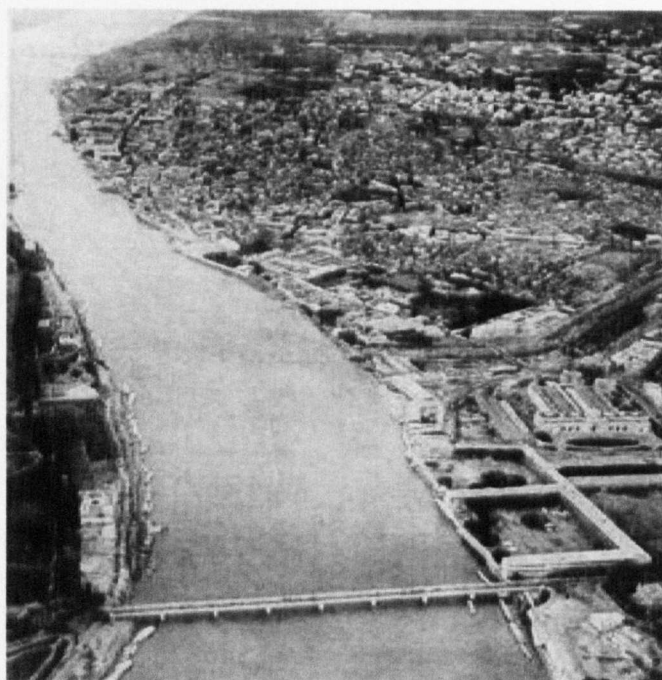


Figure 4.16 Aerial View for Bulaq in 1902.
 Source: Clerget, 1934.

4.3.2. Applying the Modern Ideals

‘The newly arrived visitor to Cairo, who landed at Bulaq after coming through the Mahmoudiyya Canal coming from Alexandria, had a mile’s ride from the river bank at Bulaq to the Bab al-Hadid by which you entered Cairo at the north-west corner, and instead of the crowded villa suburbs of today, there was scarcely a house to be seen. Two principal roads of nearly the same length led from Bulaq to Cairo; the northern, which is somewhat irregular, but is the chief route of commerce, and the southern; after having crossed two canals, as we pass the picturesque mosque of Abu-l-Ola on our right as we enter the latter road⁵¹.

‘The Egyptian experience in adapting neighborhood planning to local traditions at the turn of the century can be characterized as a process of ‘domestication of knowledge’ where every incoming novelty and pre-existing convention was measured, balanced, assessed and labeled as harmful or beneficial, acceptable or unacceptable, regardless of objective benefits’⁵².

As previously discussed, old Bulaq went through a gradual depletion in its physical spatial qualities and services, which resulted in a long-term deterioration. However, the perimeter streets that surround the area, such as Shari *Yuliya*, attracted the attention of both the Ministry of Public Works and the private investors. By the beginning of the 20th century, through new modes of construction, a deliberate attempt was being made to represent the district in a more fashionable image and thereby reflect new architectural trends implemented in other districts. The improvements extended to areas outside the Ismailiyya boundaries, namely Shubra and Abbasiyya, as Cairo’s expansion towards the west began to progress⁵³. Tarek Sakr claims that the visual quality dilemma between a colonial approach and local image confused the policies of reform that aimed to modernize Cairene cultures. Policies were intentionally developed to suit native culture, and were designed to protect the integrity of locality against the destructive pressures of westernization.

Conversely, Cairene planning and architecture during the beginnings of the 20th century was the creation of both European and Egyptian professionals⁵⁴. In that respect, it seems that ‘the Ministry’s response to western ideals shows a shift in attitude from previous decades of the modernization era, as any western technology was welcomed as long it worked under the Egyptian sky⁵⁵. Notably, the influence of western models on practice persisted due to the presence of foreign planners and architects, who worked in Egypt on the Khedivial palaces, designed and built in both the European and Islamic revival style⁵⁶. Although the idea of nationalism existed as early as the British occupation, it lay dormant until the national movement and spirit of the 1919 revolution were given practical expression through architecture and, most notably, in public and residential buildings.

⁵¹ Lane-Pool, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 260.

⁵² Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge*, p. 135.

⁵³ Baer, G. (1969) *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*, Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press

⁵⁴ Sakr, T. (1992) *Early Twentieth-Century Islamic Architecture in Cairo*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press. p.12.

⁵⁵ Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge*, p. 134.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, in 1908, work had begun to construct Bulaq Abul Ela Bridge, connecting Bulaq with the northern half of *Zamalek* district in *al-Gazira*. By 1912, this bridge and its western extension to *Imbaba* (Zamalek Bridge) were both complete and open to wheeled and tramway traffic⁵⁷. Financiers, many of them foreign, recognized that the newly evolving transportation systems were about to change Bulaq's spatial forms. Within the first few years, the values of the lands adjacent to the new tramlines had rocketed⁵⁸. Consequently, the character of land use began to change: wholesale and storage warehouses, and small hotels were built at the end of tramlines, and houses were constructed by speculators along the old land of the former port of Bulaq.⁵⁹ In addition, the number of residential and commercial multi-storey apartment buildings was increasing. Certainly, the historical character of old Bulaq, with its distinctive historical buildings and commercial *Wikalas*, has not entirely disappeared⁶⁰. Blocks of flats for rent were of the utmost necessity due to the growing number of Europeans settling in Cairo⁶¹. Moreover, the increase in various commodities imported from Europe made it necessary to attach department stores to those rented blocks. In the decade between 1897 and the financial crisis of 1907, when the boom was at its peak, a huge ever-growing demand for shops, offices, flats and hotels pushed the land values to astronomically high levels⁶². In addition, buildings were often pulled down in order to establish larger ones with attached or separate department stores⁶³ (Figure 4.17).

Planners in the Public Works decided to test certain values and planning ideals in some districts such as Bulaq. They constantly debated the extent to which western culture should be allowed to impinge on the local tradition. Nevertheless, the architectural debate did not stress certain types or styles. Rather, the focus was to acquire and catch up with what developed nations had achieved. In a small way, the final quality of the adopted style was addressed, as it was consistent with the newly-imported western ideas: even if the results contrasted with the existing conditions⁶⁴. For example, buildings in Bulaq adhered to classical principles of clarity, axuality, symmetry, and regularity with different degrees of modernity, reflected by the extent of simplification and reduction of motifs, an idea following the neo-classical trend from Europe⁶⁵. Due to the rapid development, the building boom, as well as the adaption of the Egyptian labour force to new methods of working, an increasing number of Egyptians entered the trade. According to Scharabi, some were *fellahin*

⁵⁷ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 140.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶⁰ This is proved to be true by the schedule of cadastral registers recorded in the 1930s.

⁶¹ Owen, *The Cairo Building Industry and the Building Boom*, p. 337.

⁶² Ministry of Public Works Archives (1911) Dossier 6/2/A. One of the many examples: the business deal, regarding a small old house owned by one of the merchants, named *Ali Abdul-Qader*, is an example of such speculation in land and buildings in Bulaq during that era. The building was built originally as a house. In 1906, an English trader bought the building for the sum of 11.000 Egyptian pounds. Later on, he sold it for 56.000 pounds.

⁶³ Owen, *The Cairo Building Industry and the Building Boom*, p. 337 - 338.

⁶⁴ Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge*, p. 135.

⁶⁵ Sakr, *Early Twentieth-Century Islamic Architecture in Cairo*.

(peasants) with no background experience in building⁶⁶. This must have been one of the reasons for the appearance of poor imitations as decoration on lower-class buildings in Bulaq.

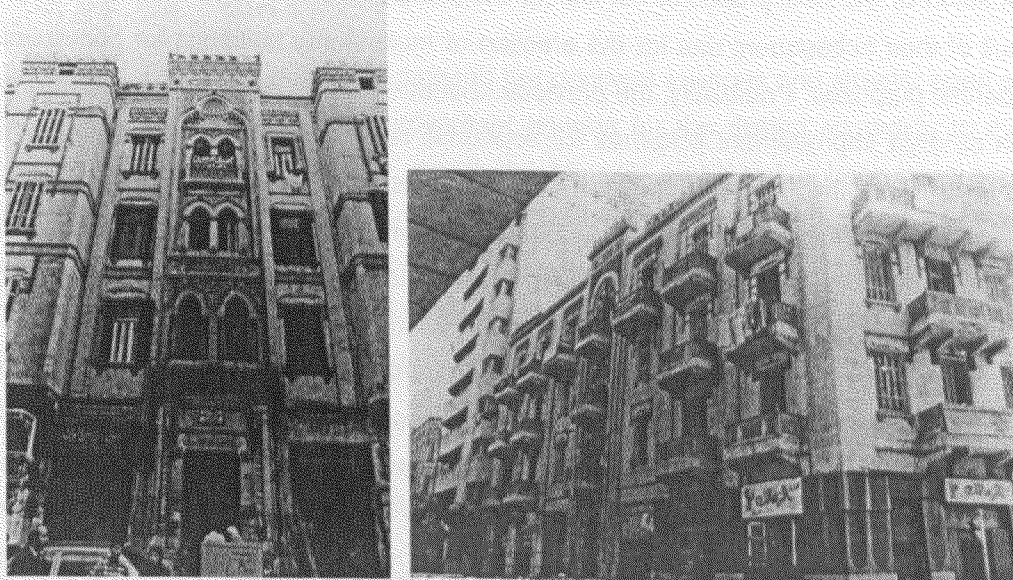


Figure 4.17 Apartment buildings occupied with stores in lower levels. Bulaq, constructed in 1920, location: 26th Yuliya St. Source: Sakr, 1992.

4.4. The historical attempts at remaking old Bulaq

4.4.1. Expropriating the lands

'The Bulaq district comprises therein the vilest slums, some of the most degraded classes of the population, hordes of beggars and vagabonds intermingled with a large number of laborers, artisans, etc. The population numbers 140,000, the housing conditions are in many areas deplorably unsanitary, and the greater part of the area is densely covered with buildings of a class and value in no way commensurate with possible site values if developed as a modern commercial and good class residential area'⁶⁷.

As was explained in chapter two, one of the main priorities of Cairo's master plan, drafted during the 1930s by the Ministry of Town Planning, was the development of the Nile riverside and west bank⁶⁸. The Ministry Department Commission of Cairo, meeting at the beginning of the 1930s⁶⁹, decided upon the preparation of a new planning scheme for Bulaq,

⁶⁶ Scharabi, M. (1989) *Kairo: stadt und architektur im zeitalter des europaischen kolonialismus*, Tu bingen: E. Wasmuth. p.101.

⁶⁷ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292 - 300.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289. The exact date of the plan preparation is still unknown, but Mahboub states that it was drafted between 1926/29.

⁶⁹ The precise date of the meeting is not known.

aimed at assuring its future development according to an approved program⁷⁰. The introduction of the first Expropriation Law of 1906⁷¹ supported Egyptian planners in expressing their modern planning ideals, which were comprehensively considered as *utopian* because of their expected high cost⁷². It was suggested that after the implementation of the new proposals for Bulaq, the prospective site values would increase as a result of their subsequent use for the erection of multi-storey buildings for commercial and residential purposes. Practically, the previous absence of such powers had deterred the execution of large improvement schemes for economic reasons. Evidently, Bulaq was the first district to apply the new expropriation provisions as part of a general 'improvement scheme'⁷³, covering various sections of old Bulaq adjacent to the outlying slum areas and mainly occupied by Mamluk and Ottoman monuments and buildings. Also, the law allowed the formation of new districts which would be re-planned and sold as lands for subdivision⁷⁴. Expropriation clauses indicated the formalities of compensation for lands and buildings on an urgent basis and at fixed rates⁷⁵. In addition, a scheme for building small houses to accommodate the poorer classes was considered. The new houses were required to replace the *Ishash*, which were described as 'centers of infection'⁷⁶. The ownership of land allowed authorities to establish a modern quality of planning by means of new regulations for the construction of new buildings, and would facilitate improvement of the visual quality of Bulaq⁷⁷.

Obviously, the lack of urban planning and building regulations to control construction work offered planners total freedom to realize their utopian ideas whenever unpleasant spatial qualities of the district came up against their 'modernized ideas with regard to planning, zoning and other civic amenities'⁷⁸. It was more convenient to expand vertically, and the reason 'for this trend of development is the very high ground values in Cairo where the central site values may under usual increasing demands'⁷⁹. In this regard, Sabry Mahboub wrote that:

⁷⁰ Ministry of Public Works Report (1930) *Annual Report for the year 1924/25*. Cairo: Government press.

⁷¹ The 1906 law authorized expropriating all properties required for purpose of public utility, and the acquisition of additional properties for purposes of re-sale after renovation.

⁷² Financially, it was estimated that the new proposal for complete construction of Bulaq would roughly cost £11,000,000, including the cost of the purchase, demolition, draining, creating a new street network.

⁷³ This included acquisition, demolition, and reconstruction of almost all the present sites and buildings. (See Appendix B.8).

⁷⁴ The Ministry regulations included clauses for the improvement and redevelopment of built areas. It indicates that this type of work fell under two categories: first, improvements not urgently required and which consequently could be deferred, and second, improvements which were necessary or which from their nature could not be delayed.

⁷⁵ See the Expropriation law for Cairo building and town planning regulations (1906). The *Tanzim* Department informed the proprietor of the price to be paid, but if he did not agree to the valuation, he could appeal to the court for a revision. The estimates of the value of the land and buildings were tabulated in a form providing a full description of the action to be taken (complete demolition or betterment), which might result in the property coming under the law of expropriation.

⁷⁶ Makawi, *Urban Planning Development in Cairo*. The Ministry admitted the need to remove all slum areas as an immediate action in its upgrading policies. As mentioned earlier, many of those slum colonies occupied private lands, and were difficult to deal with. However, the Ministry suggested that a major step towards solving the problem would be the erection of a model of a municipal colony in the heart of the affected areas. The housing model was to be built on the site of one of the largest areas of slums after their demolition.

⁷⁷ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292 - 300.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

'Due to the lack of regulation, no limitation can be imposed on the heights of buildings. Since some years past, six and seven storey blocks of flats with ground floor shops have been created in the principal streets of the city, and this upward and concentrated growth of habitation is ever-increasing, and inevitably substructures for foundations will most probably limit heights to a maximum of one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet'⁸⁰.

In general, the preliminary plan covered the principal avenues and streets, open spaces, and gardens and provided an improvement agenda for the district according to the main guidelines of the new regulations. While the Ministry prohibited a haphazard expansion pattern, it was completely devoted to controlling the area's architectural image through regulation. Indeed, the planning scheme presented a recognizable futuristic image for the district with regard to the city officials' perspectives, drawing maximum benefit from the potential of the site, which would extend along the Nile River⁸¹.

4.4.2. Clearance and reconstruction

'There is nothing to be seen at Bulaq which cannot be better seen in the bazaars, except that some cafes still have their mastabas and that there are a few old mosques'⁸².

'Domestication meant modifying the original model so that it became just one component of a new product, the other components of which would spring from the particularities of the local culture, whether social constraints or economic limitations'⁸³.

The complete reconstruction proposal planned a total eradication of the district regardless of its historical buildings⁸⁴. This comprehensive scheme included streets, squares, gardens and open spaces, equivalent to approximately 40 per cent of the total area of the district⁸⁵. It critically considered the streets widths and footpath alignment and the area of street surface in relation to the total area of the site. The bill of lands sale, for construction purposes, contained provisions limiting the height of the buildings and the building area of the plot. However, most of the land belonged to the Ministry of Waqf, either in private hands or under the supervision of the Ministry of Waqf⁸⁶. But it was not clear to what extent the Ministry had participated in the project (Figure 4.18).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292 - 300

⁸² Sladen, D. and Wheelton, B. (1911) *Oriental Cairo: the city of the Arabian nights*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. p.142.

⁸³ Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge*, p. 129.

⁸⁴ Only existing mosques and churches were spared, although the district accommodates a large variety of Mamluk and ottoman *wikalas*, *sabils*, and *hammams*.

⁸⁵ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292 - 302.

⁸⁶ Volait, *Town planning schemes in Cairo*, p. 48.

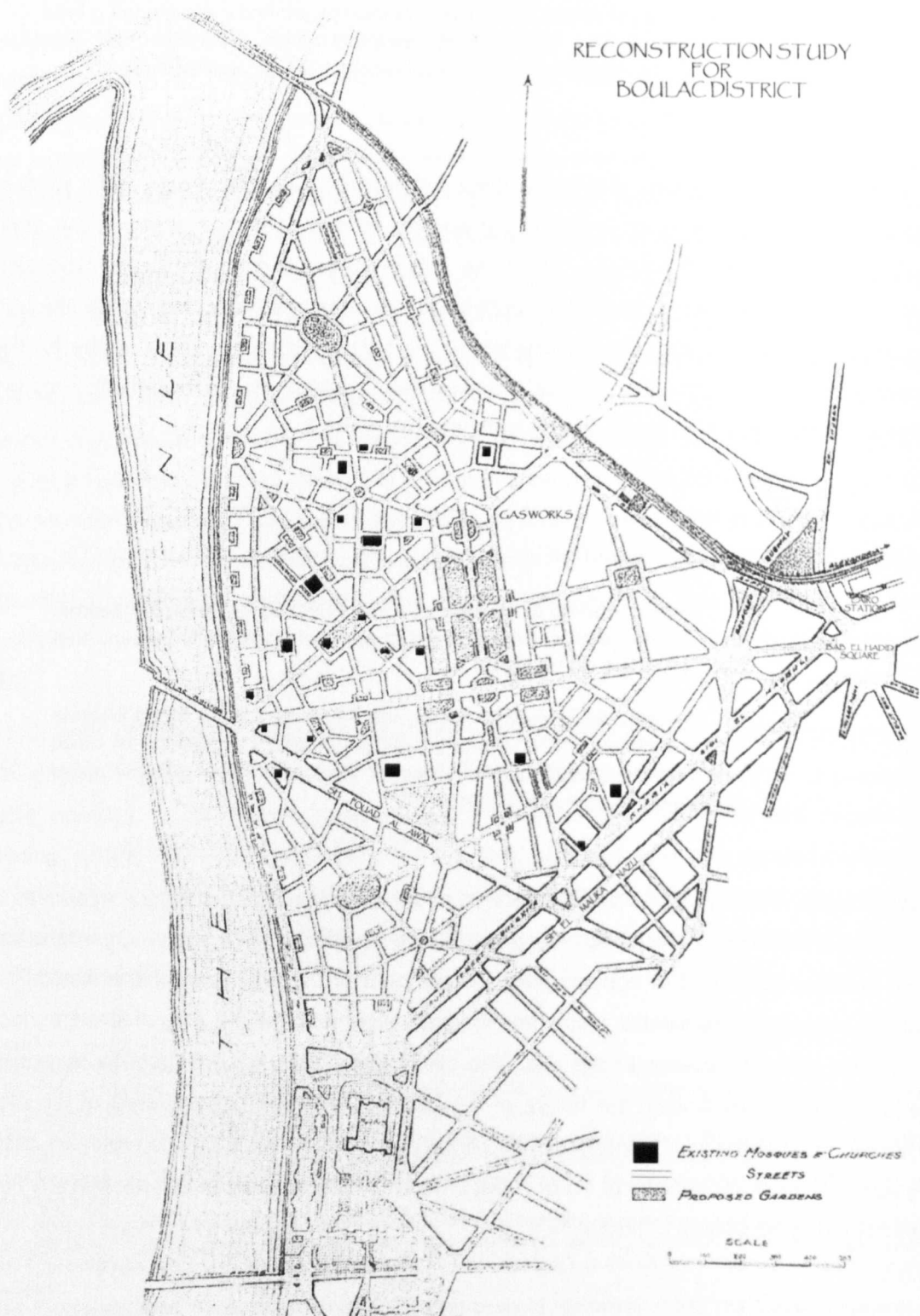


Figure 4.18 Mahboub's proposal for Bulaq Abul Ela re-construction in the 1920 s.
Source: Mahboub 1934/35, p. 302.

In terms of the district's spatial settings, the old street network was to be completely destroyed under the new plan and new axial streets were redesigned (Figure 4.19). In addition, the plan slavishly adopted European planning prototypes: tree-lined streets, axial connections to attached districts such as al-Ismailiyya, shubra and Bab al-Hadid; wide pedestrian areas connected with open space nodes. It was more similar to Haussmann's street pattern applied in Cairo during the last century. Indeed, the proposal was an impressive attempt to imitate French images; however, the central intention was more realistic than one based on copying Haussmann's ideals (Figure 4.20). Nevertheless, the plan never got much beyond the concept of several grand axis streets with zones of interlocking buildings, and numerous green nodes breaking the continuity of streets lines. The proposal commenced with major and minor axes, which subtly wove the plan together. The wide paved streets diverted activities away from the old network, hastening its deterioration. It was also intended to extend the axial boulevards across the district to allow a straight continuation through the district. This continuity would reduce previous problems of isolation of the inner parts from services and activities. It was suggested that the new streets should cut through those inner parts where the buildings were in the worst condition and of the lowest land value, so the clearance effect would be greater and the cost of acquiring the land would be lower. Furthermore, the street schemes allowed for new buildings to be set on both sides. Thus, it was clear that new street networks were to be the main characteristic of subsequent improvement schemes for Bulaq.

The new street network was to radiate as several focal nodes for entering the district. Three main traffic arteries were formed and subsidiary streets were narrow to discourage the flow of cars and to create more of a sense of street hierarchy. It was noted that the plan precisely followed regulations and legislation regarding the widths of the road network and its hierarchies⁸⁷. The minimum widths of the public streets were public 8 meters, whilst streets of a greater length than 50 meters were 10 meters wide. The width of the main road facing the Nile River, which is of greater length than 100 meters, was to be at least 12 meters⁸⁸. Moreover, the Tanzim regulations approved the zoning scheme, and certain areas were to be reserved for purely residential purposes, whilst industries which were considered insalubrious were to be restricted to other areas. There was to be no control over the facades of the buildings, but good and suitable architecture was encouraged⁸⁹. In order to control the type of development in the district, the plan was divided into residential areas and recreational zones. The plan proposed dividing the district into detached parcels of land to be later sold for investment under certain restricted policies, while each group of sites would be allowed certain activities and land uses. For example, only residential apartments could be constructed on housing lands, with the opportunity for commercial activities on the lower

⁸⁷ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*.

⁸⁸ The Tanzim Department Decrees (1900) Douser 3/9/a. *Dar al-Watha'iq al-kawmmya al-Missriyya*. Cairo Archives.

⁸⁹ The Tanzim Department Decrees (1900) Douser 6/2/B. *Dar al-Watha'iq al-kawmmya al-Missriyya*. Cairo Archives.

floors⁹⁰. Initially, the plan proposed that the ownership rights of the lands affected by the demolition scheme should be sold. Following the evacuation of the existing buildings, the new property owners and developers would then be responsible for new building. In this way, the new plan was to be proceeded through the cooperation between public and private sectors⁹¹.

On the other hand, the design of the open spaces and nodes imitated the design of al-Azbakiyya garden, which was octagonal in shape and designed by the French landscape architect de Barillet. In addition to the main boulevard of *Fouad al-Awal* street, the main boulevards were to connect the district with linear side streets branching off⁹². The linear streets were connected through nodes clustering around public gardens in the residential areas. The main boulevards also offered excellent potential for building new houses, commercial establishments, and hotels in particular, in conformity with the European style. However, there was a sense of monumality in the plan. In this respect, several streets were linked in symmetrical patterns, inviting comparisons between the Bulaq plan and recent plans for European capital cities (Figure 4. 21). In addition, the construction was proposed of 'healthy dwellings' with affordable rents in poor districts of the city, to be operated at government expense, as a reflection of government policies⁹³. It was suggested that transferring the workshops to the north side of the district would be more appropriate, taking into consideration the need to provide affordable housing units for the large number of workers and families attached to the state railway workshops. The proposal was to be implemented on a new site where cheap land was available⁹⁴.

The master plan for Bulaq was never implemented due to the practical shortcomings of several of its proposals and ideas. One of the most difficult problems faced implementation was the high costs. Critics pointed to the lack of detail as to how the street network would function efficiently, as the plan removed the previous streets in order to provide an adequate network for cars. In addition, there were no proposals for land use in the central area, except for gardens and open spaces, which it was 'important to create'⁹⁵. The intention to provide housing accommodation for the relocated workers and their families was an additional constraint. Although the workers' relocation was part of this program, approval was announced through the media for other projects, such as *madinat al-Fuadiyya*, located elsewhere. Twenty years later, a new project for workers' housing or *maskin al-ummal*, to accommodate about 6000 families, was implemented in *Imbaba*, a district close to Bulaq⁹⁶.

⁹⁰ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292 - 302.

⁹¹ The *Tanzim* Department regulations and expropriation law (1909) The national Archives.

⁹² Mahboub elaborated that the branching streets were to replace the old irregular closed streets in order to allow better passage of traffic.

⁹³ Mahmoud, M. (1929) *The Strong Hand, Alexandria, Mataba al-Iskandariyya*, p. 41- 93, 4.

⁹⁴ A program for transferring some 5000 workmen and their families to the agricultural land on the west bank of the Nile River adjacent to the Abul Ela Bridge and to some areas on the outskirts of the city of Cairo was set, with proposals for the type of houses, form of layout, means of sanitation and water supply.

⁹⁵ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*.

⁹⁶ Volait, *Town planning schemes in Cairo*. The plan, as presented in 1947, was the work of engineer *Ali al-Malligi masaud*.

In general, the fact that the available map did not show detailed descriptions of the proposed land subdivisions, but only offered a model of the street network and open spaces, was considered a major shortcoming of the plan. However, minor improvement attempts continued in the district without any clear restrictions. In 1940, the Ministry of Town Planning approved law no. 52/1940 to control the subdivision of land for building purposes. If that law had been in place at the time, city officials might have given more attention to implementing the Bulaq master plan.

In this context, it is worth noting that the design approach followed by the re-planning scheme represented a significant change from the planning approach that prevailed during the implementation of the 1869 plan for modernizing Cairo. Although the plan of that time had plainly been inspired by Haussmann's French model, which maintained a rigid linear geometry in making street alignments, it was clear that there was a pervading 'antagonism' which paid little attention to the old existing fabric. Evidently, this approach was not only manifested in Cairo's plan, but a similar attitude was provoked during the making of Muhammad 'Ali Boulevard in old Cairo as 'it sliced with uncompromising straightness through the densest section of the urban fabric for a distance of two kilometers'⁹⁷. Looking at the post 1870 Cairo map, it is clear that the geometry of the new street neglected the existing urban fabric of irregular hawari, dark alleyways, and dead-ends⁹⁸. However, the Bulaq scheme shows that a different planning approach to the manifestation of order had been adopted by the Tanzim during the early 20th century. It showed that the Tanzim policies had shifted to less extreme means of achieving physical order, particularly in piecemeal projects: a shift which could be explained as a change from the inflexible application of rigid geometry to solutions which could be described as more open to compromise with the existing conditions. Remarkably, from the 1890s, this shift was also reflected in the planning attitudes towards remaking the traditional urban fabric: whereby the intertwined alleys and chaotic land use in these areas were no longer considered worthless symptoms of deprivation. This move was also manifested in the upgrading project for the *Sultan al Hanafi* and its surrounding spaces, when the ministry wished to redesign the adjacent streets to create an ordered alignment. Asfour goes on to explain that:

'In this case, regularization was not achieved by drawing two parallel lines indefinitely. Instead, the ministry undertook a detailed study of the streets, section by section, side after side, to see which portions of the street façade were worth preserving. In so doing, the ministry intervention achieved a meaningful regularity with minimum damage..... The final design resulted in streets that had fewer irregularities, but they did not wipe out the character of the streets for the sake of the ideal geometry'⁹⁹.

Therefore, the idea of 'domestication of knowledge' derived from Khaled Asfour in the second quotation adds further clarification to this issue. In the case of remaking Bulaq, while

⁹⁷ Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge*, p. 126.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127. The rigid straightness of the boulevard required many buildings to be demolished. However, historical monuments were problematic. Asfour notes that the 14th century mosque of *Qusun* had to be demolished and rebuilt on another site to make way for the new intervention.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

western ideals were manifested in aspects of spatial quality, such as the street widths and building heights, it was evident that the scheme had considered the conditions and positions of some major existing streets in the district. It was acknowledged that planners of the Ministry of Town Planning were focused on trying to avoid further destruction to the quality of the built environment or at least to learn positive lessons from their past remaking attempts.



Figure 4.19 Bulaq internal street patterns before introducing Mahboub's proposal.
Source: The Monuments of Islamic Cairo Map 641 A.D. 1940 A.D.

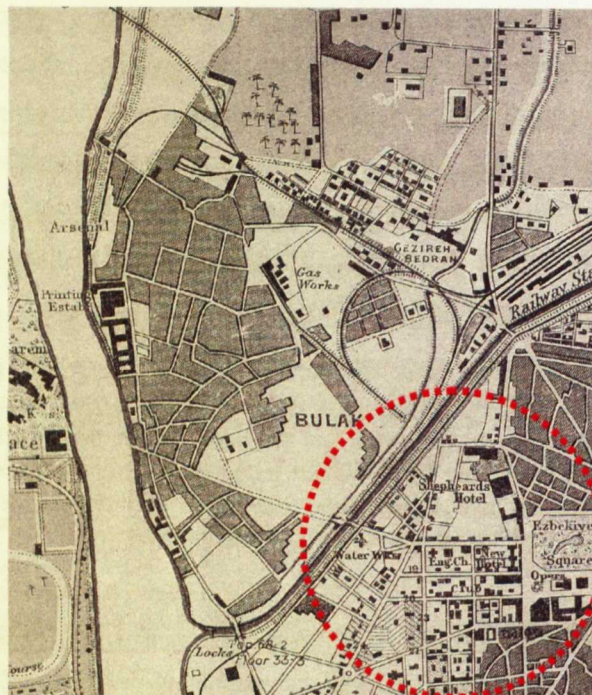


Figure 4.20 The new road network of Cairo after implementing the modernization project as Bulaq was not part of the project.
Source: Cairo and environs map 1886

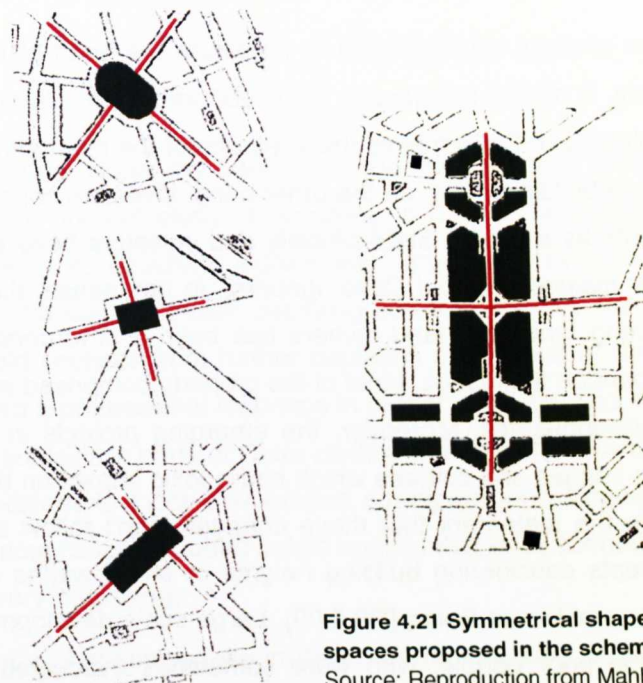


Figure 4.21 Symmetrical shapes for different open spaces proposed in the scheme.
Source: Reproduction from Mahboub.

4.5. The modern Bulaq: A contemporary glance

‘Old Bulaq is vanishing; there is a new Bulaq to come out and appear, a new Bulaq that verses all dreams of slums and old traditions’¹⁰⁰

Bulaq has undergone major transformations during the twentieth century and a new high rise landscape is emerging. The district’s skyline has become more vertical and prominent, with competing skyscrapers asserting their presence in a modern urban panorama. The tour begins with hotels around the Tahrir square, moving north to the *Ramsis* Hilton Hotel, the Foreign Ministry, the Cairo Plaza twin towers, and then moving to the world trade centre, the Conrad Hotel and *Arkadia* mall, ending with the Nile City Towers. Yet, the visual dominance of Bulaq skyline belies the growing threat to its traditional images and functions. Beneath the physical transformation of the district lie more profound transitions. The Egyptian Architect Milad Hanna referred to these buildings as ‘the golden peel that covers the surface, hiding the miserable conditions of popular areas’¹⁰¹. According to Fahmy, Bulaq has deteriorated for several reasons. Firstly, the economical base and social structure have changed through time: as lower income groups moved to the district, business leaders managed their work there but lived elsewhere. Secondly, cloth and fabrics markets, such as *wikalat al-Balah* and *suq al-Qumash*, destroyed the condition of existing monuments, whilst large numbers of new

¹⁰⁰ Abaza, M. (2006) Egyptianizing the American Dream: Nasr City’s Shopping Malls, Public Order, and Privatized Military, in D Singerman and P Amar (eds.) *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, p.193-220.

¹⁰¹ Cited in Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*, p. 32.

consumers were attracted to the district. Thirdly, the high density of population, attracted by the new commercial activities, accelerated the district's deterioration and stagnation¹⁰².

The development strategy was intended to transform the heart of Cairo and to change the image of the city. It aimed to relocate 1.000.000 inhabitants living in an area of 480 acres. The Nile Boulevard of Cairo makes this area one of the most attractive areas for new business and high rise buildings. But, on the other hand, investors consider the surrounding low-income inhabitants as a threat. State officials and investors believe that this would be the ideal location *for making a global Cairo*, ignoring, in any sense, the importance of the historical site. Acquiring land from land owners has been a time consuming task, as the owners refused to abandon their lands. Most of the property comprised small units of houses or workshops for light industries. Moreover, the emerging projects in this historical area introduced conflicting images and cultures which had a toxic impact on the community living in Bulaq, as noted in the statement that these changes didn't follow any type of studied master plan or concepts considering building heights or street widths and traffic patterns which formed a major problem in Bulaq [R2.5.09]. Large scale developments took place on land grabbed from the poor people, who were sometimes evacuated and re-located in remote districts, in accordance with government policies, without considering the nature of the area, its community and social groups.

From a closer perspective, Bulaq residents agree that such huge transformations have stripped the area and the community of their character and destroyed the history and heritage of the site. In creating this new image, President Sadat was considered as the hero of modernity¹⁰³. According to Fahmy, the provision of valuable new land along the Nile encouraged huge investment in the district. Instead of acquiring improved physical spatial qualities or benefiting from its good condition, the area was transformed into an island surrounded by modern streets and high rise buildings, which increased the internal physical deterioration¹⁰⁴. Eventually, state officials had intended to surround Bulaq with this type of construction and thereby force the collapse of the old traditional urban fabric of Bulaq in order to seize these lands and continue applying the policies of Sadat.

Today Bulaq is a mixed residential and commercial area, and under consideration for commercial and mixed use re-development, due to the area's proximity to the *cornich* axis. Master plans for re-developing Bulaq went to the extreme of suggesting the destruction of the old decayed district in order to modernize it and substitute the old fabric with new malls and office buildings. It was claimed that such strategies were similar to destructive policies

¹⁰² Fahmy, *Buildings as Catalysts in Community Development*, p. 283.

¹⁰³ Ghannam, F. (2002) *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*. Berkeley, Calif.; London, University of California Press.

¹⁰⁴ Fahmy, *Buildings as Catalysts in Community Development*, p. 284.

applied to the historic fabric of other Middle Eastern cities such as Aleppo in Syria, and Baghdad in Iraq¹⁰⁵.

4.6. Conclusion

The opening of this chapter raised the question of the importance of studying Bulaq's urban history in relation to the present study of remaking in Cairo. The validity of reviewing the historical situation lies in its structural individuality, which was revealed as distinctive on several counts. First, the call to re-plan decaying areas in the city represented an urgent need to protect the old sections from further depletion as a result of development, a need that has still demanded a professional response in recent days. Second, the enduring task of remaking the spatial qualities in parts of Cairo continues today in the same places and under similar structural conditions to those that existed during the early attempts at remaking the city. Such areas, in most cases, included public spaces that have formed the spatial settings of the city since the very beginning.

Therefore, the issue of spatial quality in these areas, including Bulaq, continues to form the real context of representing the identity of the city. Accordingly, the benefit derived from this history is not simply a case of repetition; rather, it constitutes a framework for understanding a comprehensive historical paradigm within which present attitudes to remaking may be positioned and contextualized. It is clear that beyond the projected lines of the master plans there was disorder, fragmentation, and disintegration. The proposals introduced notions of modernity, luxury and lavishness only in limited zones of the district; otherwise, the cramped inner zones filled with workshops and houses with low-income occupants were to be renovated, land uses to be re-distributed, and citizens would inevitably have been affected. They would have been ignored or even forced to move away in an effort to find a better life.

¹⁰⁵ El-Kadi, G. (1999) *Cities and districts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Cairo and Aleppo: a heritage in the making*. A paper connected with the EC project Hercomanes: heritage conservation and management in Egypt and Syria.

CHAPTER FIVE

BULAQ ABUL Ela

PLANNING SCHEME OF 1966

5.0. Cairo Political Instability of the 1950s

After *Nasser's* seizure of the Suez Canal and its nationalization in July 1956¹, the British, French, and Israelis began a coordinated invasion against Egypt. On the 29th of October 1956, three canal cities were attacked. The attack targeted the canal cities of Port Said, Ismailiyya and Suez, leaving most parts in ruins. Whole districts were completely destroyed, including several areas in Ismailiyya (Figure 5.1). After the war, the reconstruction of the severely damaged cities became a national priority. Three weeks after the war ended, a special committee toured the war damaged cities to devise practical recovery proposals on site. Within weeks, action to rebuild these cities commenced. Colonel *Abdel-Latif al-Baghdady*², described this circumstance by saying 'this is a difficult situation of sudden paralysis which could cause the state and people a loss of confidence'³. Obviously, large numbers of canal residents abandoned these cities altogether, seeking places of safety, while the remaining residents had been forced to evacuate. Their only alternative was to live temporarily with relatives based in other large cities such as Cairo and Alexandria.

Soon after the 1952 revolution, the call for radical industrialization of Egypt had emerged. It was clear that the state had realized that this was a significant step towards the modernization of Cairo and, indeed, the whole country. This statement of intent was quickly followed by the construction of large numbers of factories in several locations in Cairo: Helwan to the south, shubra al-Khayma to the north, and Imbaba-Giza to the west⁴. Due to Bulaq's status as an industrial district, it consequently housed a considerable variety of small industries and workshops, in addition to commercial installations. The regime's industrialization ambitions were driven by the call for modern commerce and better conditions of health and education, which attracted low-class rural Egyptians to make a move to Cairo. Consequently, there was mass migration of farmers and villagers to Cairo, seeking secure jobs and better living conditions. It was apparent that the concentration of development opportunities in Cairo formed an irresistible pull for immigrants from the rest of the country. Moreover, the sudden increase of immigration was also driven by the return of political power to the native Egyptians after the British army's withdrawal, which eased the process of moving to Cairo and enhanced the work opportunities.

In general, these events had some influence on Bulaq's spatial settings during that time. In attempting to explain how the Canal War and Nasser's call for industrialization had accelerated the decline of the city's spatial settings, especially in its already deteriorated old districts, this chapter documents the account of re-planning Bulaq during 1966, which

¹ The attack followed Egypt's decision of 26 July 1956 to nationalize the Suez Canal, after the withdrawal of an offer by Britain and the United States to fund the building of a massive dam on the Nile River.

² He joined the Free Officers during the 1952 revolution. In 29 June, after the Suez War, he was appointed general administrator for reconstruction of the canal area and the first minister to head Municipal Affairs and later became Minister of Planning. In his capacity as Minister of Municipal Affairs he was responsible for the construction of many new roads throughout the country, particularly in Cairo. He was also famous for his magic touch and for completing any project on time.

³ Al-Baghdady, A. (1982) *Abdel Latif Baghdadi: Diaries*. Cairo: *el-Maktab al-Masri al-Hadith*. p. 57.

⁴ UN-Habitat (1993) *Metropolitan Planning and Management in the Developing World: Spatial Decentralization Policy in Bombay and Cairo*. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. p. 127.

witnessed these events. The main argument raised is that the planning scheme was considered a rapid means of implementing the state's political and economical ambitions. It will be suggested that the two political events of the 1950s had a crucial impact on the quality the built environment of Bulaq. The huge flows of immigrants who settled in Bulaq exacerbated physical and spatial problems which were already considered alarming. At the same time, while a comprehensive institutional system had been officially established, it was not yet sufficiently stable for realistic or convenient schemes to be implemented. In addition, Egyptian planners had not had time to recover from the impact of European planning practice which had held sway for a long time.

The discussion in this chapter will fall into two parts. The first part will discuss the direct impact of the political and economical circumstances of the early 1950s and also consider the impact of such incidents on the broader scope of Cairo and the micro context of Bulaq. It is suggested that this discussion is linked to our understanding of how state powers are capable of manoeuvring and changing the agenda according to certain priorities and how planning became a significant tool for implementing this agenda. The second part will discuss the local authorities' perceptions towards the remaking intentions, the preparation of the scheme in terms of the constraints to drafting the plan, the planning negotiations, and finally, the struggle to ensure efficiency and practicality.



Figure 5.1 The impact of the war in *Port Said*, 1956.
Source: al-Ahram Newspaper (1956) 12 November.

5.1. Bulaq Abul Ela urban settings: 1947-1970.

'Since the second World War the rate of industrialization has increased as people in previously isolated or tradition-bound societies have entered the main stream of world history to demand the material benefits of modern technology.... experience indicates that their hopes are utopian, for a radical change in the mode of production has profound repercussions on the rest of culture'⁵.

The invasion and industrialization which occurred during 1956 had particular implications for Bulaq. By the early 1950s Cairo's population had reached 2.3 million⁶. Between 1950 and 1960 the average annual increase in population was estimated at approximately 300,000. According to the 1966 statistics, half of the population increase was due to migration, and the increase of birth rates in comparison to low death rates⁷. These figures reflect that 50,000 families required adequate dwellings; in addition, the existing outdated houses needed to be cleared and replaced. It was reported that in Egypt's urban areas the population was, in general, increasing at twice the national rate⁸.

On the other hand, the available evidence suggests that the two waves of immigration to Bulaq were of sufficient scale to bring catastrophe to its spatial structure. The first established group was the canal residents who abandoned their cities after the invasion. It was noted earlier that many of these evacuated families had to join their relatives living in Bulaq, and in other districts, for several months. These people were jammed into one or two bedrooms, or three in the best cases. In fact, the majority were settled in alternative jobs and favoured living in Cairo⁹. However, there is no available evidence to confirm the true numbers of immigrants during the war or the number that returned to their home cities after they had been renovated.

The second flow was caused by industrialization. The district of Shubra al-Khayma was transformed into the main industrial pole to launch the state's economic agenda. To that end, workers from around rural Egypt were encouraged to migrate and welcomed to the city to push the wheel of industry. This move consequently urged them to search for reasonable living areas in terms of affordable house rents and also proximity to their working places, in which respects Bulaq was certainly a sensible choice. By that time, it was noticeable that migrants in Cairo usually searched for rented accommodation either in the old districts or in squatter settlements located in the city outskirts, crowding into small units which sometimes had to accommodate three or four families. Obviously, these districts became congested over time, causing middle class inhabitants to relocate to other districts, such as Maadi, al-Mohandiseen and al-Dokki, located in the western and northern sections of Cairo. However,

⁵ Joseph, A. (1959) *Some Social Concomitants of Industrialization and Urbanization*. Human Organization. 18:2, 53 - 74.

⁶ Abu Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁷ El-Waly, S. (1993) *Shacks Dwellers in Egypt*. El-Araby Press. Cairo.

⁸ Abu Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁹ Interview with a resident in Bulaq since 1954 conducted in August 2009.

their departure freed up their former houses for occupation by the new immigrants and thereby allowed the area to absorb more people.

This was precisely the case in Bulaq, where the waves of migrants from 1952 onwards caused the district to become ever more crowded, with workers and their families. The rise of many light industries, warehouses and stores built on vacant government lands led migrants to seek affordable housing close to shubra al-Khayma. It was usual for this formerly rural population to be given shelter by members of their extended family who had already migrated and settled in the district. Available records indicate that by 1947 Bulaq contained over 267.000 people, with an overall density of 60.000 person/km², and by 1960 this figure had increased to 350.000¹⁰ (Figure 5.2).

In 1962, a social study reported a further reason for deterioration in that none of the Bulaqi residents were willing to move to one of the nearby districts because of their local social connections and attachments. Several meetings were arranged by the 6th Committee (*Iagnat al-Sitta*)¹¹ to discuss the report's findings in terms of the importance of implementing renewal master plans in Bulaq 'to employ a studied strategy to save 200 thousand people living in Bulaq'¹². One of the arguments raised during the discussions was that the cultural and social attitudes of the Bulaqis would never change. *Ahmed Zaki*, a member of the committee, declared that 'even if we move the people to live in al-Imubilia housing apartments'¹³, and give them a chance to live there for a long time, no major changes will occur to their social attitudes'¹⁴. It was anticipated that Zaki's statement was possibly based on the state's intentions to relocate the Bulaqi residents and re-house them on the city's outskirts, rather than housing them in proximity to their work places and social life. He denoted that the increasing slum areas in Bulaq had condemned the residents to very poor living conditions which affected their assets and habits in a way that could never be resolved. No matter whether the original cause of the problem was low-income or the lack of proper traditions and appropriate housing conditions¹⁵, it was a social situation which would continue to affect the remaking ambitions of the state.

¹⁰ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

¹¹ The sixth Committee is formed of six advisers. They are Dr. *Anwar al-Mofty* and Dr. *Sadeq Fouda*, representing the medical side, Dr *Alfons saeed*, representing the culture, traditions and customs aspects, Dr *Ahmed Zaki*, to deal with social research aspects, Dr. *Sayed Owais*, representing the religious side and engineer *Mohamed Hafez*, to deal with housing and planning aspects.

¹² The report stated that three districts were under focus for renewal actions. Similar numbers of crowded dwellings were found in *al-Sayyda Zainab*, and half were in *Misr al-Qadima*.

¹³ Al-Imubilia building was also called 'The Building of the good times'. It is one of the characteristic buildings, located in the centre of Cairo, built in 1940 at the intersection of the *Sheriff Nile Palace* and *Kasr al-Nile* streets in the western section of the city planned during Ismail's regime and is the largest in the centre of the Egyptian capital. Its uniqueness arose from the fact that it was the preferred housing community of politicians, celebrities and artists during the 1940s-50s. The contract for its construction was awarded on the basis of an architectural competition in 1940. The owner company received 13 different entries. The first prize had gone to architects Max Odraei, Gaston and Roselló, while engineers Antoine Cooper and Jack Bordeh Acherbonier received the second prize.

¹⁴ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1962) February 2.

¹⁵ An example of one of the families living in Bulaq in 1962 may clarify the situation. A social researcher's study in Bulaq stated that 'In Harat Muhamed 'Ali in Bulaq... in an apartment of two rooms lived *Mo-aoud abu al-Magd's* family, a worker at the rail station. The family is composed of nine persons, their monthly income does not exceed nine pounds, their home was never supplied with electricity so they rely on gas bulbs for night lighting and they are dependent on water peddlers for water supply. Also, they never visit the doctor as they rely on cheap traditional prescriptions; the street is their only chance to learn their attitudes and habits, and finally, educating a girl is an unforgivable iniquity'. See the Social study Report of Bulaq edited by *Gamal el-Din Zaki* in 1962.

In fact, the overpopulation in Bulaq made the district one of the fastest growing urban areas, and it symbolized the most squalid, debasing and unsafe conditions of urban existence. This formed the setting in which large numbers of its residents could spend their whole life, where they could shape their daily practices and behaviours, thereby increasingly affecting the urban situation of the city. The middle class abandonment of the district allowed for the construction of more *Ishash* which, over time, and due to their increasing dominance, resulted in rapid deterioration, especially in the inner sections, increasingly pointing to a critical situation which had to be addressed.

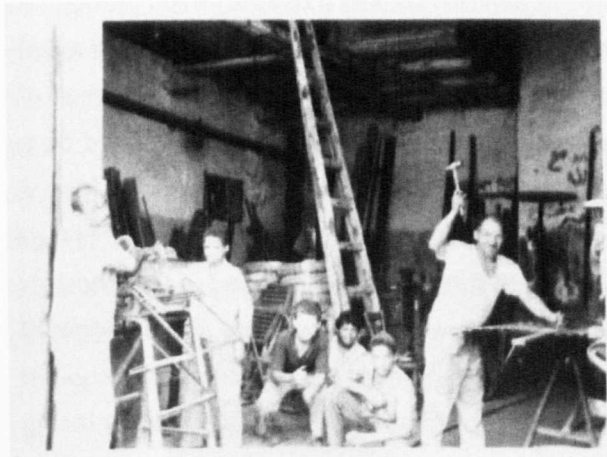


Figure 5.2 Workers, mostly migrants, in a steel workshop in Bulaq during the 1960s.

Source: Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 142.

5.2. Work begins on Grand Projects in 1956

The year of 1956 was proclaimed the starting period for constructing grand projects in Egypt. The ambitious attempt to modernize Egypt and create a secular Arab empire in northern Africa and the Middle East was one of the state's priorities at that time¹⁶. According to al-Baghdady, 'it was very important during the first days of the revolution to construct large scale projects to make people believe that the revolutionary government was capable of doing what the civilian government could not'¹⁷. Al-Baghdady's statement provides a useful understanding of the state's policies of neglect towards the rising problem of the deterioration of the internal spatial structure of old parts in Cairo and their effect in increasing the urban problems.

By the time Nasser took over the presidency in 1956, Cairo's urban physical quality was depressing. Its general spatial conditions were typified by narrow streets crowded with old noisy trams and cars, and the mix of industrial land uses with houses. In Bulaq specifically, the urban landscape of the river, lined by factories and warehouses became a backward image for the city, especially the Nile Quay, facing Bulaq, with its brownish water reflecting

¹⁶ He promoted the construction of the Aswan High Dam (completed the year he died), nationalizing the Suez Canal in 1956 to end the British, French and Israeli forces' control over the Canal.

¹⁷ Cited in Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 135.

the image of an industrial district¹⁸. Moreover, the rise of industrial activities in Bulaq caused additional destruction to its street patterns. Failure to follow relevant building regulations in the construction of shops or warehouses meant that gradually the standard image of Bulaq became one of stores or warehouses accommodated on the ground floors of houses or even on the site of a historical or religious building (Figure 5.3).

Official newspapers, in late 1956, criticized the miserable image of Cairo, calling for an evolution of planning reform and the necessity for fast action to solve Cairo's problems¹⁹. They stressed that the only entrance to the capital was surrounded by slums and waste areas, and that these were the first images observed by tourists as they entered the city²⁰. In response to this problem, on the 5th of March 1956, Nasser issued a decree which marked in one of its clauses the beginning of a new era of development for the capital; what he called the era of *grand projects*. Several large scale projects in Cairo were proposed as a result of this decree. Shortly, al-Baghdady proposed a strategy to develop a new Nile boulevard on a forty kilometer stretch of waterfront directly parallel to the River Nile, and designed to form a major new axis connection with the city²¹. This was to be implemented in two phases: first, a 15 kilometer boulevard spanning from Roud al-farag to Athar- Al Nabi, second, a 25 kilometer boulevard spanning from Athar- Al Nabi to Helwan, with a width of 40 meters and a budget of two million Egyptian pounds. This project was on the site of a collection of acquired government and private properties and required the expropriation of several buildings facing the Nile quay in Bulaq, such as the al-Amery Press building and warehouses and government and private factories (Figure 5.4)²². However, repairing the deteriorated urban fabric of Cairo's old districts was not a major priority for the state. Although Municipal Affairs launched this huge project to open a new axis for the city to breathe, little attention was evidently paid to the deterioration of the housing stock and outdoor spaces. On the other hand, greater efforts were directed towards the political settings, such as the state's national development and the redistribution of national income, in addition to rebuilding the canal cities, as mentioned earlier. It was asserted that, in Cairo, only basic services such as schools and hospitals needed to be considered or supplied.

Available evidence from the Cairo Governorate or *Muhafzah* confirms that before the establishment of the Ministry of Rural Affairs or *al-Baladiyya* the Egyptian Government had not undertaken a single public housing project. In the 1950s, Cairo lacked an effective and reliable administrative system for handling such large scale projects. Planning affairs seem to have been controlled by central ministries and utilities concessions that had no form of planning mechanism or overall master plan. By the late 1960s, the Department of Housing, as a sub-section of the *Muhafzah*, proposed several programs for constructing government-sponsored Housing projects; so-called public housing or *al-Iskan al-shabby* was launched.

¹⁸ Riad, M. (2001) *Cairo: the people's patterns within time and space, and its present and future problems. al-Hey'ea al-missriyya al-amma le ketab*. Cairo. p.134.

¹⁹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1956) June 14.

²⁰ Riad, Cairo, p. 141.

²¹ Ibrahim, S. (1999) *Cairo. al-Hayyaa al-Missrya al-Amma lel Ketab*. Cairo. p. 335.

²² Aburish, K. (2004) *Nasser: the Last Arab*. Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press. New York.

However, the new homes were extremely costly in the eyes of the great majority of Egypt's population.

Later, in 1961, the Muhafzah declared its intention to launch a grand project, named The Cairo Renewal Project, to build twenty two new districts in the Greater Cairo Region and to combine ten thousand economic housing units in 245 large buildings of three types of apartments²³. Residents of several deteriorated areas in Cairo were informed of the plan to relocate them from parts previously approved for clearance, demolition, and re-planning²⁴. For instance, part of the project included re-planning three major old districts in Cairo: the historical districts of al-Hussien, al-Azhar, and Bulaq. Al-Hussien and al-Azhar projects were incorporated in the general scheme for 'the improvement project of Fatimid Cairo or what was called *Mashro'o al-nohoud bi kahitarat al-Fateme'en*²⁵. Improving these areas was to include the clearance of the buildings surrounding al-Hussien Islamic mosque on the east and west sides, and their replacement with an open urban space to link the mosque with al-Azhar square. There were proposals to construct several Arabic Islamic style buildings to surround the historical square and cultural and traditional buildings for crafts and light industries. Three months later, the governorate completed re-housing the inhabitants to new economic houses in *al-Darrasa* district, in order to start demolishing the old district.



Figure 5.3 Steel workshops in Bulaq.

Such uses were mixed with other types of housing and religious land-uses.

²³ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1961) November 12.

²⁴ One month prior to this announcement, the inhabitants of hay *Ma'arouf* in Bulaq had been cleared from the district. However, the general plan of renewing Cairo included re-housing and distributing the inhabitants of the three districts to twenty two other districts where new apartment buildings had been constructed. They were *Rammet Bulaq*, *Nady al-Sabtiyya*, *al-Qolaly*, *al-Sharabiyya*, *Mahmashah*, *Ezzbet Haridy*, *Arab Yasar*, *Helwan*, *al-Amiriyya*, *al-Khalig*, *al-Matariyya*, *Gesr al-Bahr al-azam*, *al-Tira'a al-Bulaqiyya*, *al-Assal* and *al-Ibagiyya*.

²⁵ Cairo Governorate planning department records (1962).

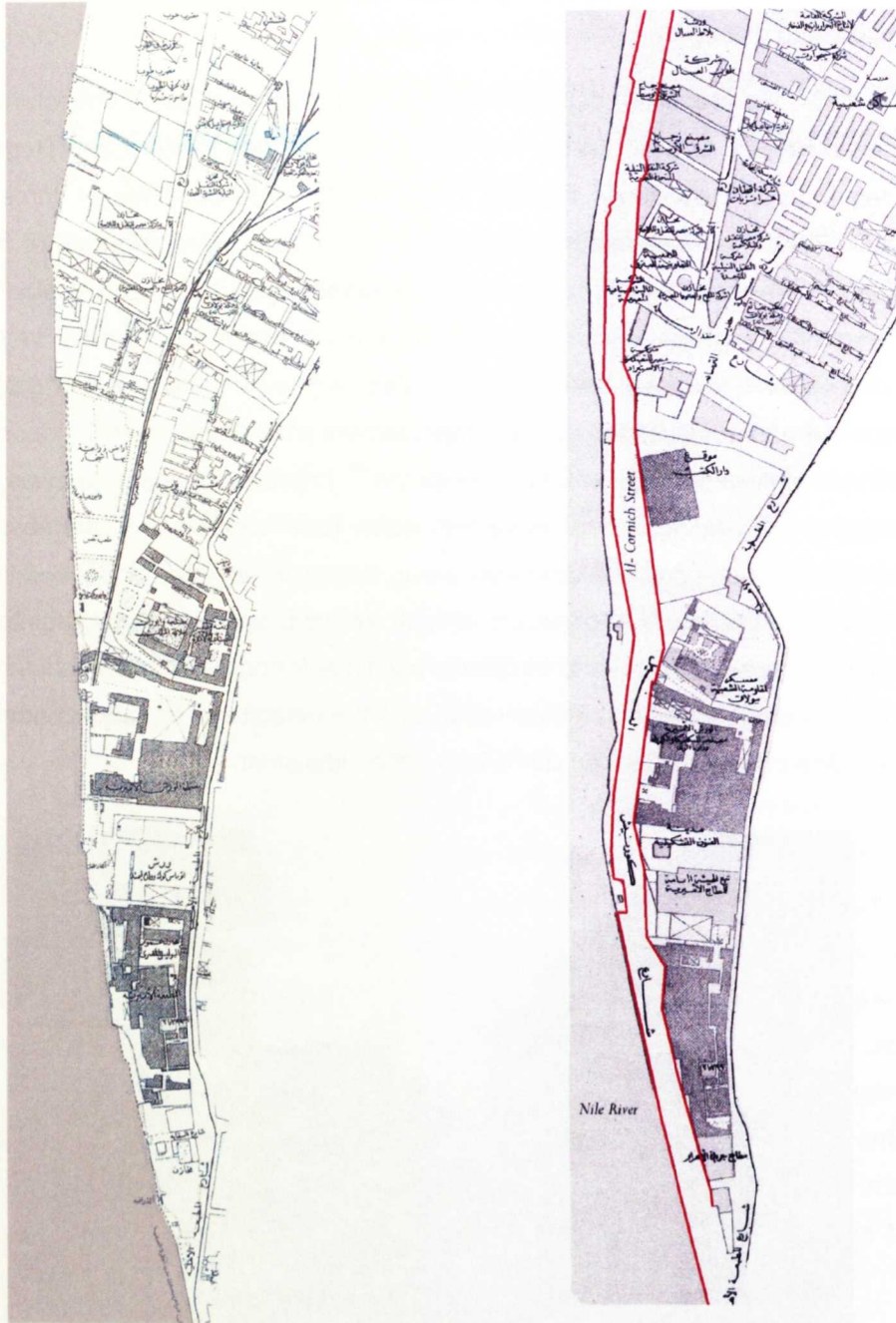


Figure 5.4 Maps of the river frontage of Bulaq.

Left Map: Bulaq river frontage in 1946.

Right Map: Bulaq river frontage in 1958.

The images show the site before and after implementing *al-Corniche* Road, one of the major grand projects attempts during the revolutionary government.

Source: The Cairo survey Department, Giza.

5.3. Remaking attempts in Bulaq during the 1960s

On the 26th of January 1952 fire blazed through the streets of Cairo²⁶. It started from the Opera Square in al-Ismailiyya district in Cairo downtown and reached Shari al-Gomhouriya, Shari Fou'ad al awal, the southern border of Bulaq and Shari *Soliman Pasha*. The fire spread to Bulaq, shubra, al-Abbasiyya and Shari *al-Haram*²⁷. Large sections of the European districts, which had been modernized during Khedive Ismail's rule, were destroyed. Evidence informs us that minor sections of Bulaq were affected by the fire, as well as cinemas, bars, shops, hotels, clubs and houses located on Shari Fou'ad al awal, and many houses had to be evacuated. Due to the extent of the damage, repairs took a long time, with efforts being focused on the central section and main roads. It is apparent that the mission was only partially accomplished, as, for example, houses in several parts of old Bulaq were either not repaired or were superficially cleaned up on the outside²⁸ (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 Cairo fire on the 26th of January 1952. Shari Fou'ad I, bordering Bulaq on the south, and in the second image, Cairo downtown which has been modernized during Ismail rule.
Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1952).

²⁶ Aptly called 'Black Saturday'. Four hundred buildings had been destroyed, at an estimated cost of damage of around twenty-three million pounds. On the day previous to the fire, British military had attacked the governorate building in *Ismailiyya* and killed over 46 policemen and injured many others. On 26 January, people expressed their rage by demonstrating in Cairo, while the king was inviting army and police leaders to celebrate the birth of his son. On the following day, martial law was declared and the government was dismissed. Ali Maher was assigned to form the new government, which declared its readiness to pay compensation for the loss of life and possessions.

²⁷ Kerboeuf, A. (2005) *Re-envisioning Egypt 1919-1952*. Edited by Arthur Goldschmidt. Amy J. Johnson. Barak A. Salmoni. The American University in Cairo Press. p.199.

²⁸ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1952) February 3.

However, during 1960, further attempts were made to end the problems of ashwai'i sections in old districts, including Bulaq, as part of the 1956 general planning scheme of Cairo²⁹. Going beyond any recommendations of the 1956 plan, they took account of the fact that much of the heavy industry that had emerged in Shubra al-Khayma occupied large sections of agricultural land. This situation led the Muhafzah to pay further attention to improving the spatial qualities of the districts of Shubra and Bulaq in order to simultaneously accommodate the new industries and workers³⁰.

To this end, In January 1961, the Muhafzah announced a re-planning scheme to renew Ishash al-Tourguman in Bulaq, as the total number of inhabitants now comprised 3.000 families (Figure 5.6). The Muhafez, *Salah Desuky el-Sheshtawy*³¹, stated that the plan had been prepared by a group of municipal planners and students specializing in social science research. He also announced that the plan was to be discussed with the residents in a public symposium before initiation of the project³². At that time, the Muhafzah revealed that the scheme's target was to build a new section of the district within an area of 16 feddans on the site of *Ramlett Bulaq* section and on a site previously used for railway storage. A schedule, involving several phases of operation, was prepared for relocating people from al-Tourguman. First, a large building, costing approximately 140 thousand EGP and comprising economical housing for around 400 families, would be constructed, and would be built on free standing columns to house the old vegetable market. Second, Ishash of al-Tourguman would subsequently be demolished and cleared for rebuilding. However, this scheme was never put into practice.



Figure 5.6 The announcement published in official newspapers for a re-planning scheme to renew Ishash al-Tourguman in Bulaq.

Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1961) February 4. (see appendix F.1).

²⁹ After the 1956 war, as explained, focus shifted towards the reconstruction of damaged cities located along the Suez Canal, which became a national priority. It was evident that the political instability at that time led the planning authority to provide only basic services in Egypt's towns, including Cairo.

³⁰ Also, several schemes had been discussed for street alignments in *Shubra al-Khayma* and had been implemented on a long term basis.

³¹ Salah Desuky el-Sheshtawy was the Muhafez from the 16th of October 1960 to the 30th of July 1965.

³² Al-Ahram Newspaper (1961) February 4.

Other endeavours to re-plan Maspero, which was attached to Bulaq, were published in 1963. By that time, an additional planning scheme had been completed at an estimated cost of 4 million EGP. Clearly, supporting legislation had confirmed the right of the Muhafzah to expropriate the old buildings to reconstruct new economic housing units for their inhabitants. According to the Muhafzah's official documents, it allocated 250 thousand EGP for the implementation of re-planning projects in several sections of Bulaq, such as *Hay Ma'rouf*, of which 59 thousand EGP was in the form of loans and compensation for the people of the *Hay*. Moreover, a third attempt came to light. In 1964, the Muhafzah submitted a project draft to re-plan *Ishash al-Tourguman*, and Maspero in Bulaq, and *Ishash al-Mohammady*, *al-Assal* and *Gerges* in Shubra al-Khayma. The construction was also announced of new economic housing units and suitable health and educational provision, adjacent to the residents' workplaces and taking into account their social conditions. Proposed sites included al-sharabyya, located at the southern edge of the railway, and al-Sahel and Helwan districts, where many factories were allocated. It was estimated that 50 thousand housing units would be constructed, in phases, over five years, at a total cost of 30 million EGP. However, this scheme, also, was never implemented (Figure 5.7).

5.4. The need for a scheme.

5.4.1. The hundred day plan

'The 1966 planning scheme of Cairo had the double intent of sticking the bits of the city together again and of preventing a bigger catastrophe'³³

Cairo faced a severe breakdown in the infrastructure system in many sections of the city during 1965³⁴. Its streets had been extensively damaged by the collapse of the drainage and sewerage pipes, constructed in 1907, especially in old and physically unmaintained districts³⁵. Such areas, overnight, turned into cesspools, causing damage to historical buildings, monuments, and old houses. Lower ground residents in these areas had to leave their homes for weeks, and some were relocated to emergency shelters³⁶. An emergency plan was set and approved, as an urgent response to this problem. The plan, called the hundred day plan, was put in place to partially repair the damage and was efficiently implemented within the targeted deadline. It was mostly assumed that the sudden breakdown of the sewerage system resulted from the lack of proper maintenance in the older parts of the city. However, we can also presume that other problems, such as the pressure of overpopulation in these areas, had a major impact on the breakdown. In accordance, *Mohamed sa'ad el-Din Zayed*,

³³ UN-HABITAT, *Metropolitan Planning and Management*, p.128.

³⁴ Affected areas included *Misr al-Qadima*, *al-sayyda zaynab*, central Cairo, old Cairo, *shubra* and *Bulaq*.

³⁵ According to Abu-Lughod, the sewerage system was constructed to serve 960.000 inhabitants with a capacity of 48.000 m³/day. In 1960, it drained 500, 000 m³/day, and in 1965, saturation caused its collapse.

³⁶ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1965) March 16.

the Muhafez, reported that *this problem encouraged the state to start assessing the city for preparing a new planning scheme to avoid similar situations in the future*³⁷.

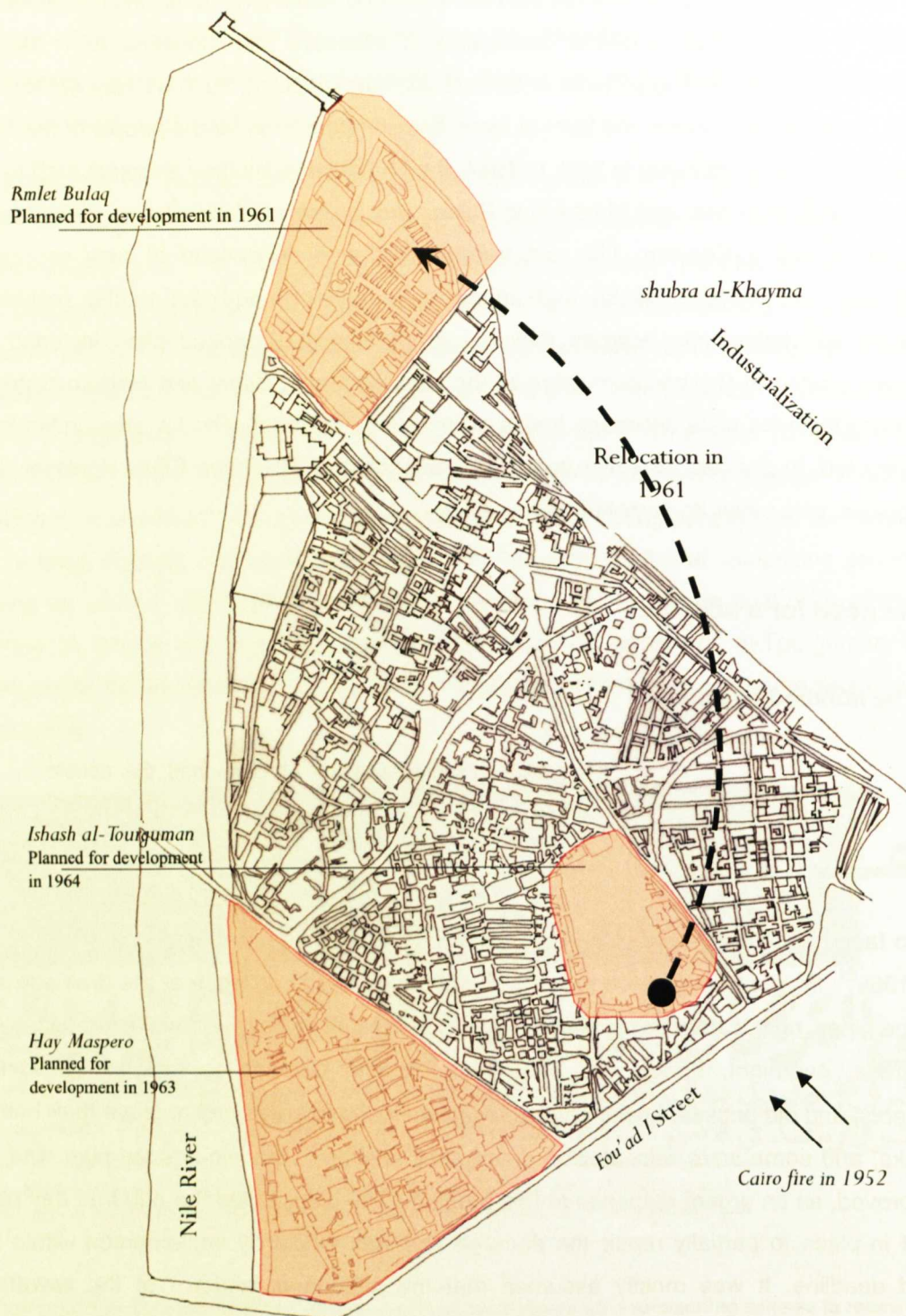


Figure 5.7 Bulaq map during 1960s.

It locates several sites which were identified for development during the 1960s.

Source: By researcher.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

In response to the sewerage failure, during the same year, a planning board of the Greater Cairo High Committee (*al-lagna al-olya le-takhtet al-Qahira al-kubra*)³⁸ was given responsibility for collecting data, and a preliminary report was published the year after. The report's opening statement noted that 'Cairo's urban conditions were considered alarming symptoms of problems affecting the city'³⁹. For example, population densities in certain sectors of the old parts, such as *Bab al-Sharia*, were as high as 4913 inhabitants. The report also revealed the complex degradation in Bulaq. More than 12.000 housing units were described as inapt and unsafe⁴⁰. State officials claimed that 'due to the government's financial difficulties, it is impossible to develop new urban areas around Cairo; our only chance of a solution is to fix problems within Cairo itself'⁴¹. However, the hundred day plan only reinforced the capacity of the drainage network, and was only a temporary sedative in terms of solving the problem⁴².

It is believed that the sewerage breakdown had a significant impact on the state's planning attitudes in Cairo following this incident. It was an alarming consequence of the government's policies of neglect towards the city's internal planning problems. In particular, most of these problems were caused by the government's political or economical actions: of which the outcomes were ignored. For example, examination of the Egyptian Gazette⁴³, before and after the date of the breakage, revealed little evidence of any schemes for improvement of the city's spatial qualities, whereas after 1966, more such announcements were apparent. This difference reflects that the state had begun to devote greater attention towards problems of older parts of Cairo which had been overlooked since the time of the 19th century modernization project⁴⁴.

5.4.2. Improving Bulaq's spatial qualities

During the 1960s, Bulaq's spatial configuration was mainly constituted by its winding and narrow haras and public spaces. Its major busy routes, such as Shari Bulaq al Gadid, functioned as exceptionally active and busy commercial streets, forming a concentration of a variety of houses and mixed use activities. This concentration was due to the location of the Shari in the core of old Bulaq, which witnessed layers of the historical and urban transformation of the district. Apparently, the urban fabric in Bulaq represented complicity between the adjacent physical forms, such as the historical buildings and monuments, which

³⁸ The Greater Cairo High Committee was established in the early 1960s, and formed of technicians and technocrats representing the Ministries of Transport, Finance, Planning, Housing and Local Administration. Representatives from several ministries were, by this process, allowed to present their ideas within an open dialogue and collaboration between effective partners.

³⁹ Report of the center of Cairo High Committee (1965). The Muhafzah, Cairo.

⁴⁰ In April 1966, Cairo municipality announced that 45.78% of buildings in five old sectors in Cairo were unsafe for human habitation. See Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁴¹ Al-Ahram newspaper (1965) July 19.

⁴² It is important to note that the drainage system collapsed once more during 1969, but in different sites of the old sections of Cairo.

⁴³ The Egyptian Gazette or *Al-waqa'a al-massriyya* is an official newspaper founded by *Mohamed Ali* in 1828. It specializes in publishing laws, Republic decrees, Prime Ministerial Decisions delegated by the President of the Republic, Decisions of the Political Parties Committee and provisions of the Supreme Constitutional Court.

⁴⁴ See the Egyptian Gazette monthly volumes from 1960-1969.

form the identity of Bulaq, and the decayed living spaces and tight haras which constituted the physical built form. By the time schemes for Bulaq were drafted, its built environment had been subject to significant levels of fragmentation which increased discontinuity within the urban space. This included the proliferation of illegal construction activities; the neglect of the historical buildings' physical condition; the fragmentation of land use due to densification and intensification; and, most importantly, the increase of unplanned areas housing *Ishash*.

Initial attempts to draft a street alignment scheme for Bulaq were based on the Muhafzah decree no. 399 for the year 1966, approved on the 2nd of January 1967⁴⁵. It was evident that streets in Bulaq, and particularly the *hawari* of its old sections, did not meet minimum standards. The inadequate infrastructure network and very high densities of population, furthermore, put the district in urgent need of spatial improvements, especially after the sewerage network breakdown in 1965. Some official newspapers described how people used wooden boards to build elevated pedestrian paths over the water for access in and out of their homes in the damaged streets in Bulaq and other areas. This was the moment when the Muhafzah decided to pay further attention to the physical qualities of these areas, although it did not offer any long-term or practical solutions to provide the residents with a better quality for their everyday living spaces.

Shortly after Zayed's visit to Bulaq, in January 1966, a planning committee was formed⁴⁶. The committee's task was to propose a convenient solution to the problems in Bulaq. Their final decisions determined that 'no major changes are necessary for the time being, but modifying the most damaged streets could recover the situation'⁴⁷. At that time, the committee arranged to make minor improvements in the street network rather than clearing the whole district for re-planning or even suggesting new land uses. According to Zayed, 'we [members of the planning committee in the Muhafzah] had to recover rather than remove what is already there because of the governorate's lack of finance, and it would be better to direct the state's financial resources towards building new housing units'⁴⁸. Indeed, the Muhafzah's statement ignored any calls from the public for radical improvements to the district rather than fixing the problem on a temporary basis.

Several weeks later, the representative of the Local People's Council of Bulaq (*al-Magless al-Shaby al-Mahaly*) set up a meeting between the district's representatives committee and the head of the planning section to consider the conditions in Bulaq and the substantial need for re-planning⁴⁹. It seemed that he was not optimistic on reaching agreement, as he assumed that this meeting would raise many conflicts between what people needed and what could be granted⁵⁰. On the other hand, the Bulaq representative firmly stressed the necessity for re-

⁴⁵ The Egyptian Gazette, Vol. 73, 14 May 1967, Archival Documents.

⁴⁶ The planning committee was formed of the head of planning section in the Muhafzah, *Mr. Mohamed Hafiz Ali*; a representative from the Ministry of Social Affairs; the Deputy of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities and the Minister of Finance.

⁴⁷ Planning committee Minutes (1966) Department of Housing and Utilities. 19 March. The Muhafzah.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Documents of the Local People's Council committee (1966) 23 April, The Muhafzah.

⁵⁰ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1966) April 26.

planning the district and the suffering in the district caused by high density of population and lack of essential services. He also mentioned that additional damage had been caused by what he called *the urban attack* of the industrial neighbouring district of *shubra*. He stated that:

This is our golden chance to solve our problems rather than proposing amendments, streets are very narrow, we are overcrowded, our homes are collapsing and there is an inadequate water supply⁵¹.

The planning committee was still unsure of the feasibility of implementing major improvements to streets and housing threatened with collapse. The committee suggested that the damage caused by the infrastructure breakdown was a good opportunity to address infrastructure problems, and thus, a chance to widen the most damaged streets, such as Shari al-Sabtiyya and Shari Bulaq al-Gadid. They said that:

'Bulaq's streets act like a spider network, where you never know where it starts or ends. It is very difficult for cars to access.... Also, the narrowness of the streets caused the creation of *Ishash*, which are unhealthy environments is a major growing problem⁵².

The plan was eventually finalized and approved for implementation by the Deputy of Housing and Public Utilities and the Muhafez⁵³. It is significant that the new scheme also suggested the need for new street names and plot numbering within the proposed modified street network, while inner parts of each zone would keep their previous names

5.5. Bulaq street alignment scheme: Plan 2020

5.5.1. The street network

The Bulaq street alignment plan, alternatively named plan 2020⁵⁴, was published according to Decree no. 4/1967⁵⁵. It concerned re-planning the urban area bounded by Shari al-Sabtiyya, al-Galaa, Yuliya and Shari al-Corniche⁵⁶. Regulation of several aspects of circulation, such as the street intersections, widths, trees and names, was recommended (Figure 5.8). However, under review, major amendments to the network and street alignment were made in the plan before it was formalized and published by the planning sub-committee in 1967⁵⁷.

Initially, the plan was launched to solve the district's main problems of overpopulation, deterioration and the unavoidable decline of mixed land use. The hundred day plan of Cairo

⁵¹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1966) July 14.

⁵² Minutes of the Muhafzah (1966) Documents of The Local People's Council. 19 March. The Muhafzah.

⁵³ Planning committee minutes (1966) 12 December. The Muhafzah.

⁵⁴ The original drawings of the scheme held this handwritten title. Besides, this phrasing was mentioned during an interview with the head of approved projects, a sub-section of the planning department at the Muhafzah in August 2009.

⁵⁵ The Egyptian Gazette (1967) Vol. 73, 14 May. Archival Documents.

⁵⁶ Officially, the planning scheme proposed 're-planning' a bounded area of the district, while the plan lacked suggestions for zoning or land use.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the planning committee (1966). The sub-committee was formed of six members as follows: Head of planning projects, Deputy Head of urban planning section, Head of the urban planning department, Deputy of the general manager of planning and reconstruction, Head of the planning and reconstruction section and, finally, Deputy of Engineering Affairs.

had previously stressed the need for further measures to deal with infected districts. However, the most notable feature of the plan 2020 was the major amendments to the districts' streets. While main roads bordering Bulaq were to be widened, an inner circulation node had been positioned in the centre of Bulaq to allow two main streets to radiate from it. First, the existing diagonal street, named Bulaq al-Gadid, was to be extended to 30 meters. Second, a new diagonal 50 meter wide street was to cut through the existing old fabric and run transversely from this node to a junction with the Shari Yuliya, on the southern border of Bulaq. Redirecting Shari al-Sabtiyya was another of the major amendments proposed to Bulaq's street circulation. This Shari was to be shifted towards the northern edge of the district, which would allow for creating a series of nodes of open space. The width of both streets was to be 50 meters, while there would be a lower hierarchy of secondary streets on both sides of the new diagonal one (Figure 5.9).

The new circulation system was aimed at improving the street quality inside the district. The available drawings show how plan 2020 intended to 'open blocked streets as far as possible, and to allow the district to breath fresh air'⁵⁸. *Abu-Nasser*, the Minister of Housing and Public Utilities suggested that 'a formal and classical road circulation could better solve Bulaq's problems of narrow and blocked lanes'⁵⁹. To that end, axial rather than symmetrical streets were a major feature of the scheme. However, main streets such as Shari Shanan and Shari Bulaq al-Gadid were to maintain their original positions, but were to be widened. In addition, the plan designated several spaces for providing a sense of clustering, especially within the section close to Shari al-Corniche.

It was clear that an important objective of the plan was to establish an efficient grid pattern of linear roads. This classical planning input was specifically instigated by the planning committee. By 1960, governmental institutions in Cairo, including planning, still had not recovered from or changed planning practices of the British occupation and these imported practices still exerted an influence⁶⁰. For instance, Njoh asserts that far-reaching implications of colonial planning policies and practices in Cameroon still affected policies for re-planning and urban spatial structure developments there until very recently⁶¹. He wrote that:

'European colonial authorities are, however, credited with the introduction of a completely new version of planning—one that is heavily influenced by European culture, beliefs, ideology, and socio-political thought processes. This version of planning was, therefore, alien to Africa. Perhaps, more noteworthy, is the fact that urban planning was employed by European colonial authorities as a tool for the promotion of colonial/imperial development objectives'⁶².

In fact, other parts of Cairo were subjected to similar planning proposals, recommendations, and actions. For example, al-Sharrabyya district, located in old Cairo, had

⁵⁸ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1967) *Bulaq Abul Ela is breathing fresh air*. 14 January.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ During the British occupation in Egypt, foreigners held many of the higher administrative jobs, or alternatively, if they were Egyptians, they had been educated abroad.

⁶¹ Njoh, A. (2002) *Development Implications of colonial land and human settlement schemes in Cameroon*. Habitat International, 26, 399 - 415.

⁶² *Ibid.*

been earmarked for similar re-planning schemes. The same volume of the Egyptian Gazette announced that the Muhafzah had approved a revised street alignment under decree 5/1967, which seemed no different from the proposed concept in plan 2020. Regulating the streets, thus, was not an incidental feature of the plan: as it had been recognized since the emergence of planning development in Cairo⁶³. On the other hand, the planning committee was further concerned with the negative experience of circulation through the district. They claimed that the new fifty meter road would open up a new artery inside the impenetrable urban tissue of the district. On behalf of the committee, Abu Nasser asserted that:

'The majority of ideas were focused on generating four major connected wide roads which would enhance the flow of traffic in the district, and cut through its internal sophisticated urban fabric which had obstructed the district for hundreds of years, until it had reached a non reversible situation'⁶⁴.

However, the head of the planning committee expressed his view that the problem was a natural phenomenon that any such city can face during its urban growth. He noted that:

'Normally, streets of Cairo are very narrow, and buildings are located on their sides. This situation restricts the feasibility of widening these roads, but changes and modifications can be achieved while monitoring the growth of the city...Opening wide roads, on the other hand, will attract vehicles to use alternative routes which will reduce and divert the traffic congestion from the centre of the city'⁶⁵.

However, the grid pattern of the road circulation offered an easy definition of space and form. The formation of perpendicular intersections could generate regular subdivisions and realistic implementation of the 1962 building regulations. One month later, the same newspaper, announced the completion of another approved scheme to re-plan eastern Cairo districts, this time according to decree no. 38 /1967. It was clear that Abu-Nasser was clever enough to link and explain how the new streets could afford these districts an up to date new drainage and sewerage system to entirely modify an infrastructure network which had expired many years ago. To this end, all street alignment schemes were justified under the umbrella of saving the historical buildings and monuments in the district, and thus were constituted as deriving from a national concern for conservation of Egypt's history.

⁶³ One month later, the same newspaper announced the completion of an approved scheme to re-plan eastern Cairo districts according to decree no. 38 /1967.

⁶⁴ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1967) January 14.

⁶⁵ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1967) January 29.

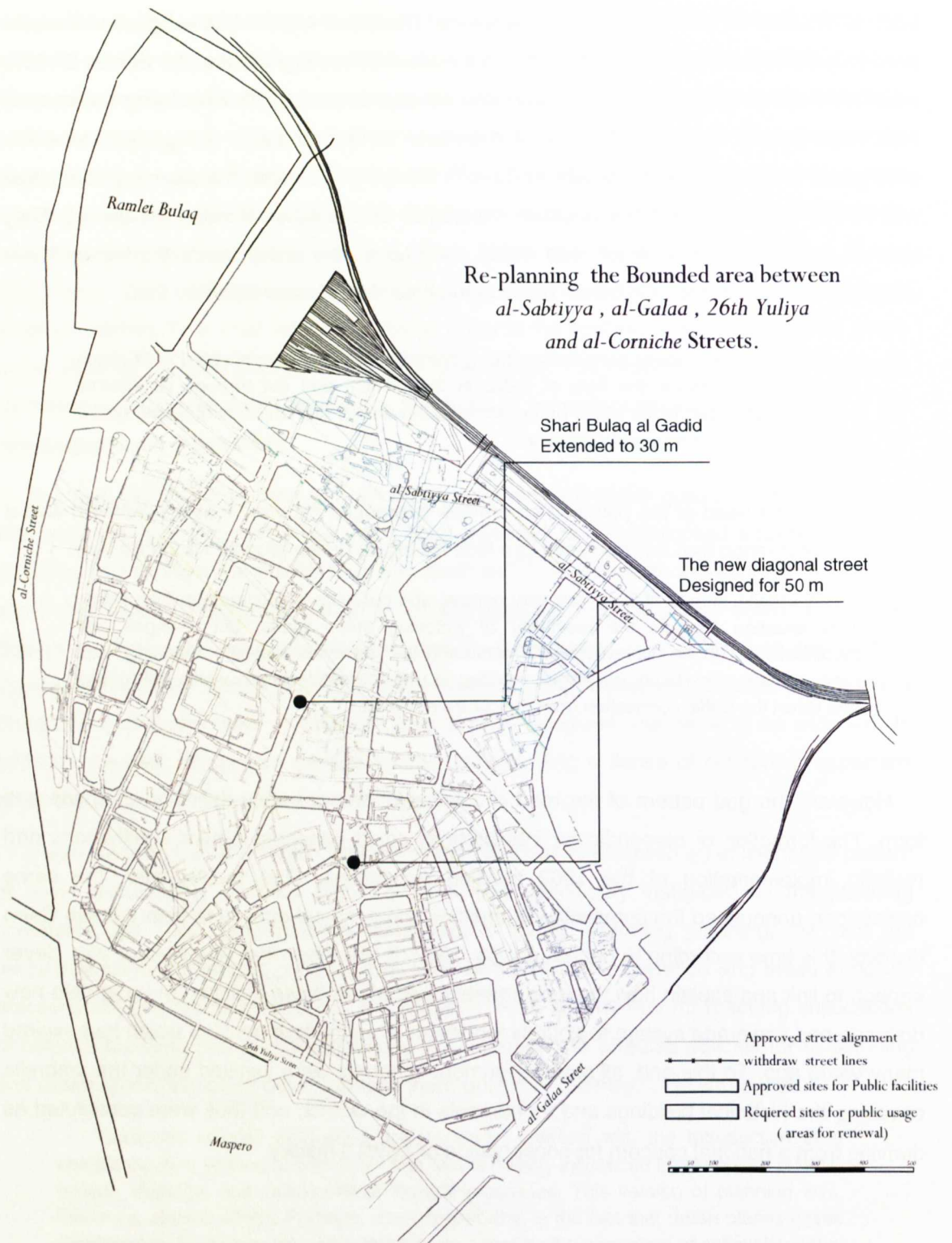


Figure 5.8 Bulaq street alignment scheme in 1966.
 Source: the section of Certified projects, the Muhafzah.
 (Redrawn from the original map by researcher - See Appendix C.1 and D.1)



Figure 5.9 Detail of the new proposed diagonal street in plan 2020 of Bulaq.
Source: Department of certified projects, the Muhafzah.

5.5.2. Control of expropriation

While the main objective of plan 2020 was to regulate the streets of Bulaq, it seems that there was public antagonism towards its ambitions. After presenting the plan to the local council, the Bulaq representative reported that 'it seems that the plan is concerned with designing efficient high speed traffic circulation rather than serving local residential needs'⁶⁶. The sub-committee explained during the meeting how the new forms and widths of the streets would 'offer the district a new image of wide streets and higher buildings'⁶⁷. This declaration suggested that the plan was in full compliance with planning legislation concerned with expropriation and with building regulations⁶⁸. Building regulations, by that time, determined that the special board of the planning section 'had full rights to withdraw any previous or

⁶⁶ Minutes of the planning committee (1966) Meeting no. 9, November. The Department of Housing and Utilities. The Muhafzah.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ I am referring to law 27 for year 1956 on the expropriation of districts for re-planning, and presidential decree 45 for year 1962 on building regulations. Both will be explained and linked to the planning scheme in chapter nine.

ongoing construction permits or to revise them in accordance with the street alignment'⁶⁹. Such 'constructive regulations', as Zayed stated, 'were now being implemented at the right time and in the exact situation'⁷⁰. It was planned that all lands and properties located in the modified street zones would be expropriated by law; thus, planning decisions were made 'with freedom', as recommended by Abu-Nasser⁷¹. However, it seems apparent that these statements suggest that planning decisions were made with minimal consideration of the existing problems⁷².

To facilitate this process, it was decided that a detailed record of lands and buildings designated for expropriation should be prepared. Law no 27 /1956 on expropriation actions proclaimed the legitimacy of bylaw policies on expropriating properties in districts for re-planning purposes. This action, on the other hand, had to gain official approval of the cabinet. Accordingly, the planning section of the Muhafzah formed a surveying committee comprised of the planning section deputy, a representative member of the local administration and an accountant to prepare a record of all properties, buildings and facilities affected by the plan.

However, Plan 2020 shows us how the proposals for the diagonal road involved authorizing the clearing and expropriating of many historical Hawari and Durub. These areas included *Shari al-Gabbara*, *Darb nassr*, and *Darb Farag*, and many religious buildings such as, *Zawyat Mamsytta*, *Zawyat Soliman al-Haggagy*, *al-Sheik Farag* mosque, and most striking, was the inclusion of the historic religious building of the primary and *al-Amiri* schools of *al-Sultan Abul Ela*. All constructions within the bold and black lines on the detailed map were surveyed and added to the list. According to the expropriation law of 1954 and 1956, these lands were to be legally cleared for re-planning purposes for the public interest.

5.5.3. Lack of land-use proposals

Evidence of an extreme shortage of housing was found in and around the industrial areas in Cairo. As mentioned earlier, shubra al-Khayma was one of the major industrial poles at that time. Workers were encouraged to work and live in these areas, where, by that time, industrial building outstripped the construction of housing. Due to the shortage of low-income housing, a new sense of urgency evolved in the area of public responsibility. This situation forced the government to reconsider its policies towards housing supply. New policies were approved for the housing market, involving different government agencies, and suppliers. Such policies included giving priority to the clearance of slums and deteriorated areas and replacing them with housing projects. The provision of subsidies by cooperative organizations and the private sector to make housing affordable was also a requirement. To that end, initiatives to prioritize

⁶⁹ See clause no. 9 of the Presidential decree No. 45 for year 1962, Published in *al-Garyda al-Rasmiyya* newspaper in February 1962, vol. 31.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the planning committee (1966) Meeting no. 11, November. The Department of Housing and Utilities. The Muhafzah.

⁷¹ *Al-Ahram Newspaper* (1967) February 4.

⁷² The legislative framework of the scheme will be discussed in detail in chapter nine.

the design of enhanced urban spaces in Bulaq, rather than proposing an entire change in existing land use, were clearly identified in the Minister's interview. His statement was in line with Ahmed Zaki's idea from 1962. The minister said that:

'we are not concerned with the people's different daily practices, or even their attitudes to their living traditions; this is something that we cannot force them to change, but what we can do is to ease the way to realizing that there is a better life waiting for them'⁷³.

In addition, Khairy described the broader ideology behind the priority given to regulation of streets in old districts of Cairo, noting that:

This plan was articulated through structuring options in which the road system acted in a dominant role. New and still hidden economic and political tendencies were expressed by the plan. Since there was great disillusion with the experience of the 'socialist' development, a greater freedom was to be granted to the private sector⁷⁴.

This probably explains the importance accorded by the plan to the street networks, as these would have increased the land value in many areas. However, proposing new land uses would have decreased the district's land values. This action had two main objectives: the removal of industrial activities, workshops and warehouses to outside the district, and solving the housing shortage. This appeared to be a good opportunity to enable the public and private sectors to provide housing units, to cover the housing shortage in Cairo. Hanna explains that since 1952, most of the housing supply was in the hands of the private sector, which was motivated by profit and not by providing low-cost housing for the poor. The private sector only catered for the middle- and high- income groups, usually in the form of houses or furnished apartments for rent. Construction of low-cost housing was in the hands of the public sector; however, supply could never satisfy the demand⁷⁵.

In addition, in terms of regulating the disorganized urban tissue, the nature of land plots in Bulaq had significantly influenced the planning decisions on improving the district. The district's actual road widths varied between 3 meters in crowded sections and a maximum of 10-15 metres on main arteries. It seemed that any proposal to construct large housing projects here would definitely be a non-starter. The compact tissue of the urban fabric had created an entangled pattern of land plots served by an impervious network of hawari and narrow streets which would never have coped with any alterations or offered reasonable sites for new construction. This could also explain why the planning committee was so enthusiastic about the initiatives proposed by the plan. On the other hand, improving the land use was essential to the district's future urban growth and at the same time there was a need 'to clear away the negative results of industrialization', as the planning committee explained⁷⁶.

⁷³ Al-Ahram newspaper (1967) January 3.

⁷⁴ Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 124.

⁷⁵ Abu Lughod, *Cairo*.

⁷⁶ Al- Akbar Newspaper (1967) March 29. Note that similar actions have been also planned for shubra al-Khayma and Helwan, the two major industrial poles in Cairo established during the revolution government.

The first actual activity to regulate the roads of Bulaq was the opening of Shari al- Cornish in Cairo in 1957: a development that involved Bulaq's Nile frontage. According to Khairy, 'the focus of the government was on image building projects and the political urban scene'⁷⁷. That was to be the ethos of government policy during the period of the five year plan from 1952-1957. In March 1967 the Muhafez announced that:

'The new plan would create many investment opportunities in Bulaq; it is now the responsibility of the government to engage as many public and private housing companies to start the move. This could have never been possible without re-planning the district. The fact that Bulaq was a good example of miserable narrow haras of irregular street lines had always caused investors to run away'⁷⁸.

In terms of implementation actions, describing in clockwise order, it was proposed in plan 2020 that *Sidi abdel Gawad* square should be transformed into a central node, while other modified streets would radiate from it. The new configuration of the square was to be roughly aligned with and defined by the amended street lines. Also, Shari *Wabour al-Nour* had been widened and all public utilities had been cleared, including *al-sheikh sa'ed* square, and the mosque. The triangular land facing the head of *Sidi abdel Gawad* square was to provide a decent public open space. Both sides edging *Shari Seket hadid al-Hokouma al-masriyya* also retained their original width, while building lines had been regulated; however, the diverted part of the road did not fit well in the alignment sequence. The lower section, on the opposite side of the square, also formed an inconvenient space, slicing the existing tissue into two enlarged streets: the fifty meter diagonal road and the enlarged *Bulaq al-Gadid* road, and creating triangular and rectangular zones (Figure 5.10).

Regulating the land plots was intended to create proper sites for construction. Encouraging private sector companies to establish profitable housing projects in Bulaq, definitely, was a priority. The improvement of road circulation can thus be seen as a by-product of the objective to plan neat plot zones for construction. Although the main heading⁷⁹ of plan 2020 indicates that the plan is devoted to re-planning the road network, it was actually a plan for re-zoning the district⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment* , p. 135.

⁷⁸ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1967) March 27.

⁷⁹ Plan 2020's title was called 'Re-planning the area bounded by al-Sabtlyya, al-Gala , 26th of Yulyia and al-Cornish streets'.

⁸⁰ I am saying this because when I visited the Cairo Governorate during summer 2009, I was searching for the 'planning scheme of Bulaq in 1967'. The head of planning section kept correcting me, constantly telling me that *this is a street alignment plan only; it is not a planning scheme*. She explained to me that *this plan did not propose any land-uses for the district; it only approved amendments to the road network, which means that it's not a planning scheme*.

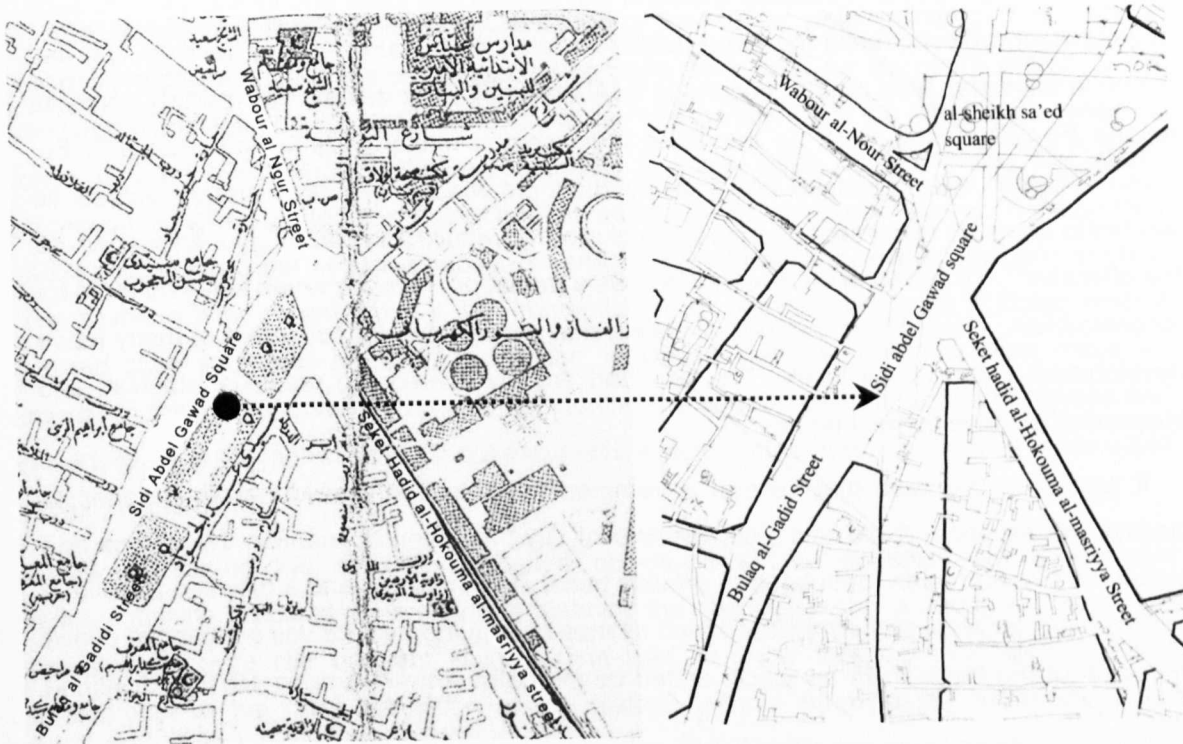


Figure 5.10 Regulation of Bulaq's central node in plan 2020, 1966.
Source: The Survey Department and Planning Department, the Muhafzah.

5.6. Work stops in 1967

Within the general 1966 planning scheme for Cairo, Bulaq's major problems had failed to be tackled. Plan 2020 had no chance of being effectively implemented, although the institutional and legislative structure, in addition to the private agencies in charge of handling such management programs already existed. It seemed that the plan failed to suggest practical solutions for solving the district's problems of poverty and deterioration. A week after the plan was published, the Bulaq local council representative presented an appeal signed by more than 1500 Bulaqi residents, announcing their 'resentment and frustration at what had been determined and planned for Bulaq'⁸¹. Several interviews had been conducted with residents in Bulaq, most of whom resisted the idea of abandoning their homes or properties to allow for the implementation of the plan⁸².

Although the re-planning guidelines were finally set for Bulaq and a proper budget was allocated for the plan's operation, practical implementation was further suspended for political reasons⁸³. The 1967 war served a major blow to Arab self confidence, and had a severe

⁸¹ al-Gomhouryya Newspaper (1967) *Help us*, 14 January.

⁸² This fact was evident through reviewing several interviews conducted with the Bulaqi residents published in newspapers.

⁸³ This was the year of the 1967 War or *al-Naksah* (The Setback or the Defeat), as the Arabs call it. In May 1967, Egypt and Syria took a number of steps which led Israel to believe that an Arab attack was imminent. Israel

effect on all planning developments in Cairo. Financially, funds were reduced, and support offered by the government became limited. It can be said that lower priority was given to such development projects, while the state turned its attention towards solving conflicts that had arisen in the wider Arab region. According to Aboul-Enein, 'the catastrophic military setbacks for the Egyptian army, such as the 1967 War, were a matter of great importance'⁸⁴. For Heikal, Nasser was obsessed with making the right response to this military defeat; he wanted to leave his successor enough political room to rebuild and place Egypt once again on the offensive⁸⁵. To describe the Six Day War as a defeat or *Hazimah* would leave no room for reconstruction. Thus, it was the idea of defeat that caused the abandonment of many future development plans on all levels. The war had entirely altered the previous situation, and suspended all development tasks.

It was even the case that several government officials from the Muhafzah declined to discuss the situation of old and poor districts of city⁸⁶ or even to mention the visions and measures that had been formulated to provide better life conditions and a dignified free life in healthy districts. Most of them justified their silence by arguing that 'no voice must rise above the voice of the battle'⁸⁷. In an article edited by journalist Ahmed Amir in 1970, he claimed that:

'I believe that the broader meaning of the battle is better understood in this form. In this sense, our battle is a battle against underdevelopment, which is part of our fight against our enemy. The state declared that the main constructs of a modern successful nation are technology and education, thus, the Egyptians are the main players in this battle'⁸⁸.

Therefore, only minor actions were implemented by the Muhafzah, such as re-naming some streets in the district. For example, in May 1965, the Muhafzah approved the change of name of one of the hawari in Bulaq from haret *al-awlaem* to haret *Ibrahim al-Mahalwy*. the name of the first inhabitant of this hara⁸⁹.

launched a pre-emptive strike against Egypt on June 5, 1967 and captured the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. This war ended on June 10 and Israel destroyed most of Egypt's air force on the ground. The military defeat of 1967 showed a lack of coordination among Arab states, Arab land was lost, the common enemy was victorious. Shortly after the defeat, Nasser resigned, but thousands of Cairenes marched in his support. For the next three years, Nasser did his best to rebuild the Egyptian army and he almost succeeded.

⁸⁴ Aboul-Enein, Y. (2005) *The Heikal Papers: A Discourse on Politics and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser*. Strategic Insights, Vol. IV. Issue 4. (on line journal) found at <http://www.nps.edu/Academics/centers/ccp/publications/OnlineJournal/2005/Apr/aboul-eneinApr05.html>

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Ahmad Amir in al-Ahram al-Iktisadi Magazine mentioned that sometimes they refer to old and poor districts as traditional or popular districts or sometimes as national districts.

⁸⁷ al-Ahram al-Iktisadi magazine (1970) 1 May, p. 30.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Records from Cairo Governorate year book (1960-1968).

5.6. Conclusion: Determining spatial quality in Bulaq

The state's planning practices in Cairo during the 1950s were puzzling. The political instability and the call for the establishment of Cairo as a base for economic development rendered planning improvements to the city a very low priority. Only the most basic services, such as schools and hospitals, were supplied or even given consideration. The street alignment scheme drafted for Bulaq offered inconvenient solutions. Mainly, it suggested radical solutions to the negative impact caused by industrialization, especially from Shubra. The governor later asserted that it was impractical to fix planning problems in Bulaq while it housed such enormous numbers of families. However, some suggestions were made for improving the spatial qualities through re-planning the streets, clearing land and houses and providing areas for public facilities; but there was a lack of clear vision as to how these could be fully implemented.

By comparing the officially published objectives of the scheme with government representatives' ambitions concerning re-planning the district, we can understand that in most cases there were two different visions. One was to show that the plan was a simple amendment to the road circulation of the district, without harming the existence of the inhabitants. The other was the intention to clear the district without suggesting alternative land uses. The idea was to stimulate awareness among the residents of the benefits of implementing the scheme, and how it would offer them a better living environment. Nevertheless, it was later realized that once private housing had been built, there would be no possibility of their return.

CHAPTER SIX

BULAQ ABUL EIa

PLANNING SCHEME OF 1978

'Old districts in Cairo are suffering from miserable living and planning conditions which are reflected in the city's representation in a negative image; the city must be renewed in accordance with its location and future expansion, it's time now to Rejuvenate Cairo'¹.

'In Bulaq, we want to create an attractive touristic and administrative district which contains luxury residential tower blocks, tourist hotels, multi storey car-parks and a conference centre, all mixed in with open spaces and green areas'².

'This project is a professional practical solution to end the collapse of houses and deterioration in Cairo whereby all old areas will be cleared and people will be relocated'³.

¹ Interview with *Hasaballah al-Kafrawy*, the Minister of Construction and New Communities published in *al-Ahram* newspaper, May 19, 1979.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

6.0. Cairo's Construction Boom and Re-building a Modern Capital

The years between 1967 and 1974 witnessed several major political events and a shift of political power which had some impact on planning practices in Cairo. In 1970, Anwar Sadat succeeded Nasser and took charge of ruling Egypt from that date. After the October 1973 war, political and economic settings within Egypt had been radically transformed. To take advantage of the new situation, Sadat announced that Egypt would move into a new era of economic reform and open door policies. To that end, he introduced the October Working Paper in 1974 which articulated his goals for the modernization of Egypt, outlining what he called *post-war economic recovery*, and declaring that the open door policy named *Infitah* was capable of establishing 'an economic development at rates that would surpass any that had been achieved before ... an open economic policy that will guarantee all the funding needed for development'⁴. In response, the government introduced a raft of legislation and policies to attract investors and to establish profitable projects which were to boost the Egyptian economy through two parallel approaches: the 'centralization of planning', and the 'decentralization of implementation'⁵.

The state's strategies in this sense outlined the procedures and guidelines for its vision of Egypt's development and its priorities emphasized the need to focus on every aspect of the city's modernization. Construction projects became central to these strategies through the call for the creation of attractive new destinations to add fresh impetus to the tourist industry and to attract global investment in Egypt. In this sense, Soliman pointed out that during the open door policy era, or *Infitah*, Egypt witnessed many shifts in all aspects of life⁶. For the first time, the country had faced a type of commercialism which also had negative socio-economic implications for the nation. For example, Rivlin wrote that 'the visible disparity of wealth between the rich and the poor has grown since the liberalization of the economy began, giving rise to social tensions'⁷. On a related theme, Ghannam argues that the state's vision of supporting the *Infitah* policies and establishing a modern capital city were expressed in the discourse of urban planning⁸. However, this vision carried twofold aims: first, for Cairo's ancient sites to play an active role in attracting tourists and foreign investment, and for individual historical landmarks such as the pyramids to become part of this strategy. In the eyes of the state, tourism promoted *Infitah*, although this involved not only building hotels and high-rise buildings, but also the overall development of the

⁴ Sadat, A. (1974) *The October working paper*.

⁵ Hirst, D. and I. Beeson (1981) *Sadat*. London, Faber. p.93. It is also important to note that The Egyptian economy during the 1970s, as a result, had changed course from production to various forms of unproductive trade (import/export). This was exemplified by the state's heavy reliance on the income of Egyptian migrant workers, oil exports, tolls from the reopened Suez Canal and tourism. This increased the state's financial resources, but, on the other hand, the state's 'Laissez-Faire' attitude became more prominent due to the increase in population.

⁶ Soliman, A. (2007) *Urban Informality in Egyptian Cities: Coping with Diversity*. Fourth Urban Research Symposium. Cairo. Egypt: 1- 48.

⁷ Rivlin, P. (1985) *The dynamics of economic policy making in Egypt*. New York, Praeger. p. 30.

⁸ Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*, p. 38.

surrounding built environment⁹. Second, was the attempt to eradicate less desirable parts of the city, which were at odds with the representation of Cairo in a modern image.

Bulaq was the first district designated for implementation of the state's strategic ambitions for improving the physical quality in old districts¹⁰. Although the plan was marked by collaboration of several entities, it was also characterised by an alliance between private sector representatives and designers, which was approved by the state politicians. The seeds of the idea of improving the spatial qualities of Bulaq appeared when a group of local public/private sector firms highlighted the significance of the district's location, and were impressed by the series of high-rise buildings constructed along the riverside of other districts such as Zamalek and Maadi¹¹. Therefore, it was clear that such pressures drove the Muhafzah to configure a similar model for a modern CBD in Bulaq.

In this section, an additional planning scheme for Bulaq, drafted in 1978 as part of a further attempt by the planning authority to remake the district, will be discussed. I will argue that the new master plan was prepared and drafted on the basis of the state's ambitions to introduce a modern global image in Bulaq. To that end, with the Muhafzah claiming that Bulaq stood against this image, the Muhafzah devoted its efforts to improving its spatial qualities¹². My main concern in this chapter is to explain how certain economic visions on the part of the state, and consequently the planning authority, acted as a driving force behind the pursuit of a particular type of spatial quality, and how the implementation of the plan, although limited, adversely affected the district's spatial settings. It will be noted that leading state officials observed that the removal of the run-down district was a quite separate issue from the intentions to dislocate the Bulaqis: who were believed to occupy valuable lands and were accused of disfiguring the modern image of Cairo which the state intended to present to western spectators¹³.

I also intend to add a brief note on the Ishash al-Tourguman scheme, which will involve introducing an additional angle to the account of Bulaq during the late 1970s. I realize that the attempts to develop al-Tourguman could not be separated from the broader idea of re-planning Bulaq, but indeed, complement the account of Bulaq's remaking. Therefore, I suggest that the plan was drafted, in the first instance, as an explorative plan; to act only as a comprehensive guide for re-planning while the main aim was to clear certain sections of the district for the implementation of the state's economic agenda. Accordingly, Bulaq's plan was drafted by a team of planners from the planning department of the Muhafzah. It was claimed that it had been prepared without adequate attention to the type of information needed to make complex decisions involving the simultaneous clearance and re-planning of the district.

⁹ Hirst and Beeson, *Sadat*, p. 205.

¹⁰ *al-Ahram* (1979), May 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Interview with the Muhafzah published in *al-Ahram* newspaper, May 19, 1979.

¹³ Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*, p. 31.

6.2. What was already there?

After the 1967 defeat, construction activities of major government housing projects were suspended. Another consequence was the extension of slum areas in Cairo to include a wider range of housing forms, such as *Masken al-iewaa al-igel* (the government's emergency shelters)¹⁴, old and neglected areas which contained canvas huts built on state properties¹⁵. On the other hand, a steep rise in population in many old districts in Cairo was recorded. For example, the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) explained that al-Gamaliyya district, located in Islamic Cairo, was inhabited by 150,873 people in 1967, and by 1970 its population had reached 152,001¹⁶. Also, in Shubra, population was estimated at 412,312 people in 1967, but had reached 501,500 three years later. Evidently, Bulaq was experiencing chronic overcrowding in most of its sections, which caused cumulative problems that have never been addressed. On the basis of these published figures, it is true to say that the majority of families were crammed into homes that were 'only corners of single rooms that accommodate all the functions of the household members'¹⁷. Gamal Hamdan, an Egyptian historian, commented that:

'the huge physical, poor and crowded bulk of Bulaq, which seems today to be completely saturated and ready for major surgery to clear the deteriorated Ishash, is the only reserve and natural balance to central Cairo's future extension'¹⁸.

In 1970, a significant social study was conducted in Bulaq by the National Centre for Criminal and Social Research (NCCSR). The opening statement of the report stated that :

Bulaq is a clear example of the phenomenon of cultural isolation, and by this we mean that some community members live in relative isolation compared with other community members. Their personal perception and awareness towards their existence... in the light of their traditions, social attitudes and financial level is different from others. They are characterised by a special nature which distinguishes them from others and influences their relations with others. This isolation does not refer to economic or geographical differences, as it is found equally within the vicinity of special types of cultural groups in rural and urban areas But still we can see in Cairo some citizens who still live in this kind of apparent cultural isolation'¹⁹.

The study concluded that Bulaq was facing serious social problems and that 'the district had become a hotbed of many crimes and especially drug trafficking; in addition, rates of disabled²⁰ people in Bulaq, which had reached 7.6 percent, were much higher than in any

¹⁴ These are settlements built by the government to shelter homeless people whose houses had collapsed or were seriously damaged. These were transitional housing systems for those awaiting allocation of housing in new residential settlements.

¹⁵ United Nations report (1974). The report stated that continuous migration towards urban areas involved more considerations than just economic aspects; however, *the desire for better educational opportunities and access to public utilities, health and welfare services was a priority.*

¹⁶ Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics CAPMAS (1974).

¹⁷ Rugh, A. (1979) *Coping with poverty in a Cairo community*. The American University of Cairo Press, p. 47.

¹⁸ al-Ahram al-Iktisadi Magazine, September 1970, p. 33.

¹⁹ The National Centre for Criminal and Social Research NCCSR report (1970). The report estimated that the average density of population in Bulaq was 74823.3 person/ km² while the population density in Cairo was 15633.9 persons/ km².

²⁰ According to the report's terminology, 'disability' refers to blind, deaf and dumb persons, a person who has lost one of his eyes and people who have lost one or both of their hands or legs.

other areas²¹. On the other hand, the water supply was totally inadequate, as 67 percent of houses were not supplied with water pipes, while only 6 percent had their own water tap. However, al-Tourguman was an even worse case. Figures showed that 86 percent of the houses had no water supply, 10 percent had one water tap, and only 4 percent of the houses were provided with water pipes²². The limited access to mains water in the district was due to lack of affordability. The fact that the houses were very old, small in size, and that there was little basic infrastructure in the district compounded the problem²³.

Surprisingly, in 1971, further census figures, published in an official report, highlighted the occurrence of an extraordinary phenomenon in some old districts in Cairo, specifically in al-Azbakiyya, Bab Al-Shariyya, Kasr al Nile and Bulaq. The report stated that 'while Cairo is suffering a high rate of influx of migrants and increase in population, specific districts are recording a decline in their population rates'²⁴. The report concluded that this phenomenon was caused by the increasing numbers of skilled workers who, having improved their living standards over time, instantly abandoned these districts in a search for healthier living places²⁵. On a practical level, it is worth noting that the *Ishash* of Bulaq were unofficial homes built on seized *Hikr* lands and street widths were only between 2-4 meters to allow larger portions of land for the construction of *Ishash* (Figure 6.1). Unpredictably, it turned out that other administrative sections in Bulaq became commonly known as *Ishash*²⁶. In this scene, Rugh described that:

'There is an overall sameness to its [Bulaq] physical appearance that is different from other quarters of the city. Unpaved streets, too narrow for any but the most intrepid of delivery truck drivers, wind in maze-like profusion allowing access only by foot in most places... Population pressure of the last few decades has stimulated yet another kind of construction that frosts the rooftops of Bulaq: small shacks banged together from bits and pieces of wood scavenged from numerous sources and decked with tin roofs that attract the heat in the summer season. Spatially, the houses are joined in the pattern of row houses, opposing rows separated by only a few meters of space so that shade is conveniently cast during most of the day'²⁷.

Despite the low heights of the buildings, which varied between 2-4 storeys, they were built from mud bricks and rented for a couple of pounds a month, with no running water, electricity or windows. According to Louca, the lower end of the housing scale was found in Bulaq. He described the inhuman living conditions found in Bulaq, stating that:

'In Bulaq, there is probably as much variety in living spaces among the subjects as exists in the area as a whole. It may simply be space under a staircase, a converted chicken coop in a courtyard or what was once the inside of an oven used for baking

²¹ Several reports referred to the large numbers of persons in districts such as *al-waily*, *al-Sayyda Zainab* and *Shubra*.

²² The National Centre for Criminal and Social Research NCCSR report (1970).

²³ Note that the 100 day plan of 1966 only provided essential amendments to the drainage and sewerage systems in Bulaq as an emergency action, not for a long-term solution.

²⁴ *Al-Ahram newspaper*, February 18, 1971: *Cairo's districts: Population of four districts in Cairo is decreasing year by year*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ For example, popularly and not officially, *al-Tourguman* section became *Ishash al-Tourguman* and *sheik Ali* section became *Ishash al-Sheikh Ali* in relation to its local planning and housing conditions.

²⁷ Rugh, *Coping with poverty in a Cairo*.

bread and now opened up to make a room ... on the roof tops there are temporary wooden shacks, put up to serve as accommodation for the poorest of the poor²⁸.

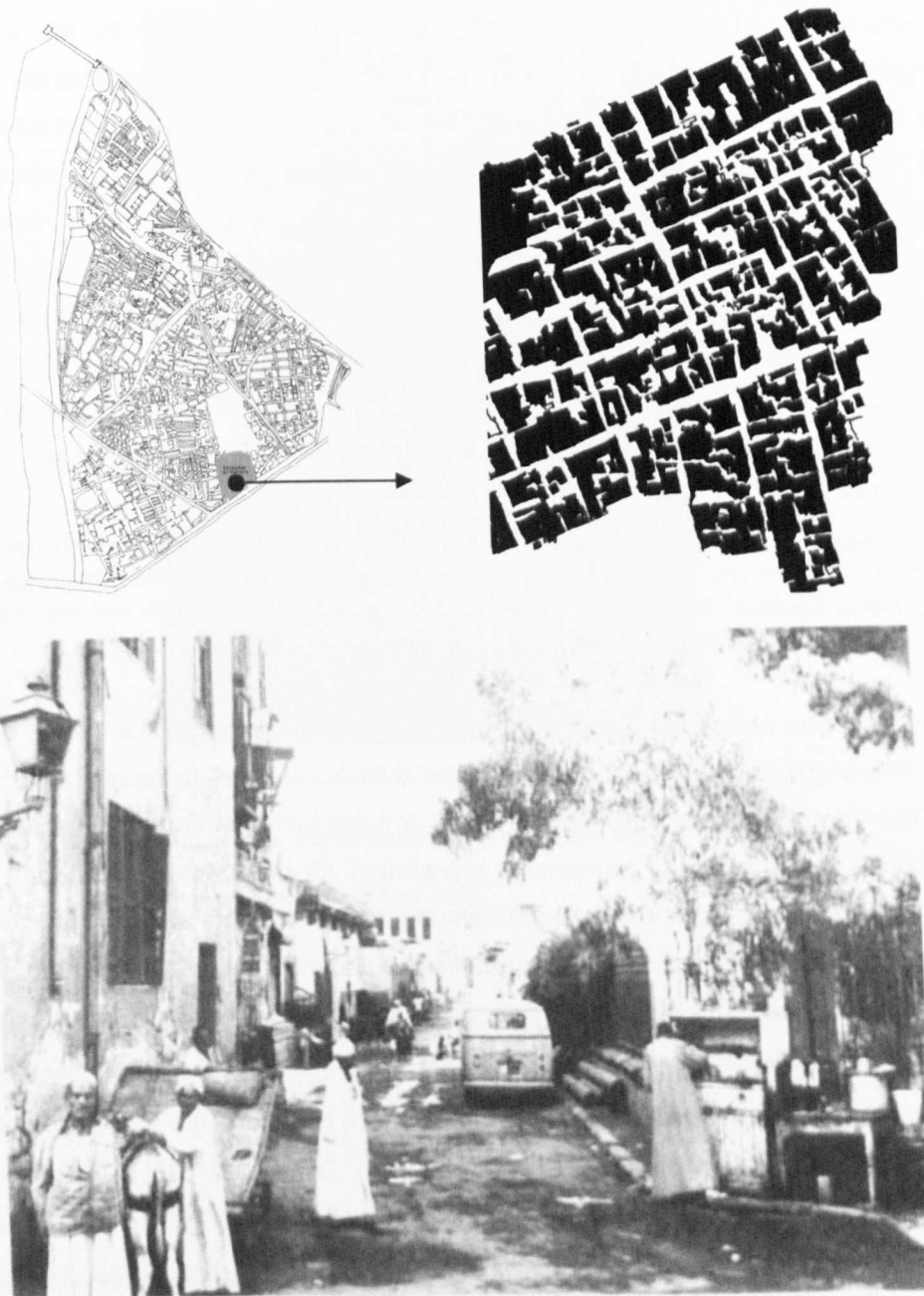


Figure 6.1 Illustrations showing deterioration in Bulaq during the 1970s.

Above map: *Shaihket al-Kalaya* in Bulaq, a zone of deteriorated street patterns which formed the Ishash areas as street widths were only between 2-4 meters.

Source: Cairo Map of 1978, the survey department of Giza.

Bottom image: Street sence in Bulaq facing Sinan Pasha Mosque in 1970.

Source: Abu-Lughod, Cairo, p. 198.

²⁸ Louca, I- M. (1984) *The culture of Bulaq as it is viewed by its children*. The American University of Cairo Press, p. 27.

6.3. The Muhafzah Act to Re-plan Bulaq

Bulaq's squalid conditions set in a maze of unplanned narrow streets put the district under critical focus of the Muhafzah. Political organizations within Bulaq were responsible for reporting any social, educational or planning problems in the district to the Muhafez, who was charged with providing practical solutions for most problems. Cases which he was unable to resolve were referred to the Local People's Council of the Muhafzah (*al-Magless al-Shaby*) before being passed on to the cabinet (*Magless al-Wizarah*). For example, in 1971, after Bulaq's deterioration problems were reported to the Muhafez, *Ibrahim al-Baghdady*²⁹, arranged a visit to Bulaq to acquire a clearer sense of the district's physical conditions 'rather than relying on written reports', to quote his words³⁰ (Figure 6.2). However, this visit led to the implementation of minor changes³¹. In fact, due to the evident similarity in the deterioration among most old districts of Cairo and their lack of basic facilities and unhealthy circumstances, the Muhafzah prepared a detailed study based on the expropriation law no. 27 for year 1956. Part of the study reported that:

'The situation of deterioration and the conditions of slums were also influenced by the length of time which the area has been in existence, the situation that affected its growth, the physical qualities of the sites, the inhabitants' ability to take part in the district's economic activities, and ease of access to the city's services and facilities'³².

Later, an al-Ahram newspaper release in 1979 announced that the latest master plan for Bulaq was for complete occupation of the historic river frontage sites parallel to Shari al-Cornich³³. The improvement of the district through a municipal planning process contained strategic appeals to the ideals of partnership investment. On the other hand, during 1978, the broader scope of this scheme included, among other projects, plans to remove and evacuate 17 other slum districts in Cairo for health and security reasons: as their population exceeded approximately forty percent of the capital's inhabitants; seven of these districts were located in the Greater Cairo region³⁴. The list included districts in western, southern

²⁹ Ibrahim al-Baghdady was the Muhafez from 16 June 1971 – 7 September 1972.

³⁰ Several official newspapers mentioned that *al-Baghdadi's* visit to Bulaq was due to his family owning a small traditional bakery factory located in *shyakhat al-Fransawy* section in Bulaq, although the fact was that he lived there for some time during his childhood.

³¹ According to *al-Goumhouryya* newspaper in 17 April 1972, the Muhafez said that *I received a report from the political organization in Bulaq regarding the district's problems; however, I never thought that, in the central heart of Cairo lies a district where people could live in such dreadful and unpleasant conditions.... It's It is an affront to the face of the capital which needs attention.* He also stated that what *I have seen today in Bulaq had gone beyond all imagination.* According to the minutes, the meeting between al-Baghdadi and the local people's council for discussion of Bulaq's problems decided to 1. Renovate the façade of *al-Sultan Hasan* mosque and attach an Islamic religious centre for teaching Quran. 2. The governor to appropriate an amount of 3 thousand EGP for rebuilding a model market to replace the old market which was about to collapse and to demolish the previous one 3. Plant extra green areas in certain parts and remove waste from areas such as *Bulaq al-Gadid* street, although the waste had been removed and the area cleaned prior to his visit. 4. Construct a new day-care centre for children in hay *Ramlet Bulaq* and a new handicraft learning centre.

³² The Cairo Governorate (Muhafzah) report for slum clearance 1977. The Muhafzah.

³³ The approval committee met on the 20th of March 1978, and was composed of Hasaballah al-Kafrawy, the Minister of Construction and New Communities, Saad Ma'amoun, the Muhafez of Cairo, representatives from the planning department of *Muhafazah* and the General Organization of Physical Planning (GOPP).

³⁴ Documents of the planning Department (1976) *Report for slum clearance*, The Muhafzah.

and central Cairo³⁵. Saad Ma'amoun, who was the Muhafez in 1978³⁶, acknowledged that the city urgently needed to apply a well thought out vision to absorb the city's future expansion and create the desired planning images³⁷.



Figure 6.2 The Muhafez, Ibrahim al-Baghdady, on his visit to Bulaq during April 1971.

He arranged this visit to discuss traffic problems in Shari Bulaq al Gadid with the people and traders.

Source: Al Ahram Newspaper, 6 April, 1971.

Moreover, the critical nature of adapting this vision was evident in higher authorities' reports published in the Egyptian press. The announcement of the project included phrases such as presenting the capital as the 'youthful face of the Egyptian body', as was stated by Ma'amoun³⁸. On the other hand, not surprisingly, Hasaballah al-Kafrawy, the Minister of Construction and New Communities scathingly reported the exact conditions of the district, announcing that 'there is no need to explain the situation in words, pictures alone are enough'³⁹ (Figure 6.3). He explained that the high density of the district, the crowded buildings and limited scope for future expansion, were reflected in these statistics⁴⁰. He also reported that 2,442 families (approx. 45.6 %) of the district's residents lived in one bedroom, and 1,599 lived in a shared apartment. In addition, 216 families lived in a shared bedroom,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Districts of western Cairo included *Maspero, Marouff, al-Tourguman, Rammlat Boulq, Hekr abu-Doma* and *al-Azbakiyya, Al-Manasrah, Bab al Sheriyya* and *al-Mohammady* in the centre, in addition to *Foum al-Khaleg, al-Maneal* and old Cairo in the south.

³⁶ Saad Ma'amoun was the Muhafez from 15 May 1977 - 12 March 1983.

³⁷ *al-Ahram*, July 19, 1979, p. 12.

³⁸ *al-Ahram*, May 19, 1979, p. 9.

³⁹ *al-Ahram*, December 29, 1979, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

most probably accommodated by relatives, while 19 families occupied the stairs. He also pointed that 31.5% lived on rooftops and in vaults.

It is fair to say that the demolition of old districts was mainly driven by the fact that low-income groups with their miserable living conditions were occupying lands which potentially carried very high values, and, indeed, Bulaq was central to such a vision. Ghannam pointed out that 'the location of the land overlooking the Nile was seen as central to the creation and beautification of Cairo's face'⁴¹. On the national level, demolition and re-planning were explained as an essential act towards revamping and modernizing the inherited face of the Cairene people. The act was viewed as extracting and relocating large numbers of existing residents of Bulaq from brutal living conditions to suitable, modern housing units that would offer them a better standard of life.

⁴¹ Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*, p. 31.



Figure 6.3 Aspects of Bulaq's quality during the 1970s.
Above image: this image was attached to al-Kafrawy's official report published in national newspapers.
Source: al-Ahram, December 29, 1979, p. 3.
Bottom image: Ishash al-Tourguman images published in the GOPP brief.
Source: the GOPP Ishash *al-Tourguman* re-planning scheme Report, 1979.

6.4. Groundwork for the Scheme

In February 1978, a plan to develop the spatial qualities of Bulaq, marked as plan 42, was completed. The scheme was developed after approval from the Muhafzah and in line with Sadat's directive to overcome all difficulties and obstacles that could impede implementation of the project. This was intended to be a large scale planning scheme to replace Cairo's chaotic decaying district with a new Central Business District (CBD). It was clearly outlined in the scheme guidelines that the old district was to be replaced by modern buildings, luxury houses, tourist hotels, office buildings, multi-storey parking units, entertainment facilities and cultural centres and the Muhafez announced that several international companies were ready to start launching their investment projects in the district⁴². The plan was initiated by a group of official state institutions to reflect the national and economic interest, but the demolition of the district's historical monuments whose history goes back hundreds of years, such as Sinan Pasha and Merrza mosques, was not suggested (Figure 6.4).

The planning brief represented a textual study of the proposed ideas. It focused specifically on the relative decline of the district's spatial qualities, observed through the negative appearance of the industrial sites, along with the many underused sites occupied by the various run-down areas that housed the lower income groups. Notably, the brief outlined that the scheme was drafted first to work as a guide for future improvements of the district. The second aim was to remove areas such as Ishash al-Tourguman, Maspero, Marouf, Ramlet Bulaq and Hekr Abu Doma, in addition to the old market of Souq al-Asr and Wikalat al-Balah. The third was the demolition of all old buildings constructed on classified governmental property which would be later sold by private auction. The fourth objective was to set a schedule for evacuation and the commencement of construction of housing units on the city outskirts for relocation of Bulaq residents. However, the brief lacked documentation of any formal public discussions and consultations concerning how implementation would affect Bulaq residents⁴³. There were just two paragraphs mentioning that relocation plans had been studied and approved and substantial housing units were under construction in *al-Zawiya al-Hamara* and *Ain Shams* districts. It was also mentioned that the Muhafzah would tentatively start evacuation of the most dilapidated parts *as soon as possible*, as outlined in the brief⁴⁴ (Figure 6.5).

Not surprisingly, the most significant motivation evident in the brief was its focus on the district's strategic location in the heart of Cairo and its connectivity with several strategic areas such as Cairo's central district (*wist al balad*). Its advantageous location meant that the district would become a prime site for prestigious projects, basically, as *Sadat* proudly

⁴² al-Ahram, December 27, 1979, p. 3.

⁴³ Documents of the Housing Department (1979) The Muhafzah.

⁴⁴ A master's thesis at Cairo University discussed this point in detail. See Imam, S. (2001) *New Developments and Urban Contexts on the Interrelationship, With Special Reference to Bulaq*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Cairo University. Egypt.

announced, because the land was cheap and dispensable⁴⁵. It was stated in the brief that 'buildings in Bulaq had no great value and the land was less costly than what surrounded it; although, after evacuation the land value of the site could be tripled'⁴⁶. In addition, higher planning institutions stressed the importance of re-using such sites, as this strategy was a key step in improving housing conditions and 'the right starting point to solve the problems of those poor people who were forced to live in such bad conditions'⁴⁷.

Although the brief identified Bulaq as a site for business and industrial use, it recommended a fundamentally different planning approach to involve a mix of uses, to materialize a good spatial quality, which was necessary for bringing the land forward for redevelopment. Whilst not yet part of the constitutional development plan, the scheme followed the legislative policies for the borough as a whole, and for the purposes of development control. The policy stated that 'any further changes to policies affecting the implementation process, as a result of professional consultation or recommendations following any subsequent inquiry into the master plan, would be considered in advance of the final adoption of the Plan'⁴⁸. It should be said that the policy had no leeway to accept any other types of development. It was only to implement what was already planned, thus development control was mandatory, as will be explained later. It is also apparent that the scheme was partially a modified version of the plan from the 1930s designed by Mahboub⁴⁹. It had taken more than half a century for similar recommendations to be made for the clearance of the district for urban redevelopment.

⁴⁵ Al-Ahram, July 3, 1978. Also see al-Ahram, July 19, 1979, p. 9 '*prestigious projects*'. The strategy also indicated that financial profits gained from sold lands would be reused in constructing substitute housing units for the evacuated inhabitants. The scheme, on the other hand, proposed the assignment of the riverside strip zone to investment projects launched by the private sector, and the evacuation of the unwanted small industrial workshops and warehouses, which would be replaced by 'modern and prestigious buildings' (ibid).

⁴⁶ Documents of the Department of Housing (1979) plan *studying report*, The Muhafzah.

⁴⁷ Interview with Ma'amoun published in Al-Ahram, May 19, 1979, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Documents of the Department of Housing (1979) plan *studying report*, The Muhafzah.

⁴⁹ Mahboub's scheme was previously discussed in chapter four.



Figure 6.4 The site of the historical Sinan Pasha mosque.
The mosque was surrounded by old workshops and warehouses which were subject to demolition.



Figure 6.5 Layout of al-Zawya al-Hamra project.
Plan of new housing blocks designed in 1979 by the Muhafzah to relocate the Bulaqi residents (see Appendix D.5)
Top right: Hasaballah al-Kafrawy, the Minister of Construction and New Communities under the Sadat regime.
Source: Al-Ahram (1979) May 19, p. 9.

6.5. Bulaq '42 Plan'

6.5.1. Radial Street Circulation

Although Cairo had major problems keeping pace with the great increase in demands on its transportation network due to the influx of people into urban districts caused by industrialization, the city had made considerable strides in this direction. As mentioned earlier, during the early 20th century considerable attention was devoted to providing an efficient tram system in the capital which had now become overloaded and needed further expansion and maintenance. Available archival images showed that an active rail system served this extremely busy urban area and included links to Bulaq⁵⁰. Of particular interest are three major streets in Bulaq (Figure 6.6) which had been reserved for rigid rail tracks: Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya, Shari el-Teraa el-Boulakeya and Shari Foua'ad al-Awal, and which were also used by other vehicles, causing slow traffic movement due to the trams' frequent stops to pick up or discharge passengers.

To address this problem, plan 42 proposed specific amendments to the street system. There were proposals to connect the district with a radial grid and facilitate circulation with a major movement axis to improve the district's links with the hub of the city, in addition to construction of a loop of transportation⁵¹. It would become clear that the planning committee had agreed to remove rail tracks from Bulaq; indeed, it was perfectly understandable that due to unavoidable noise and congestion, trams should be removed from the district. At the same time plans were set to construct prestigious touristic projects in many of its zones. Significantly, the removal of these tracks had already been recorded on the Bulaq map of 1984⁵². It shows that Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya, as proposed, had become a major boulevard bordering the riverfront zone to imitate and complement the frontage image of the Nile, while Shari el-Teraa el-Boulakeya was on the border of the Ishash al-Tourguman section, which was also designated for luxury developments. Thus, in the light of these plans, removing the tracks and widening these streets was unavoidable. This conclusion was also reached by the Minister of Transport when he replied to a request from the planning department of the Muhafzah to approve this act⁵³.

On the other hand, major streets on Bulaq's borders, such as Shari Yuliya, al-Sikka al-Hadid, al-Gala and al-Sabtiyya, were simply fitted into the plan, while most of the inner roads were amended. These new routes, as the committee suggested, were designed to improve the definition of the new urban zones and their land use 'to serve the new communities which are targeted for development..... the new roads are intended to serve new development planned directly along their routes, and not just to update what already exists'⁵⁴. What annoyed the local council committee at that time was the actual number of

⁵⁰ Scharabi, *Kairo*, p. 83.

⁵¹ Documents of the Department of planning (1978).The Muhafzah.

⁵² Cairo, Bulaq map 1984, Cairo survey department. See p. 192.

⁵³ Documents of the Department of planning (1978).The Muhafzah.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

changes contemplated in the road network, which would 'impose an entire new road circulation system, one that would basically be installed over the old one'⁵⁵. While the inner road circulation was a response to demands for the reshaping of Bulaq, some key routes were preserved in the form of the existing boulevards of Shari al-Cornish and Shari Bulaq al-Gadid, both of which were to be doubled in width to reach 50 meters. However, the proposed radials were to be 30 meters or less in width⁵⁶. The most important consideration related to the way in which the old streets and new road networks proposed by the plan were to fit in with other patterns implemented in the various urban zones⁵⁷. On a positive note, the planning proposals for the new road circulation were bound to generate some distinct new physical tissue which would help to eradicate the old image of a district in decline. In addition, it appears that adequate provision for servicing the substantial anticipated projects had been made.

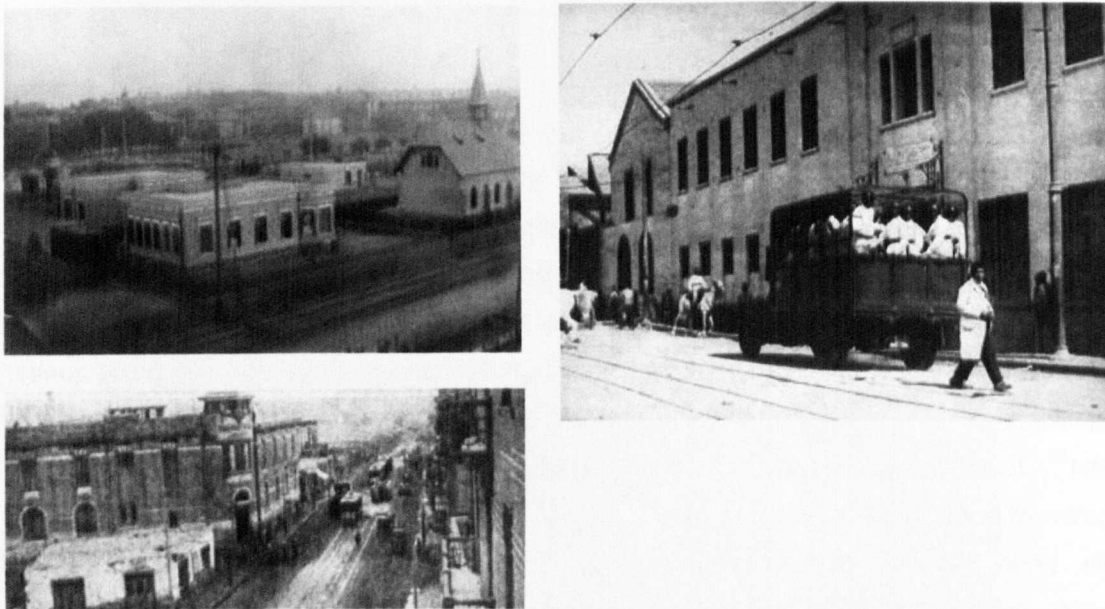


Figure 6.6 Major streets which had been reserved for rigid rail tracks.
Above left: tram tracks located at *Shari el-Teraa el-Boulakeya* in 1924.
Bottom left: the entry avenue of Bulaq in 1921, facing the Gas Company of Cairo offices.
Right: *Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya* in 1930.

6.5.2. The Land Use Zones

Plan 42's key policy was aimed at dividing the district into several zones of land use. As a major step towards improvement of the existing spatial qualities of the district, it was clearly stated in the planning brief that 'within the section of major change, planning authorization will be approved for the district's redevelopment as a mixture of land uses, assuring that no conflict with legislatively approved complementary planning guidance for the site could

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ This was the case of *Ishash al-Tourguman* area.

occur⁵⁸. On the other hand, re-planning these zones was intended to improve street accessibility and to improve open spaces, parking areas and provide luxury projects. The planning committee designated the following zones for mixed land usage:

1. The riverfront zone, occupied by run-down industrial buildings owned by the Muhafzah. The land usage proposed for this zone was for private leisure projects, office buildings and hotels and tourist facilities.
2. Inner zones which formed the old Bulaq and which were occupied by *Ishash* and dilapidated houses and industrial activities were designated for clearance and relocation of the population to new settlements on the city outskirts.
3. Zones of Historical Monuments and Conservation Areas: in dealing with the historical monuments, the scheme prioritized the preservation and renewal of historical areas. These areas were determined according to the predominant commercial and industrial activities and their land use patterns. The policy guidelines focused on upgrading and developing all surrounding public spaces to provide tourist facilities, including hotels and cultural centres. This would be achieved through eradicating various encroaching buildings and providing more pedestrian paths and traffic control measures. In addition, parking would not be permitted in these areas.

Apparently, Engineer Foua'ad al-Gouhary, the Department of Housing Deputy, announced that the planning committee proposed to commence the evacuation and expropriation of what they called 'priority zones' on the basis of a schedule of implementation⁵⁹. Priority was given to the most run-down zones and, at the same time, to zones which required rapid development, such as the river frontage zone, but did not require expropriation. This action allowed improvements to commence quickly and easily⁶⁰. The official document listed these priority zones as follows (Figure 6.7).

1. *Ishash al-Tourguman* zone, which includes *Shyakhet al-Tourguman, al-Qalaya, al-Adawyya* and parts of *Shari al-Galaa, Shanan, and Baheeg*. This site was estimated to cover 19 *feddan* and 5000 people were to be relocated to new housing blocks built on the city's outskirts at *al-Zawyya al-Hamra*⁶¹.
2. Part of *Maspero* section facing *Shari Yuliya* and spanning from *Abul Ela* mosque to *Shari al-Cornich*
3. *Ramlet Bulaq* zone, facing the Nile River boulevard

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Documents of the Housing Department (1979) 8 September. The Muhafzah.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ A similar action was also approved to clear an area of 11 *feddans* and relocate 2000 people from Arab al-Mohammady to Ain shams district.

4. Suoq al-Asr zone, which included fragmented areas located behind the river frontage zone

However, it should be noted that plan 42 was developed based on the Muhafzah's desire to encourage specific categories of land use in the district, such as commercial and entertainment activities. Although attempts had been made to designate certain planning zones within the district, this was regarded as a project for the future, and no scheme was produced for comprehensive multiple-use zoning of the district. The latter would have required a more proactive policy-led approach in which zones would have been created as a means of protecting the character of important historical monuments whilst allowing for other legitimate uses. It was not the scheme's intention to indicate where prospective developments might or might not be encouraged, as only the government had the authority to set the overall economic and political pattern. At the physical level, the planning scheme allowed a default for areas that already demonstrated a string of private multiple-uses within the activity zones. This approach proposed some form of control over the types of activities officially approved within these zones based on the activities permitted in each one.

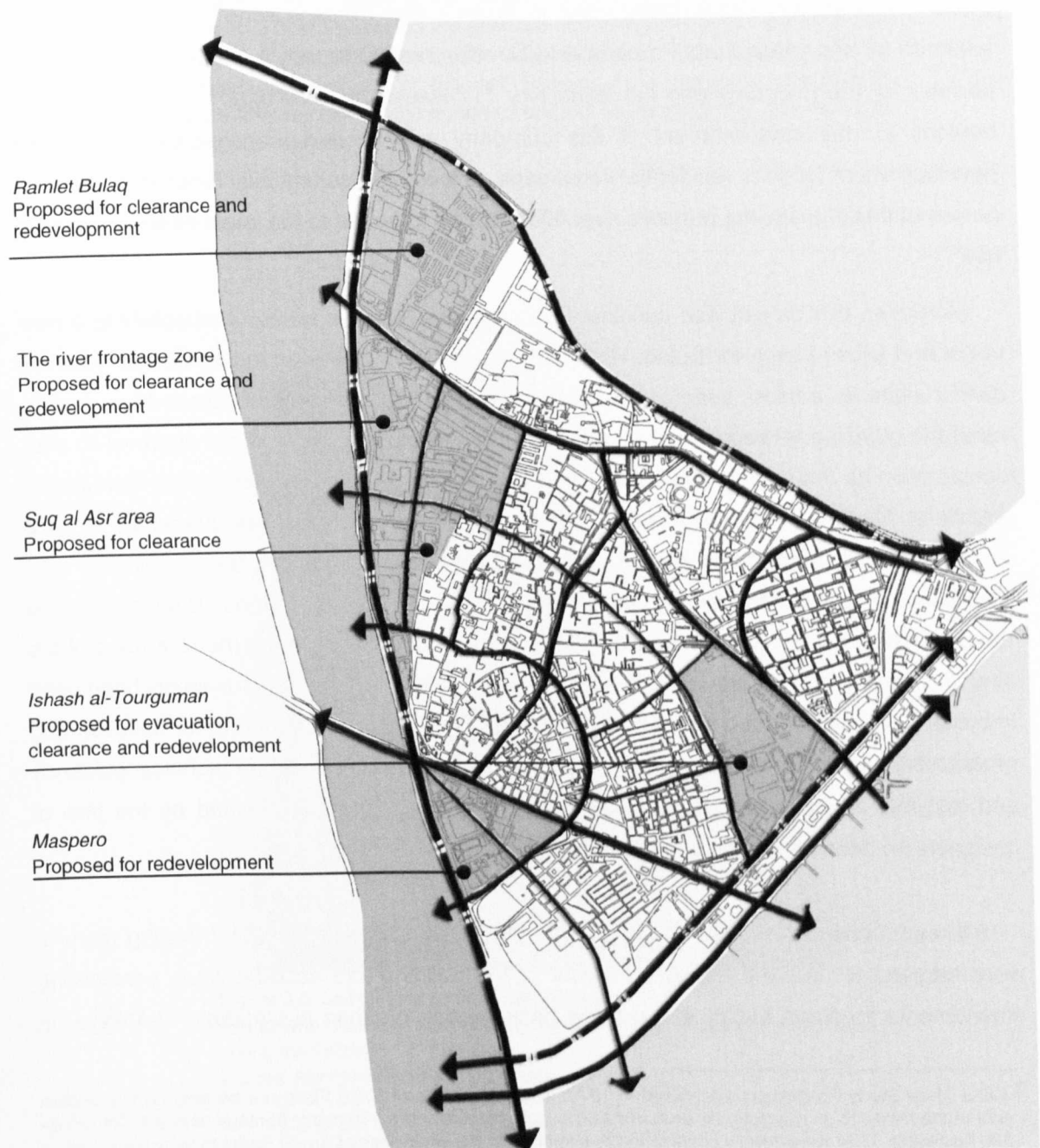


Figure 6.7 Bulaq re-planning scheme drafted in 1978.
Indicated on the plan the priority zones for improvement.
Source: Al Ahram Newspaper, 1979 (redrawn by researcher – see Appendix C.2).

6.6. The River Frontage Zone Special Amendments

Prior to the final completion of plan 42, a new high-rise twin towers building, called Cairo Plaza⁶², was already under construction in Bulaq's river frontage zone⁶³. The project was taken on by *Misr Abu Dhabi Property and Development Company*⁶⁴ under a decree by the Minister for the Economy and the State No. 111 issued on 18/5/1976⁶⁵. One of the main reasons for the establishment of this company was for the management and further development of tourism, residential complexes, offices, and commercial facilities in Cairo. In pursuit of these goals, the project's riverside site was to be put to the 'most effective possible use'⁶⁶.

Moreover, this project was considered a great challenge in terms of establishing a new visual and urban image for Bulaq, which had been renowned as an industrial and historical district since its earliest years. In addition, the project implementation procedures had to meet the planning guidelines set by the Muhafzah in order to gain official approval to start construction as the design was assigned to a Multinational firm: the Associated Continental Architects (Gulf) Consultancy. Preliminary ideas for the project were first presented in 1978 to the planning department of the Muhafzah. A board formed by the developers and members of the Muhafzah carried out negotiations to approve the designs. But it seems that the developers encountered a number of problems, such as completing the clearance of the site, and gaining special approvals to use new materials which had not previously been used in building projects in Cairo (Figure 6.8). Therefore, in March 1978, a board, for direction and organization of construction work, led by the minister's undersecretary for technical guidance and localities in Cairo, was formed to review the design drafts submitted by the firm of designers on behalf of the developer for final approval⁶⁷.

Although construction was not yet under way, planners involved in completing plan 42 were required to take the deposited layout of the building into account when considering amendments for Shari al-Cornich and the back section of Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya. In

⁶² Cairo Plaza Study Programme introduced in 1979. The twin towers of Cairo Plaza are situated on the eastern side of the Nile with an approximate area of 6.200 square meters and a 150 meter frontage onto the *Cornich al-Nile* boulevard. They were initially constructed to comply with the direct wish of Anwar Sadat to launch a schedule for re-developing the whole riverfront of Bulaq in 1978. The 'Giant Project' was one of a series of projects planned by the state to attract global capital and encourage private investment. The *Muhafazah* added the phrase 'Cairo' to the project's title to reflect the state's economic and political move towards globalism.

⁶³ See (Appendix D.3)

⁶⁴ An Egyptian company legally subject to the provisions of Law No. 43 for investment in 1974.

⁶⁵ The company was initially established with venture capital of one million sterling pounds (SP) in 1976. However, the company's General Assembly resolution committee in the 25th of June, 1977 approved an increase of its venture capital to seven million (SP), in addition to the approval no. 23/44/1977 of the General Investment Authority during its forty fourth meeting. It employed investment of Arab and foreign capital in addition to the free zones representing Egyptian interests at that time.

⁶⁶ Cairo plaza brief and profile 1978.

⁶⁷ According to the 26th meeting's minutes for directing and organizing construction work, on 25/3/1978, the committee approved the project after reviewing all the drawings by a high-level board of specialists and professionals. The approving committee included: *Ahmed Mohamed Gareeb*: Director of Housing Department, *Moahmoud Maher*: Director of Planning Department and *Abdalla Beshnaq*: Representative of the public administration needs. However, the approval was conditional on the project's Objectivity and commitment to the identical provisions and regulations of the law 108/1976, in addition to its commitment to the Ministerial Decree number 533 for year 1973 which approved Arab and foreign capital investment projects in Egypt within a budget of fifty four million and eight hundred and eighty four thousand EGP.

May 1978, The Muhafez assistant applied to the planning department with regard to the possibility of allowing extra widths for both streets. He stated that:

'As the committee is aware of the current construction of a high-rise building on the riverfront of Bulaq replacing the previous site of al-Amiri press shown in the attached map, it is required to give extra consideration to surrounding streets to effectively serve this and similar futuristic projects. It is requested that before submitting the final revision of the scheme, special approval for this site from the Muhafez be made mandatory'⁶⁸.

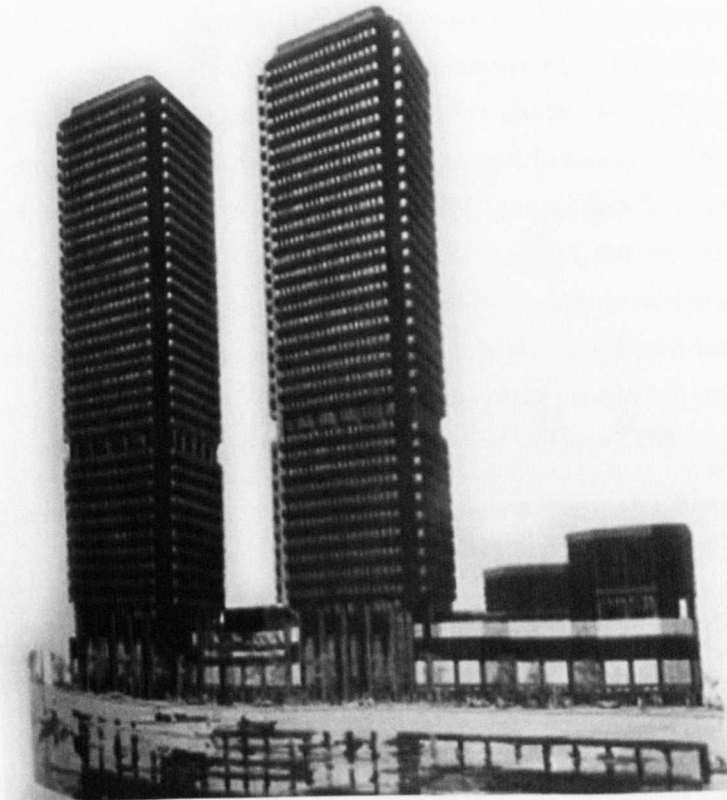


Figure 6.8 Cairo Plaza project, completed in 1979.

As published in one of the most popular architectural magazines established during the 1970s.

Source: Alam al-Binaa magazine, 1978.

It appeared that, in response, two important actions were considered: the removal of the tram tracks, which was a mandatory provision, and utilization of the maximum street widths authorized by the building regulations to allow construction of high rise towers in this zone. It was realized that adding extra width to Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya would be of great advantage during the plan's implementation⁶⁹. Clearly, the tram tracks were shown on the original official map which was presented to the Bulaq section for approval (Figure 6.9). The map illustrated the proposed site lines, the building layouts and the existing widths of both

⁶⁸ Memorandum from the Muhafez assistant in 21 May 1978, Number 226, the planning department, The Muhafzah.

⁶⁹ Note that Egyptian building regulations state that building heights must not exceed 1.5 times the street's width. This will be discussed in chapter nine.

streets. However, it is evident that reasonable setbacks for Shari al-Cornish were provided while no modifications were applied to Shari al-Mataba'a al-Ahliyya at that stage. On that issue, the committee later recommended that street widths of 50 m would apply to major roads surrounding the river frontage zone in order to facilitate the construction of high rise buildings and ease the flow of traffic crossing towards Shari Yuliya.

But at this stage, the question is, did the scheme offer any significant solutions to the problems relating to physical quality and the population influx into the district? And did it fulfil the existing needs in terms of the history and land uses of the district and solving existing problems caused by deterioration? To answer this question it is worth reviewing the main physical aspects of the scheme: inner radial road circulation, a new focal roundabout in the centre of the road pattern, the widening of all main streets, opening of new ones to connect with Shari al-Cornish, identification of new zones of land usage and approval for clearance in others, and commencement of new developments, while most important was the relocation of Bulaqis living in these areas. Whatever improvements were proposed for the road network, the plan did not make a serious attempt to address the existing problems: the people and their actual needs, as al-Kafrawy was to claim in a TV interview in 2007. In fact, spatial qualities of the district were to become an increasingly thorny issue⁷⁰. Thirty years after these events, al-Kafrawy stated that:

I told President Sadat that this was not a feasible project, and that it was not the right decision to force these people [the residents of al-Tourguman] to leave their homes and workplaces and dump them on the edge of the city, hopeless and useless, but he never respected my opinion.... I clearly stated that I was against this project⁷¹.

On the other hand, it seems evident that visions for improving the spatial qualities of specific sections of the district, rather than the qualities of its inner sections, were given priority in the plan. For example, the widening of streets surrounding the river frontage zone and granting of building height extensions demonstrated that the state, through the Muhafzah, managed to produce a model development plan to convey 'how they wanted the district to be presented, but did not express how it could be improved'⁷². At the level of the local planning authority, the Muhafzah aimed to merely draft plan 42 as a comprehensive plan: to set the guidelines for allocating new land uses to existing zones of clearance and general guidance for amendment of street circulation, including regulation of setbacks and street alignment; and it became clear from interviews with the planners that the plan never went beyond this stage. It was not a plan designed to improve the spatial qualities of Bulaq; 'in fact it was a plan made to further the ambition of Cairo's infitah to articulate a physical

⁷⁰ It also worth saying that during 1971 a committee meeting of the *Muhafazah* headed by Mr. *Ahmed Abdel Rahamn*, the *Muhafzah* general secretary, approved relocation of residents of *Ishash al-Tourguman* and other sections of Bulaq; which was not a new idea as available records from official newspapers and documents of the *Muhafazah* acknowledged that several decrees had been issued regarding relocating Bulaqi residents from specific sections. However, commencement was approved for individual developments such as constructing the new building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Maspéro, which was not linked to any planning recommendations.

⁷¹ Interview with al-Kafrawy (2007) *Hewar sakhen geddan*. *Al-Mehwar* channel, Cairo, Egypt.

⁷² *al-Ahram*, May 28, 1979, p. 4.

image of a great and modern city'⁷³. In addition, the plan was obviously drafted for the purpose of fulfilling the economic agenda of the powerful developers who at that time wanted to invest in Bulaq, without thought for the impact such a stance would have on the wider issue of the district's spatial problems. Accordingly, this point of view could explain why plan 42 never reached the final stages of approval, although some of its features were implemented, for instance, in Ishash al-Tourguman section, which will be discussed next ⁷⁴.

The original published plan did not contain accurate details as to how the new road network would operate, the exact street widths, and most importantly, how it could function within the larger network of the city: especially after the recommended removal of the tram tracks from Bulaq. This could also help to explain why plan 42 was described as a *schematic plan which lacked many important details*, and failed to gain official approval during the final stages of preparation⁷⁵. Thus, it could be said that plan 42 was drafted only to show the basic guidelines for redevelopment of Bulaq, and not to establish an efficient and genuine plan that could have been effectively implemented. Rather, the special committee approval, at a certain stage, transferred the task to the General Organization of Physical Planning (GOPP), or *Haya'at al-Takhtit al-Omrany*, to commence detailed urban design schemes for the recommended development zones⁷⁶. This implies that plans to develop Bulaq were focused on individual sections of the district rather than dealing with its problems as a whole.

Drafts of the plan, on the other hand, did not consider how the new road network would replace the old one, or the widths required for practical operation. Available archival records of the plan revealed no evidence that such issues were seriously considered. A single record from 1978 did show that the Muhafzah asked for an assistant from the Ministry of Transportation to temporarily join the committee for what it called 'professional advice'⁷⁷. From the Muhafzah documents it appears that individual decisions made by the assistant were deemed sufficient to complete the task or, as I would tend to assume, would have closed the circuit of approval for the scheme. In this case no other voices would have been heard regarding the amended street circulation, if the transport department had given their approval. It was just a question of completing the required *paper work*. My assumption could be reinforced by the comment made by a local representative of Bulaq in a subsequent meeting that:

'The plan failed to provide any serious solutions to actually develop Bulaq as a whole, the idea of dealing with each section separately did not add any powerful amendments and the result was a schematic plan which failed in accuracy and professionalism..... the plan did not show accurate dimensions of new street widths, or what would replace the existing buildings'⁷⁸.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ When I visited the department of certified projects at the Muhafzah, I failed to locate the original drawings for plan 42. The head of department informed me that '*this plan did not obtain official approval, thus it is not listed in the department archives*'.

⁷⁵ Documents of the Local Council of the Muhafzah (1979). The Muhafzah.

⁷⁶ The establishment of this planning entity will be explained in detail in chapter eight.

⁷⁷ Documents of the planning Department (1979). The Muhafzah.

⁷⁸ Documents of the Department of planning (1978). The Muhafzah.

Additionally, it was recorded that several buildings and governmental properties were already under construction before the completion of plan 42, namely *Dar al-Kutub*, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whilst several other buildings were in the queue for approval from the Muhafzah. The fact that these buildings already existed meant that this area, tacitly, had been reserved for certain land uses previously confirmed by the Muhafzah (Figure 6.10). However, *Ahmed Baha'a*, a popular Egyptian writer wrote critically in one of his weekly articles about how annoying it was to realize that additional governmental buildings were built or in the process of construction in the river zone while priority should have been given to what he called *profitable projects*. He wrote that:

'Muhafazat al-Kahira [the Muhafzah] has approved, and is still approving, construction of massive quantities of governmental buildings and public utilities on the Nile Boulevard. Several resolutions are awaiting implementation for construction of more and more: the Arabic Language Complex, the Higher Institute for Arab Studies, and others. My question is, should not such a site be devoted to profitable projects such as hotels and commercial complexes?' ⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ *al-Ahram newspaper*, April 3, 1981:7

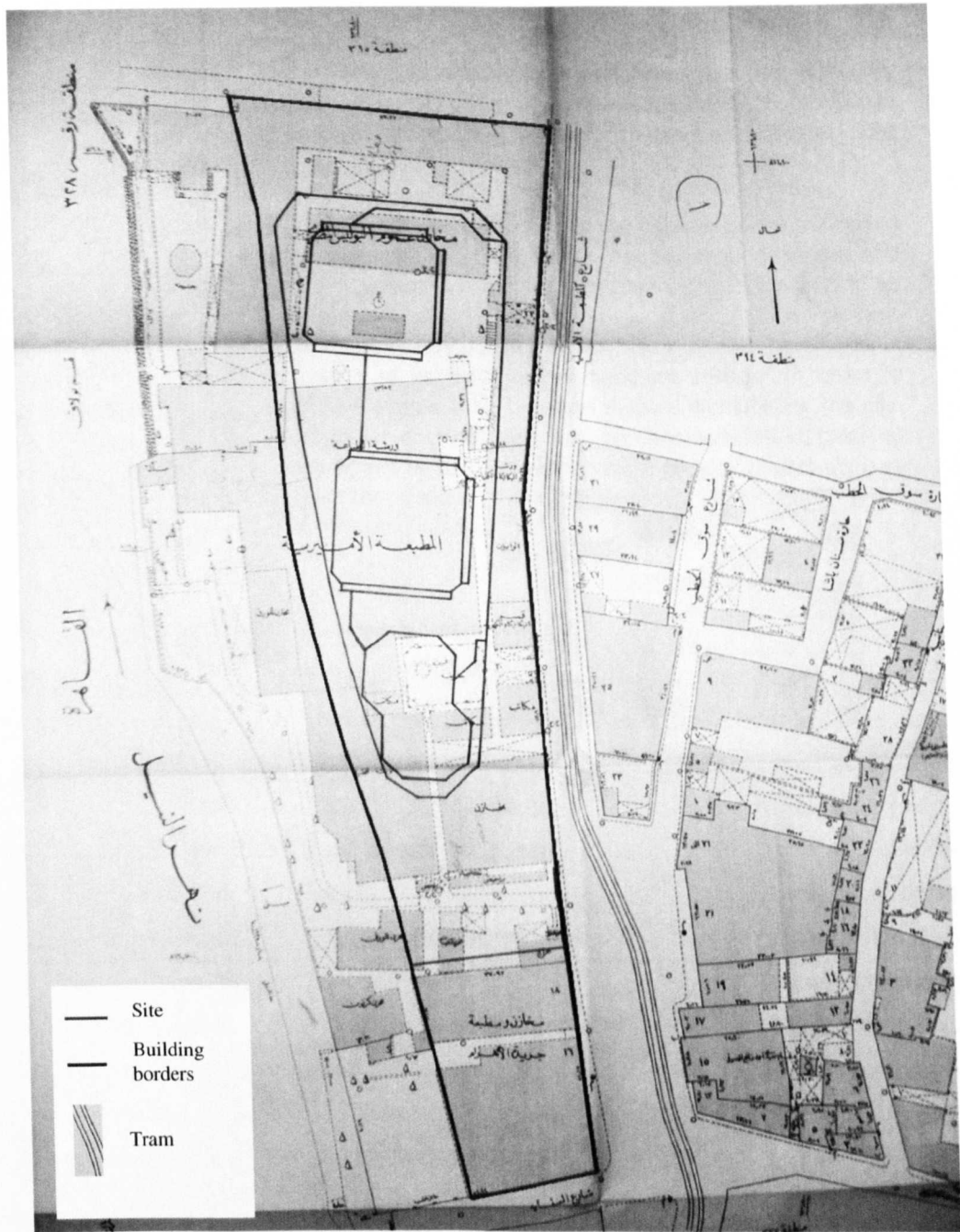


Figure 6.9 Map of the River frontage in 1978.
 Cairo Plaza Layout proposal replacing al-Amery press' previous site.
 Source: Hay Bulaq, Archive section.



The Egyptian National
Archive centre



Administrative
building



Cairo Plaza

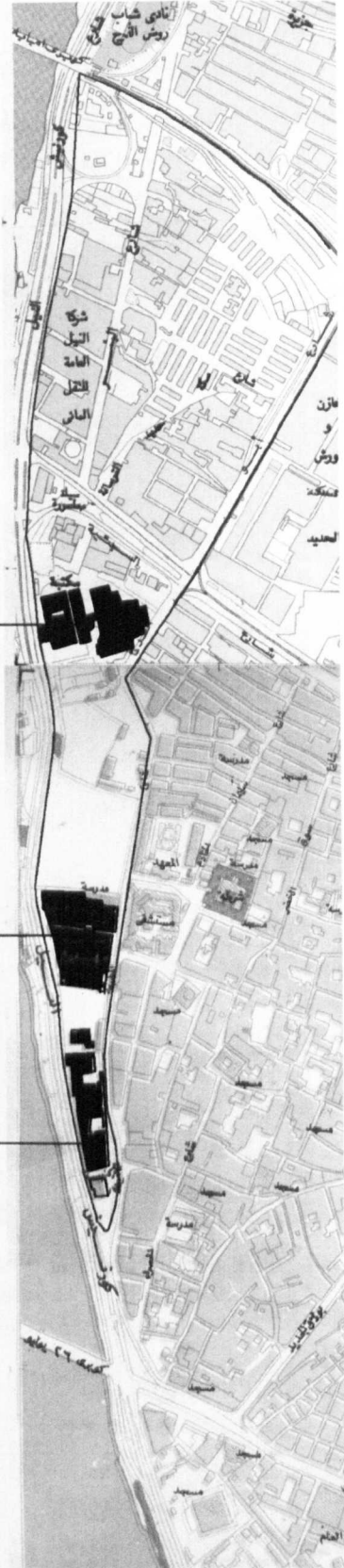


Figure 6.10 Map of the River front in 1984.
The map indicates the existing buildings before the scheme.
Source: Cairo map 1984, the Survey Department,

6.7. Ishash al-Tourguman Re-planning scheme

'The state's strategy is to generate a new part of the city with high quality urban places for office buildings, mixed use of commercial, cultural and residential activities and entertainment'⁸⁰.

'The process of renewal in the cities is closely related to the development processes to meet external influences and their adaptation to meet the new challenges of functioning as a modern city. Re-planning a district is a process characterised by distinctive inclusiveness and integration, in addition to its dynamics of constant change. In order to achieve proper links between diverse elements of the city, integration and inclusion must be considered when planning any district on the basis of the city's general master plan, as must the impact of any amendment or renewal of the surrounding context'⁸¹.

As mentioned earlier, the broader vision to re-plan Bulaq was aligned with the state's focus on developing specific sections of the district. Al-Kafrawy admitted that 're-planning and re-building Ishash al-Tourguman, from a professional point of view, would achieve several goals. First, saving the people from the collapse of dwellings which had load bearing walls made of mud and wooden rooftops'⁸². Second was to facilitate the president's vision 'to achieve a decent life for these poor people who have lived in this area for generations'⁸³ (Figure 6.11). To that end, in 1978, plans for developing Ishash al-Tourguman were handed to the GOPP, and in August 1979 it announced the completion of a new urban design layout, which did not endeavour to encompass the whole district. The planning committee of the GOPP produced general guidelines for recreating al-Tourguman in a new fashion. In particular, it sought to concentrate on developing major axis roads to connect the district with the central heart of the city and to leave further development to private initiatives, having created some open spaces that had no public utilities⁸⁴.

The aims underlying the symptomatic scheme were initiated in the re-planning brief of Bulaq. However, al-Tourguman brief practically reiterated the general principles previously outlined for Bulaq as a whole. Specifically, it stated that, firstly, the plan was to widely consider attaining a mix of uses to ensure that the site could facilitate as much as possible the provision of luxury housing, touristic hotels, and administrative facilities, developing good accessibility for transportation across the site, and enhancing the pedestrian network through the site. Finally, the brief was to upgrade the site's visual image and convey the impression of a context of high urban quality to attract investors, inhabitants and tourists⁸⁵.

⁸⁰ Interview with al-Kafrawy, Minister of Construction and New Communities published in al-Ahram, May 17, 1979.

⁸¹ Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report (1979). GOPP.Cairo .p. 1.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Interview with al-Kafrawy, May 17, 1979.

⁸³ Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report (1979).

⁸⁴ See (Appendix D.6)

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

On a practical level, the approval of the scheme was intended to endorse proposals to clear the site of al-Tourguman in order to construct a number of publicly supported projects. It was part of the broader ambition of re-planning the whole district of Bulaq and an important part of the general scheme as a national project. The GOPP, in this respect, prepared detailed physical and social studies of the existing tissue of the Ishash. The study also conducted a thorough survey of this section which contained observations on its physical conditions in relation to Bulaq, regarding the actual land uses, condition and heights of buildings, and visual aspects⁸⁶. *Michel Fo'udad*, the GOPP board chairman wrote that 'the re-planning project for Ishash al-Tourguman will have a major impact as the first reconstruction project of a slum area in an old district in Egypt'⁸⁷.

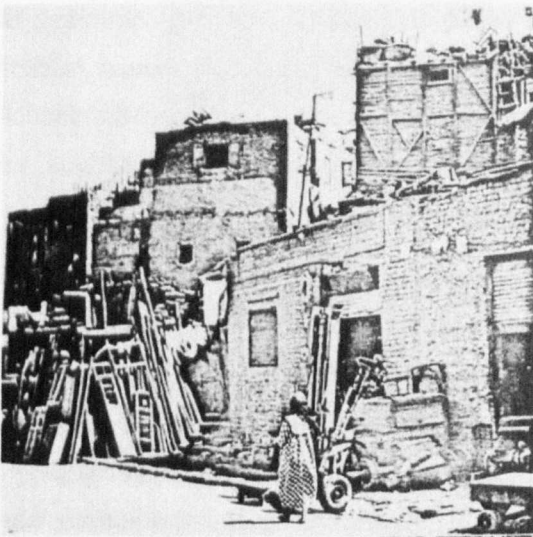


Figure 6.11 A series of images of Ishash al-Tourguman published in the GOPP brief.
Source: The GOPP Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report, 1979.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

In the brief, three alternative initial proposals were included, along with a final modified plan which incorporated positive improvements on the other three, and this was prepared through teamwork by a committee from the GOPP⁸⁸. In terms of the site's new land uses, proposals included a conference and community complex, a hotel, an office building and luxury apartment high-rise, an entertainment and cultural complex, a commercial complex, a multi-storey car-park, and finally, several green open spaces and landscapes (Figure 6.12). However, the three alternative proposals shared the following aims:

1. To situate the multi-storey car park at the connection road point of Shari Shanan and al-Sahafa.
2. To create and design an open space to surround an existing historical church, as the new square will be considered the physical approach to the church facing Shari al-Galaa.
3. To locate the conference centre at the southern corner of the site to face the two main streets of Shari al-Sahafa and Shari al-Galaa.
4. To design suitable pedestrian paths and create a distinctive visual identity for the place.

On the other hand, an Engineer from the GOPP explained that each alternative had special advantages and positive urban design features to recommend it⁸⁹. The first alternative's main features were the design of continuous octagonal buildings to form an integral inner urban space, expressing the buildings' functions and separating land uses, in addition to locating the hotel in a central position in order to create a focal landmark on the site. The second alternative proposed the construction of four towers overlooking Shari Shanan. These were to contain offices, apartments, luxury housing, and administrative units. However, the location of the hotel was to be at the higher edge of the site near the multi-storey car park and away from the main access of Shari al-Galaa. The third alternative featured a different trend of linear solutions for the site's land usage. The proposal included the creation of three main perpendicular axes for land use, with Shari al-Galaa as the central axis of the commercial and leisure facilities, the second axis, overlooking Shari Shanan, was to contain luxury housing and offices, and be connected to form a wall which would correspond to another facing wall overlooking Shari al-Sahafa, which would house commercial and cultural activities. Regarding the central axis, the designers visualised the hotel as a focal point and landmark for the site, offering entertainment facilities on its lower levels.

⁸⁸ The scheme was supervised by engineer *abdul-Wahab sabaa*, the General Director of the organization, and consultancy was by Dr. *Sayed al-Touny*, the specialist consultant at the same organization and an architectural professor at Cairo University. He had an important input in the proposal's conceptual ideas and the first and final stages of drafting.

⁸⁹ Engineer *Nagwa Salem* is currently the head of the Greater Cairo High Committee (*al-Iagna al-olya la-takhtet al-Qahira al-kubra*) at the GOPP.

In February 1979, a collective committee composed of specialist planners and engineers⁹⁰ was formed to discuss the feasibility of the three alternatives according to a set of planning and architectural criteria and to select the best practical option for implementation⁹¹. It was also suggested that the scheme should be implemented over several independent phases to ensure its completion. On the other hand, the planning survey analysis of the al-Tourguman scheme set a number of recommendations regarding several existing structures on the site. Special attention was given to public, religious, and historical buildings⁹², in addition to buildings classified as *in good condition*⁹³. Also, buildings in a poor state, which were calculated to occupy approximately 75 per cent of the section's total area, were to be demolished and re-planned. It was found that 20 percent of the buildings were in good condition, 15 percent in average condition and 65 percent in poor condition. Housing covered almost 80 percent of the area, and there were high rates of overcrowding of 1200 persons per feddan and of 3.5 person per room.

Shortly afterwards, in a meeting which took place in March 1979, the planning committee completed its modifications and expressions of concern regarding the final proposal. The selected scheme was approved along with a detailed urban design programme of land use zones, functions, and road networks in relation to the surrounding context, as required by the brief. The programme included details of the major buildings' functions, locations, and calculations of their size. In addition, a comprehensive layout of the proposal was drafted and supported by a series of cross sections through the whole site (Figure 6.13). After this meeting, a concluding report was edited and circulated regarding the main characteristics of the proposed scheme. The committee set nine planning criteria which varied from the project's practicality and the feasibility of gradual implementation to visual significance and planning issues⁹⁴. However, implementation of the plan was suspended and then cancelled when Sadat was assassinated in 1981, and all plans for improving Bulaq were put on hold.

⁹⁰ The committee was composed of engineer *Shawki Shaban*, engineer *Nagwa Salem Nasr*, both from the GOPP, and engineer, *Noheel Salah al-Bana*, and headed by Dr. *Sayed al-Touny*, the specialist planning consultant, and engineer *Michel Fo'ud Gorgy*, the GOPP board Chairman. See minutes from the meeting of 17/February 1979 held at the Muhafzah.

⁹¹ The official report for *al-Tourguman* scheme neglected discussion of several aspects such as the implementation's social impact on the remaining sections of the district, the proposed stages for clearing the land and the economic implications.

⁹² The buildings mentioned in the report are *al-Ahram* newspaper and press buildings facing *al-Galaa* street, IPS Building, the Court Complex, *al-Tanmia* Bank and an old church.

⁹³ Ishaah al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report (1979).

⁹⁴ Ishaah al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report, p. 18.

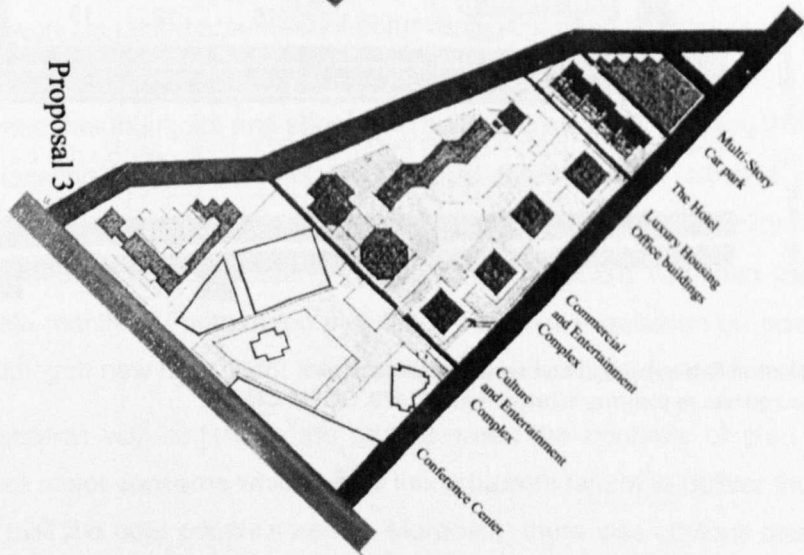
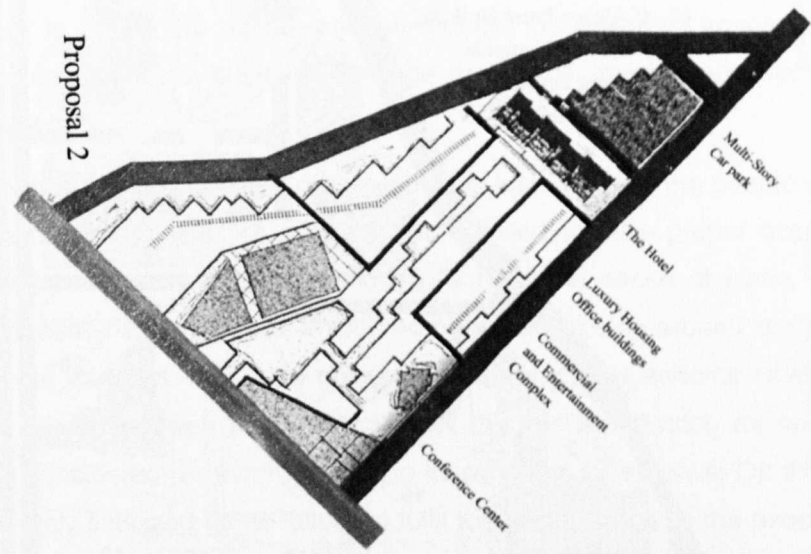
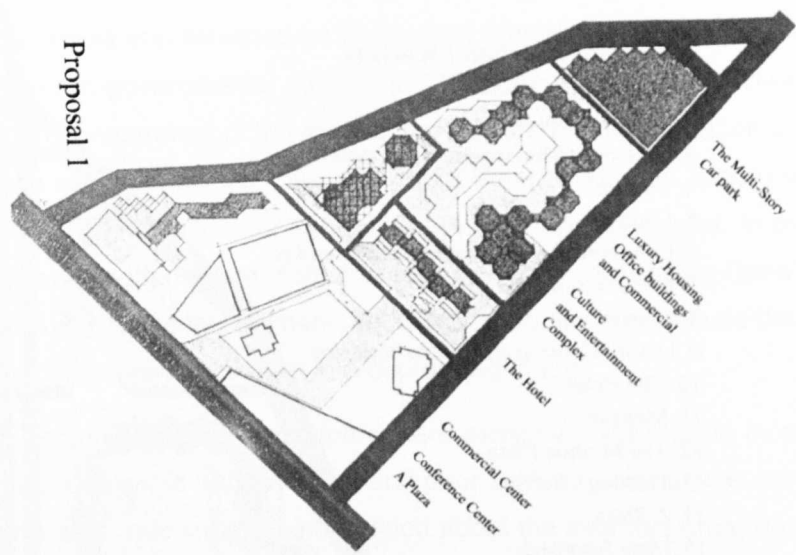


Figure 6.12 The alternative proposals for zoning and land use in Ishash al-Tourguman.
Source: Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report 1979, GOPP, Cairo.

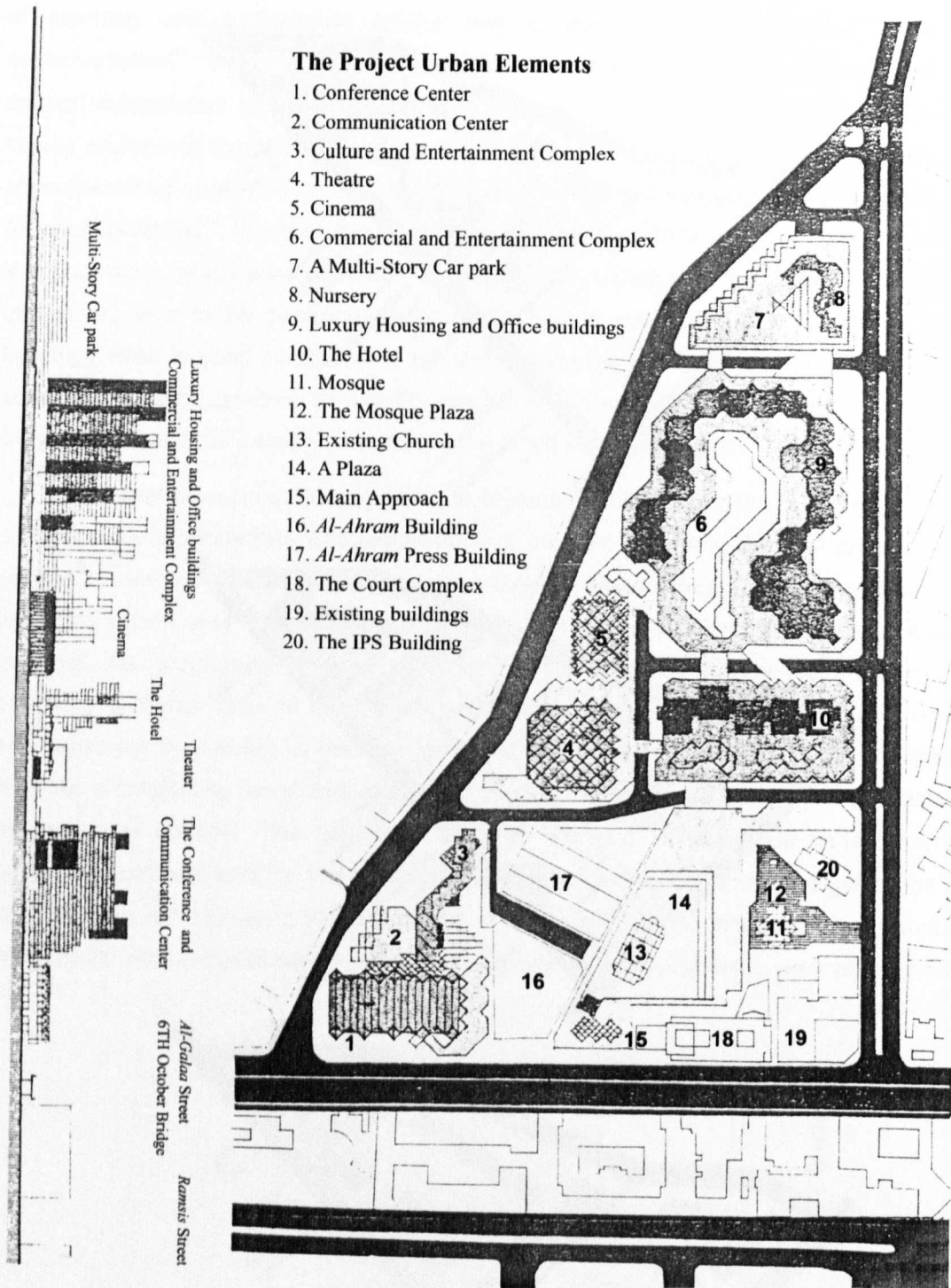


Figure 6.13 Layout of the final proposal and sections for land use.
 Source: Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report 1979, GOPP, Cairo.

6.8. Conclusion

It is important to mention that the project for re-planning Bulaq received wide publicity across official media and newspapers in Egypt at that time, with images shown of President Sadat and various governmental officials at the many interviews and meetings which took place during the preparation of the project. Indeed, the strategic location of the district in the heart of Cairo explains the planning authority's determination to realize its full potential in supporting the Infitah policies for establishment of a modern capital. In that respect, Bulaq was considered an appropriate district to fulfil the vision of utilizing Cairo's historic sites to attract tourists and foreign investment, and simultaneously, to eliminate the unsightly parts of the city which presented the capital in a depressing image.

Archival documents and newspapers were extremely informative in explaining how the district of Bulaq, in terms of its location and poor spatial qualities, was perceived at the time of drafting the plan, and supplied information about the intended organization of the district's spaces, which had been neglected and misused for a long time. These sources, on the other hand, helped to reveal the actual rationale behind the desire to impose spatial order on bordering zones such as the river frontage zone and inner zones such as Ishash al-Tourguman section.

Not surprisingly, the reactions of the planning authority and the people were mixed. The people's responses to plan 42 suggest that it failed to take proper account of the tight physical tissue of the district and the district's historical sense of place, which had been shaped over centuries: a process which had been taken place around some of the historical monuments at its heart. It is quite obvious that through this scheme what the government was really attempting was the destruction of this historic district, as none of the official documents considered, or even referred to its potential for survival. On the other hand, the plan was widely criticised for its failure to fulfil the social needs of the people living in Bulaq. Traders and workers raised a number of complaints regarding the state's development plans for the district while others showed their complete support. Many residents and workshops owners claimed that their jobs and shops had built up a reputation during their many years in Bulaq and locating them in another place would threaten their survival⁹⁵. In this regard, *Hamdy Ahmed*, the Deputy District of Bulaq, questioned the state's ability to afford housing units for the four hundred thousand people living in Bulaq who had been selected for relocation. He manifestly demanded that the process of evacuation be operated in tandem with the building of new houses for the huge number of people due to be relocated⁹⁶.

The frustration with regard to the gap between the contents of plan 42 and the city realities were major concerns which led to the scheme's failure to deliver the spatial qualities that would fulfil the poor people's needs. Moreover, there was obvious bias in favour of the upper classes, a lack of public participation in decision making, and imposition of an

⁹⁵ al-Ahram, December 29, 1979, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

imported order on the physical pattern of the district. Also, the plan was excessively ambitious in relation to government capacities, particularly in terms of human and financial resources. It lacked, in some cases, an understanding of the local economic and social dynamics, which was vital to preparation of plans relevant to the local situation. For example, the proposed zoning arrangements were in conflict with the intensification of land use, plan drawings were inaccurate and, most importantly, there was a lack of consultation between the planning committee and other involved parties, such as the Ministry of Transport on one side and the local representatives and residents on the other side.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REMAKING FOR THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

BULAQ ABUL ELA 2005



Signs of contemporary deteriorated conditions in Ramlet Bulaq.

Today's view of Ramlet Bulaq's government built social housing (constructed in 1966), showing several modifications by its low-class occupants.

7.0. Remaking the Twenty First century Bulaq

Moving forward to the first decade of the twentieth century we can trace the emergence of an institutionalized form of planning out of certain cultural, economic and political circumstances as a form of land use control. It emerged as a social movement led by a series of individual organizations seeking social reform; or at least this was the case in Britain, the dominant power of that time¹. It is apparent that the same decade of the twenty first century denoted a huge shift in planning practices worldwide and especially in Egypt, in another movement from town and spatial based planning into a more user-friendly and socially-led environmental planning². Similarly to the early emergence, the shift in planning practices followed long-term criticism of sustained inhuman and authoritative, profession-centred approaches that had resulted in many failures in terms of problematic areas, such as Bulaq in Cairo. While the first shift provided us with new concepts, such as Garden cities and module structured and modular cities, the recent shift's central focus is on the regeneration and remaking of old urban contexts, giving rise to concepts such as urban village, sustainable communities and efficient transportation strategy: in other words, enhancing and improving existing urban landscapes for sustainable and efficient use.

But, how could this shift affect the long-term problematic issue of remaking Bulaq? To what extent did the planning institutions in Cairo realize that time was running out for rescuing the rapidly deteriorating district following several abortive attempts? Did they learn the lessons and re-draft their priorities? This chapter intends to look at the planning scheme of Bulaq in 2005, which leaves a time span of about 30 years since the previous plan, during which planning practices, theory and research have significantly changed in terms of objectives, strategies and implementation.

The social and economic pressures were the main drivers for both periods, which confirms the mutually dependent relationship between the socio-cultural and economical context on one side and planning practices and policies on another³. The socio-economical pressures and the state's desire to improve the economic profile of Cairo in the escalating competition with other Middle Eastern cities such as Dubai and Jeddah have reinstated the project for remaking Bulaq at the forefront of planning priorities in Egypt. During the recent decade, the need for developing Bulaq was seen entirely differently than in the time of previous schemes, as will be highlighted in this chapter. Generating financial markets, capital and economic outlets has become of primary importance to the Egyptian government. From this perspective, the whole process was designed to deliver certain images and assets for the national economy rather than to improve the local residents' conditions. Definitely, remaking Bulaq in the 2000s is a remaking of a different district, even if it remains the same in many of its aspects.

¹ Blowers, A. and Evans, B. (1997) *Town Planning for the Twenty First Century*. London: Psychology Press. p. 2 - 4.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

It is therefore the aim in this chapter to analyze the visions and strategies which guided the drafting of the scheme of 2005 and how those visions led the planning team to apply specific spatial arrangements for land use and construction activities. It will become evident that the scheme was supported by the introduction of the 1983 planning law which contained a number of modified clauses on the renewal of old districts. It was also believed that this law would offer a quick fix for many of the complex issues and shortcomings in the previous planning law of 1956. Therefore, the chapter explains how the plan addressed improving the spatial qualities of Bulaq and how these qualities were affected by the construction of high rise buildings in the river frontage zone and of the 15 May Bridge during the 1990s. Furthermore, the most important impact became apparent through presentation of the scheme to the Local's People Committee, which raised significant objections to the plan. After much negotiation and revision, the final plan was approved in 2005. But in this case, a crucial question can be raised: what were the actual conditions of the district's spatial qualities that, by the beginning of the new century, had made its remaking so urgent, when the previous two schemes had failed to be implemented?

7.1. Visions of remaking: strategies for the 21st century.

Following Sadat's assassination in 1981, the project of remaking Bulaq was put on hold, leading to a period of uncertainty about the intentions of the new regime and what to do next which lasted until the turn of the twenty first century. The Muhafzah's failure to complete the Ishash al-Tourguman project in 1980 highlighted the need to review the then ineffective and impractical urban renewal policies, legislation and procedures. The acceleration of deterioration in old districts required the local planning authority to search for realistic solutions to re-planning, based on proper planning principles, comprehensive feasibility studies and phased implementation. After the Muhafzah was publicly criticized for its questionable approaches towards the clearance of Ishash al-Tourguman section, a shift in the planning authority's attitudes towards improving the spatial qualities of old districts had been observed. As a result of al-Tourguman project failure, a new planning law (Law 3 for year 1983) was issued to replace all previous planning legislation in Egypt. In principle, it outlined new guidelines for the renewal of old districts. The first article of the law clearly states that 'all districts and areas suffering from severe signs of deterioration in its buildings or living areas must be cleared and re-planned'⁴. Mainly, this law allowed the Muhafzah to extend their control over clearance procedures and to re-plan areas that were defined as 'overcrowded and highly deteriorated', while areas that lacked basic services and infrastructure were approved for upgrading within a flexible model of development⁵. Also, the law set a list of guidelines that required urban, social and economic studies to be conducted

⁴ The Egyptian Gazette, Law 3 for year 1983, The Ameri Press.

⁵ Alam, A. (1997) *Urban Renewal*. Al-Anglow. Cairo. Egypt. p. 277.

prior to any remaking decision on clearance: to determine the proper classification of each area with regard to suitability for clearance or upgrading⁶.

The introduction of this law was a response to the increasing attention being paid to tackling problems of poverty and decline in old districts and other marginal shanty town-like areas. On national occasions President Mubarak was continuously expressing his concerns regarding problems of social development, poverty and, specifically, slums and deterioration, in addition to the lack of basic services in many areas⁷. During his meeting with parties of the Egyptian parliament during 1992, he stated that 'it is well known that there are people who still suffer from limited living resources and cramped living conditions And that there are others who still live in unhealthy houses in deteriorated areas in Egypt'⁸. This could be seen as the social issues being put at the forefront of planning strategies in Egypt by the head of state. Accordingly, this law can be seen as a manifestation of the paradigm shift in the Egyptian planning system, which to some extent came into line with international planning practice, which had started to focus on socio-economical problems in deprived areas.

In addition, the new law allowed the Muhafzah to prepare more practical schemes through a process of consultation and allowed local communities and organizations (private and public) to give feedback and respond to its objectives. Accordingly, public meetings and discussions of a project have to take place and are announced to the whole community while the drawings have to be published locally. Also, the law stated that the Muhafzah is responsible for offering replacement houses for evicted residents in areas that are designated for clearance. On the approval of the Prime Minister, the Muhafzah can expropriate lands for public interest, which includes lands planned for public spaces, parking areas, and bridges, or to buy out lands in areas subject to clearance⁹.

Such a development and shift in practice was not a sudden move from one system to another. Rather, the transition took place through two gradual stages: the phase that dominated the 1980s focused on improving the spatial qualities of the city and the other, during the 1990s, focused on urban renewal. Initial actions towards these goals were set in two main directions; the first was to launch a number of economical housing units to relocate residents from areas which urgently required clearance. The second action was to allow international organizations to become involved in renewing these areas, with special attention to health and social aspects. For instance, in 1986, the government launched a project to develop deteriorated sections in Cairo, starting with seven areas located in Helwan district, and financially funded by the American Aid program. The project aimed to provide the necessary services and infrastructure in a number of new housing settlements which were eventually to be owned by the residents. However, in 1988 most residents failed to pay

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Egyptian people's assembly of the parliament, *magles al-Sha'ab (1981-1993) the Golden Book: President Mubarak's speeches in the Egyptian people's assembly*. D.T. p. 594.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ This act will be discussed further in relation to the scheme's legislative framework in chapter nine.

their instalments because of the high costs of the units which were the result of an increase in land value of the site after its development¹⁰.

During the 1990s, however, the focus on improving urban qualities took another diversion. In 1994 the Minister of Local Administration, Dr. *Mahomud Sherif*, announced during an assembly of the parliament, *magles al-Shoura*, that the number of deteriorated areas in Cairo had reached 79,¹¹ of which 12 areas required urgent clearance and 67 areas were recommended for renewal¹². On the other hand, the GOPP published a report the same year revealing that since the 1970s the number of informal houses in Cairo had increased to represent 84% of new constructions and these were inhabited by 45.6% of the city's total population¹³. The stated objective of the Egyptian Federal Government in 1999 was to regulate land use patterns in old valuable sites of the city. To that end, the Bulaq re-planning scheme of 2005 was prepared as part of a general strategy to develop several districts located in the western section of Cairo Governorate¹⁴. It proposed to preserve the current activities and some minor land uses in areas which accounted for about 60% of the district. This decision also responded to the negative consequences of the previous scheme of 1979 when the Muhafzah announced its intentions to re-plan the district by limiting areas of clearance in the district [I2.1.09].

7.2. On the move

The provision of local maintenance and renewal programs to regulate the physical patterns and land uses of Bulaq had been a priority of the local planning authorities; the Muhafzah and its planning department, since the 1980s. Improving Bulaq's quality was then understood as achievable through the renewal of the urban fabric by clearing old buildings and adding significant landmark developments and open spaces. While the latter was relatively easy to achieve, especially on the river front, the former seemed more challenging, especially because of the condensed overcrowded buildings packed with low-class residents and workers. It was also evident that problems were more serious in inner sections of Bulaq, where the average population density in 2000 had reached 112751 person/km²¹⁵, while its spatial settings, defined by the tight hawari and outdated buildings and houses, had relentlessly continued to worsen.

¹⁰ Arandal, C. and El-Batran (1997) *The Informal Housing Development Process in Egypt*. DPU Working Paper. London. The development Planning Unit.

¹¹ Al-Gomhouryya Newspaper (1994) 4 January.

¹² Report of Ministry of Local Administration (1995) *The phenomena of Urban Rural Migration in Egypt and the Role of the Ministry of Local Administration in Facing its Consequences*. Issued in September. p. 26 - 27. The same report stated that the number of deteriorated areas in Egypt had reached 901, and following a number of flood events, this number increased to 1032 areas, of which 81 areas required urgent clearance while 953 areas were recommended for renewal.

¹³ Al-Mousawer Magazine (1994) 14 January.

¹⁴ Several schemes were approved to clear, develop, or modify building regulations in districts and sections located in western Cairo such as Maspero, al-Tourguman, Zamalek districts and the River Nile sections limited to these areas.

¹⁵ The Information and Decision Support Center IDSC (2001).

During August 1990, the executive office of the Muhafzah announced the preparation of a scheme to re-plan the river frontage of Bulaq, in an attempt to improve this significant section. Despite the fact that the announcement specifically referred to the re-planning of Maspero Section facing the River Nile, this project and associated plan were not drafted at that time due to lack of sufficient funds¹⁶. Instead, it took about a decade before this ambition came to reality when a second attempt to develop the plan was made during 1999. This was followed by another announcement from *Abdel Reheem Shehata*¹⁷, the Muhafez, for the preparation of several re-planning proposals for Bulaq and Maspero to be completed within a three year period. The project, basically, aimed to review and amend the street network for better accessibility with the centre of the city: the busy Cairo downtown¹⁸.

Following these various attempts, the real work began with the beginning of the new millennium. The state and planning authorities has never before been so desperate to re-plan Bulaq as an image of the prosperity of Egyptian economy and the quality of the built environment. This was basically a bid to attract major corporations and investors to invest in this area in the form of profitable developments and commercial buildings and hotels. In February 2001, the permanent committee of the local council of the Muhafzah (*al-lagnah al-Dae'emah le-magles mahaly al-Qahira*)¹⁹ announced its pledge to clear the temporary shelters referred to as *manateq al'lwa'at* located in Ramlet Bulaq²⁰. The committee suggested revising a number of specific building regulations to 'support the economic development and living conditions in the district'²¹. These ideas were discussed with the Muhafez in June 2001 and inevitably a new project for *re-planning areas located behind the Conrad hotel and Ramlet Bulaq*, as named by the committee, was initiated²².

As an indication of the urgency to develop Bulaq during the twenty first century, the Housing Department was required to prepare a survey of the spatial conditions of this particular area and to submit the findings within a short time²³. The head of the Housing Department reported on the situation, declaring that 'the area located behind the Conrad Hotel [constructed in the river frontage zone²⁴] is identified as a [*manteka mutahalka*] and deteriorated area and is already included in the broader survey for Ramlet Bulaq, which is

¹⁶ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1990) August 14.

¹⁷ Abdel Reheem Shehata was the Muhafez from 8 July 1997 to 14 July 2004.

¹⁸ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1999) February 2. The program was also launched and scheduled 'within the support and directions of the president Hosni Mubarak' as the newspaper reported.

¹⁹ The council is headed by General Ahmed Fakhr who has been the local council chair since 1992 and he is assigned to this post for ten years: until 2012. He is also the chair of the International Center for Future and Strategic Studies (ICFS), a political and strategic professional and a professor of strategic science.

²⁰ Engineer Ahmed Tawfeek, the secretary of the local council, also attended this meeting and confirmed the initial approval of the project.

²¹ Minutes of the permanent committee of the local council of Cairo Governorate meeting, Decree (83) in the 5th of February 2001.

²² Memorandum from the Muhafzah general secretary to the head of Housing Department, 25 June 2001, number 6428- 22/12. The planning department, the Muhafzah.

²³ *Ibid*. It is also worthy of note that the general secretary required the head of housing department to specify the required time for completing this task and reporting back to the *Muhafez*. In addition, several memos were also sent to the department of housing to speed up the survey; however, I was not able to find any explanation for this urgency.

²⁴ The WTC's achievement encouraged the implementation of the second phase of the project, which was the Conrad Hotel. The hotel was designed by the same team as the WTC project. Although it was connected with the WTC by an inner court leading to the hotel ballroom entrance and the commercial centre entrance, the two had nothing in common. However, both projects succeeded in attracting new income groups to the site.

currently being carried out by the department'²⁵ (Figure 7.1). This survey included the planning situation, buildings conditions, and problems, studying the area's future potential for development and re-planning²⁶. However, the survey was delayed due to staff shortages, as complained of by the housing department leader²⁷.

By mid 2002, the Muhafez headed a special committee to discuss the survey findings and future development proposals. Detailed maps of physical spatial configurations such as land plots and use, buildings heights and conditions, and types of building materials were available to the committee members. The findings reported that there was a variety of land uses, such as industrial use, including a significant number of old warehouses and stores, which formed 26% of the district's total area, and which impacted the conditions of attached buildings negatively²⁸. The recommendations urged the need for rapid development action, with two maps being drafted: one showed the general analysis and urgent action areas, while the other indicated areas with particular problems such as housing deterioration, unsuitable mix of activities and parking problems.

The final report was the first to avoid the generalization of Bulaq's problems and required actions. Rather it defined certain zones according to specific problems and target actions. For example, Ramlet Bulaq, social housing was considered as an urgent need in an action zone that contained educational and commercial services, poor houses, and some old warehouses, while the small area facing the river had only minor touristic services. Al-Sabtiyya and al-Tourguman areas, on the other hand, suffered from the concentration of industrial usage and large numbers of warehouses and rail stores which were interconnected with residential properties. The survey acknowledged that 'the image of warehouses and old deteriorated small stores is not appropriate, and does not suit the identity of the river front facades'²⁹. Wikalat al-Balah area, however, was denoted as an area with *special character* for being a commercial site known for the concentration of many residential houses and buildings in poor condition. In addition, traffic problems were caused by narrowness of the streets, especially in the inner sections, which impeded access by ambulances, fire and rescue services, and constituted one of its main negative features (Figure 7.2).

Initial signs of progress in re-planning Bulaq could be seen in the growing awareness of the planning institution's deeper understanding to maintain the quality of the district in terms

²⁵ Memorandum from the head of Housing Department to the Muhafzah general secretary, 12 November 2001, number 634. The planning department, the Muhafzah.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Memorandum from the head of housing department to the survey department, 21 February 2001, Number 126, the planning department, the Muhafzah. Following the Muhafzah's approval No. 422 in 2000, which assigned a well established construction company in Cairo, named *The Arab contractors; Osman Ahmed Osman*, to survey and prepare a master plan for re-planning *al-Salam* district, the same company submitted a request to work on Bulaq survey project but the Muhafzah rejected the request.

²⁸ The Cairo Governorate (2005) *Report of the Bulaq development scheme of 2005 (BDS)*, the Muhafzah. p. 11. The notable deterioration was also reported in the final official report in 2005 by the *Muhafazah* department of planning as it indicated a number of further unavoidable problems of the district. Notably, the deadline date for submitting the survey results was never announced or recorded in any communication between the departments. In addition, the memo recommended the survey results and proposals to the *Muhafez* before submitting them to the local council.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

of addressing issues of the harmony of the sensory quality and the spatial attributes associated by the existing land use and building conditions. The report says that deterioration in Bulaq was affected by:

'The implementations on the river front zone which resulted in a contrasted visual identity of the district. One can clearly observe the conflict of constructing luxury buildings surrounded by slums and poor one floor houses. Bulaq also suffers from lack of affordable parking areas although it has witnessed a partial implementation of the proposals from previous schemes'³⁰.

In addition, the analysis showed that problems of parking were unavoidable, especially as several office buildings had been constructed during the 1990s which added further pressure to the already limited infrastructure and street spaces. Moreover, the findings showed that the district lacked amenities such as social, cultural and health services³¹. In response to this problem, the Department of Housing contacted several agencies to publicize the preparation of a new planning scheme and get feedback on the need for any additional activities or services. While the Muhafzah received a number of replies from different ministries, the Ministry of Culture replied by asking the Housing Department to consider providing a reasonable site for construction of a cultural centre 'to serve the district's residents'³².



Figure 7.1 The area located behind the Conrad Hotel in the river frontage zone. This area has been identified as *manteka mutahalka* or a deteriorated area.

³⁰ BDS 2005, p. 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³² Memorandum from the head of Ministry of Culture to the head of Housing department, 10 June 2001, number 1334. The planning department, the Muhafzah.

7.3. The preliminary plan

The plan typically involved three principal stages of investigation, preparation and approval by governmental and parliamentary bodies that could extend to 3-4 years to implement. The preliminary plan proposals submitted to the Muhafez gained tentative approval in August 2002³³. It had been thirty seven years since the approval of plan 2020 of 1966 by the local authorities. However, both plans showed extensive similarities³⁴, perhaps because many of the 1966 problems had not been resolved. Originally, as stated by a member of the planning team³⁵, minor changes had been made in the road circulation, while extra considerations were applied to the new zones of land-use and public spaces [I2.1.09]. Yet, differences in this area can be observed. For example, the diagonal road proposed in plan 2020 was not a constant feature in the new scheme as the planning committee was keen not to repeat mistakes of the past, such as proposals for amendments to roads which cut through the buildings and existing streets [I2.1.09].

The plan generally followed certain guidelines to add practicality rather than drafting superior ideas which could never be implemented [I1.1.09]. Whilst changes in street lines, widths and axis were the main features, zones previously designated for touristic and commercial use were preserved. Notably, several high-rise buildings and hotels were constructed within the river frontage zone during the 1990s. Prior to drafting the preliminary plan, the planning department wrote a request to hay Bulaq to provide the planning committee with maps that showed the exact set-backs of five specific buildings located in the riverfront zone³⁶.

An additional observation was that the initial brief and planning proposals were presented in a different format from previous schemes. Although, the final brief presented in 2005 was described as 'poor and lacking proficiency'³⁷ due to the type of some of its proposed features such as the street widths and set-backs, it contained a consistent series of digitally drawn proposals. Definitely, planners are now benefiting from advanced drawing methods, but my impression is that the complicated problems found in Bulaq led to the development of a series of explanatory drawings that accurately surveyed in detail the existing road network, land uses, problems and possible development potential, existing services and activities, and a map marking the general situation of the district. The land use map, unlike in the previous schemes, showed the exact type of activities to be linked with the appropriate

³³ Al-Akbar Newspaper (2002) August 23, p. 10.

³⁴ One of the engineers from the planning team mentioned that while drafting the new scheme, they seriously considered the road widths and street amendments proposed in plan 2020; however, they never admitted that the two plans had similarities. Not surprisingly, when I discussed with them some issues of the new plan, they sometimes referred me back to the old one. Also, I noticed that two obsolete original copies were always available on the head of certified projects' desk, and when I asked for the reason she replied that she sometimes refers to the map to clarify information regarding road widths, for example.

³⁵ The planning team included four engineers from the planning department of the Muhafzah, as stated by the head of department, who was one of the team at that time.

³⁶ Namely, the world Trade Center, Conrad Hotel, Arcadia Mall, and the Arad Industries union building '*etihad al-Sena'at al-Arabia*' were listed in the request to consider set-backs when proposing changes to the surrounding streets.

³⁷ This description was stated in an official complaint from the Bulaqi representatives, as will be explained later in this chapter.

building setbacks and road widths amendments, and showed the type of development proposed for each zone. The brief explained that the district had several spots of housing and road deterioration which required changes to the existing land uses and the road circulation. However, the physical structure of the district has much potential that can be preserved, maintained and re-used³⁸. Therefore, the planning committee recommended two development trends: road amendments to solve traffic problems and clearance of areas that suffered from planning problems.

7.3.1. The Street Amendments

From initial reports and proposals, the overriding priority was to improve the street network. From the planning committee's point of view, this was achievable through developing an accessible and convenient street network by amending the building setbacks that were increasingly blocking the streetscape. Apparently, the planners were conscious of the difficulties, obstacles and expected lack of local support for any proposal to amend the existing network. While the local residents acknowledged the need to improve the existing unsatisfactory street network and associated open spaces, they feared losing much of their property and/or business to the widening, or diversion of the streets. Thus, the plan was developed on the basis of two principal strategies. The first was to plan a phased amendment to main streets that ran mostly outside problematic areas, mainly on the periphery of Bulaq. This would ease the flow of traffic across the district and reduce the problematic congestion and traffic jams. In addition, there would be more room to accommodate higher and larger buildings (that follow street width rule) and attract businesses and new investments.

This strategy was very noticeable in the river frontage development and a few side roads as the proposal involved increasing the width of two main streets: Shar'i Yuliu and Shar'i al-Sabbtiyya, to 50 meters. Although this proposal was aimed at street width and traffic control, it set out the need for easy access and adequate size of potential commercial routes such as in Shari Bulaq al-Gadid. On the other hand, secondary and inner street widths were to have a standard but hierarchical organization of widths varying between 15, 25 and 30 meters. Accordingly, most of the main and secondary streets were to gain extra width in phases which would typically follow the vision for the hierarchy of traffic and accessibility.

³⁸ For example, several major services available in the district were not to be cleared, such as health, educational, social, cultural, commercial, and general administrative services. See BDS 2002, p. 19 - 20 for a full record of the existing services and facilities in Bulaq.

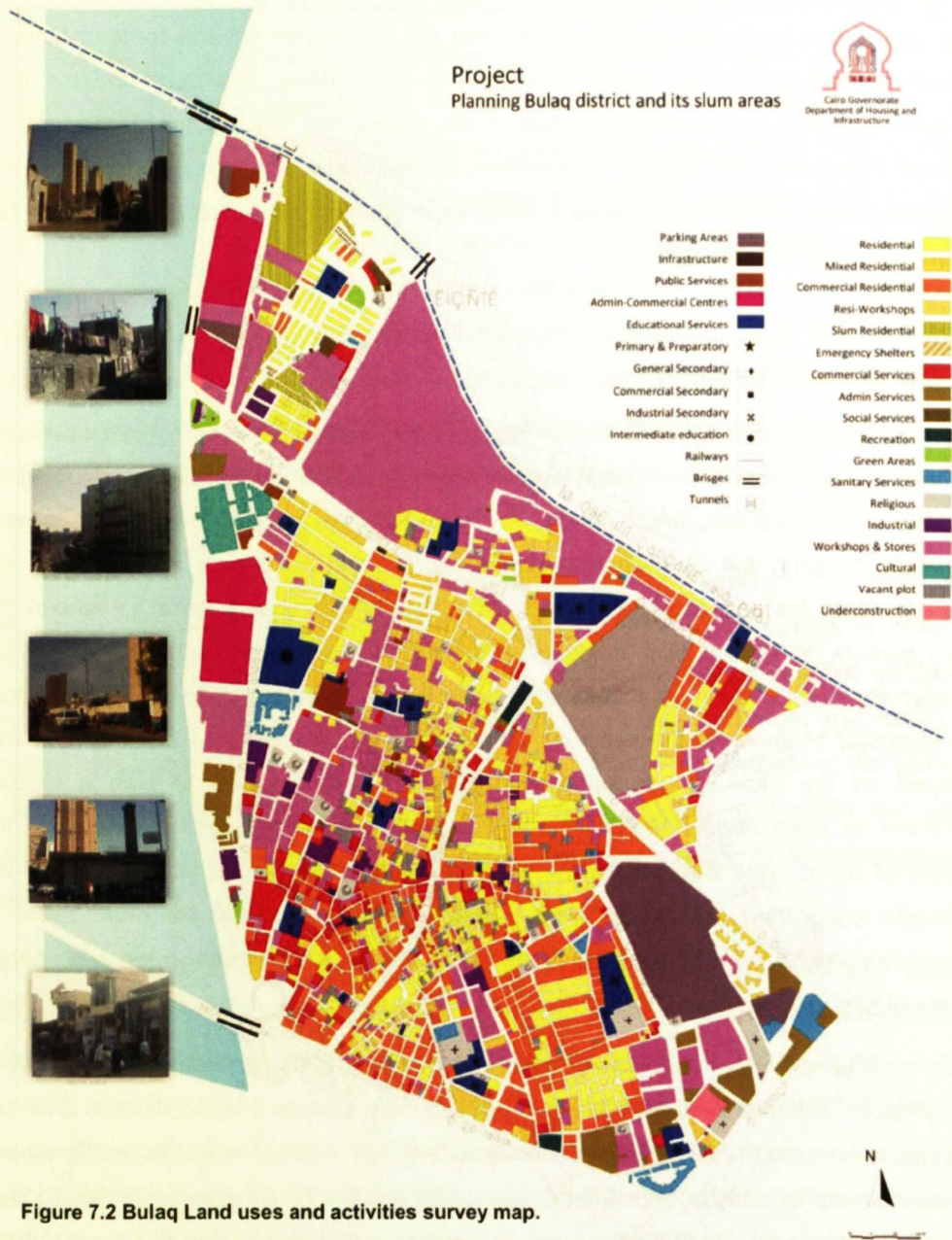


Figure 7.2 Bulaq Land uses and activities survey map.

Source: Documents of the planning department, The Muhafzah. (See Appendix C.4)

The second strategy was, basically, learning from previous mistakes regarding implementation of such amendments. The plan was based on long-term implementation rather than drastic short-term execution, which had proved problematic in the past. Changes to existing street widths were to be applied gradually according to the width, traffic flow concentration and the importance of accessibility. However, owners of private properties, shopkeepers, and public buildings were obligated to follow the approved set-backs in the plan whenever constructing or rebuilding properties. As mentioned earlier, the survey findings showed that a large number of buildings in Bulaq were unstable enough to collapse at any moment and required urgent demolition³⁹. Therefore, a large number of buildings are expected to be redesigned and built in the next few decades, which will gradually transform and improve several aspects of the district's spatial quality in the long term, and to ensure that this happens, any application for planning permission has to follow the new heights and setbacks, as well as associated heights. So, for example, the preliminary plan drawings showed that the setbacks for a new building facing shari al-sabtiyya which was amended from 25 to 50 meters, will roughly be between 10-13 meters, and the maximum allowed height is 1.5 times greater than street width, or maximum 36 meters, which would be the approved maximum height in this example. However, the planning committee recommended that: a committee from the hay Bulaq [the local municipal authority] would be responsible for following up each building situation individually, and ensuring that in cases of demolition, the set-back of the new construction would be supervised by an engineer to ensure that it followed the proper set-backs⁴⁰ [I2.1.09].

As with previous plans, a fair number of buildings need to be expropriated and would require total demolition, particularly in areas of clearance in Ramlet Bulaq. However, the planning committee, informed by their previous problems over Ishash al-Tourguman residents' relocation, suggested not involving the Muhafzah in any type of relocation commitment [I1.1.09]. On the other hand, due to financial shortage, the Muhafzah was not in a financial position to grant fair compensation to relocated residents or offer alternative houses at the time of drafting the scheme.

7.3.2. Clearance

The second trend recommended by the planning committee was guided by clearance due to negative deterioration and unhealthy living conditions in Ramlet Bulaq⁴¹. Specific sections in Ramlet Bulaq were approved for clearance, namely *al-Kafrawy*, *Fayed*, *Santo*, and *Kabesh*, and two sites of the emergency shelters (*masaken al-iwa'a al-ageh*), based on the proposal for re-planning areas located *behind the Conrad Hotel and Ramlet Bulaq*

³⁹It indicated that 17.2% of the buildings were in good condition, 42.05% in moderate condition, while 40.3% of the buildings were in poor condition.

⁴⁰ This point will be further discussed in chapter eight.

⁴¹ Ramlet Bulaq is the area bounded by the rail station to the north, Shari Aboul- Farag to the south and al-Sikka al-Tougaryya on the west side.

(Figure 7.3 and 7.4). Initially, during December 2000, a committee⁴² was formed to report on the exact numbers of houses and Ishash locations, based on the partial implementation of plan 2020 in the Ramlet Bulaq⁴³. In May 2001, the survey of existing land uses, building heights, building condition and materials, and road widths was completed⁴⁴.

Major changes to land use activities in Ramlet Bulaq were marked in the plan. Residents were offered compensation due to the fact that all these areas were governmental properties in the first instance, thus 'reasonable compensations would be arranged', as the report mentioned⁴⁵. Each named site in Ramlet Bulaq was designated for land use changes, such as Al-Kafrawy site was proposed for private investment (commercial and administrative), Kabesh for construction of a multi-storey car park facing Shari Bulaq al-Gadid, Santo for commercial and housing uses with maximum height of 15 meters, while Fayed section was proposed for Commercial activities, provided with suitable car park space⁴⁶. Streets of Ramlet Bulaq, on the other hand, were to be amended. For example, a new 15 meter road parallel to the train tracks to connect with Shari Aboul-Farag was one of the proposals.

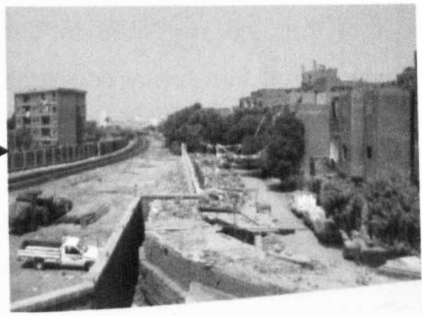
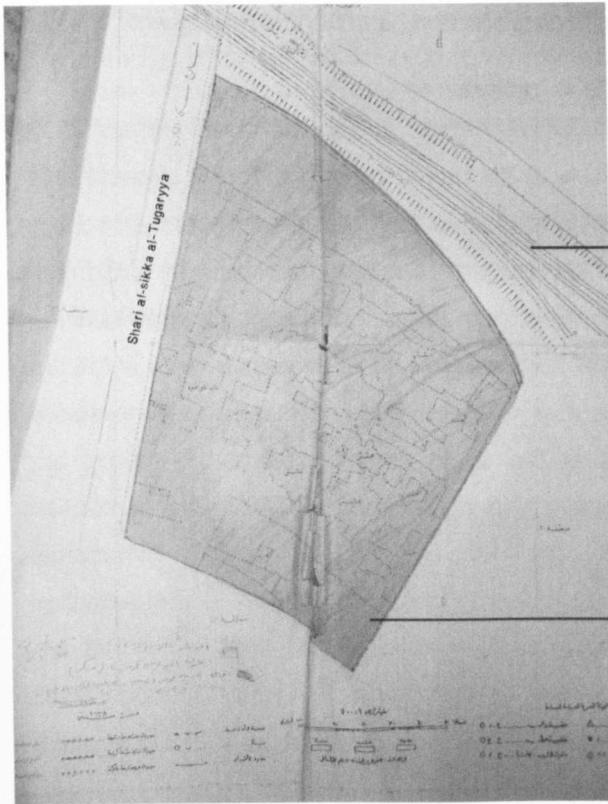
⁴² The committee comprised *Hend AbdulMonen*, from the planning department, Eng. *Mohamed Ramadan Elsayed*, head of survey department and *Fatima Ahmed*, a representative from the Muhafzah.

⁴³ Meeting minutes, survey results for developing housing shelters in Ramlet Bulaq, 16 December 2000, Department of Housing, the Muhafzah.

⁴⁴ Memorandum from the survey department to the head of planning, 23 May 2001, number 206/3, The planning department, the Muhafzah. Due to the compact tissue of the site, the survey of *Ishash Ramlet Bulaq* was shown on a map scaled 1:200.

⁴⁵ BDS 2002, p. 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*



Ishash Ramlet Bulaq

Figure 7.3 Part-survey map (2002) of Ishash Ramlet Bulaq in Bulaq.
 The yellow part illustrates the Ishash and houses constructed on government lands.
 Source: Planning department, the Muhafzah.

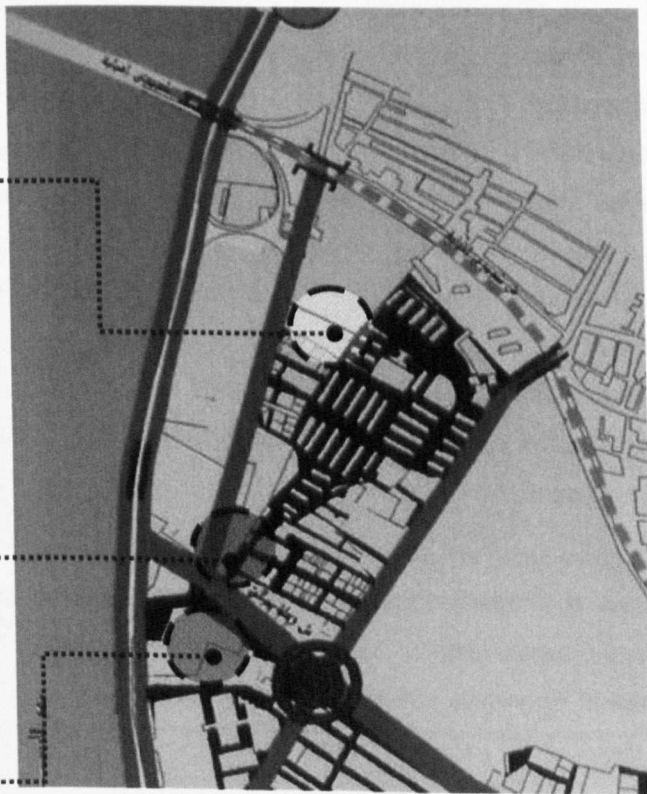
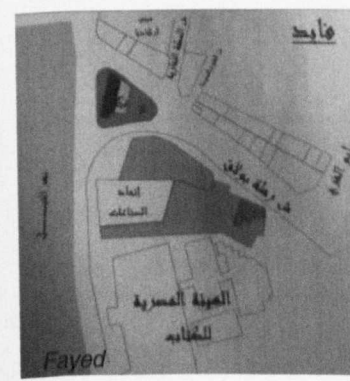
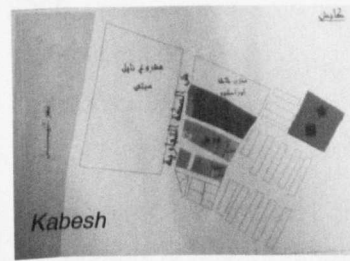
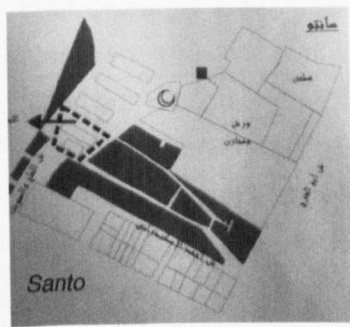


Figure 7.4 Areas of clearance in Ramlet Bulaq, Santo, Kabesh, and Fayed.
 Source: Documents of the planning department, The Muhafzah.

7.4. Special Considerations of the Engineering and Traffic Planning Department: 15 May Bridge

The fact that the plan had to be coordinated with other public work and infrastructure projects meant that many concerns were likely to be raised among different departments. The 15 May Bridge, for example, was to be extended to provide an additional exit during 1999-2000 to link Bulaq to the Zamalek and al-Muhandseen districts with Shari al-Cornich. The proposed bridge work in Bulaq led to several arguments and much negotiation between the Department of Housing and Planning and the Department of Traffic. In May 2001, the head of housing wrote to the traffic planning chief to express his concern about the size of the site for the bridge's exit. The site was at the south west corner of the district and contained a considerable number of shops, stores and old houses. The head of housing requested from the traffic department an accurate map that showed the exact dimensions and slope of the bridge in order to give a clear view of the surrounding uses and activities, before and after the project's completion and that 'It would be recommended that any suggestions or considerations from traffic planning department be taken into account while drafting the plan'⁴⁷. There was a need to understand what would happen after construction and to be aware of any proposed future expansions in Bulaq.

From the correspondence between the two departments, it becomes apparent that such collaborative projects cause some confusion as to who should develop the street networks or make the amendments. While the Department of Traffic required a clear map of proposed changes of street widths, the Department of Housing replied that all acts regarding road amendments and the inner narrow streets in Bulaq were on hold, awaiting the same information. There was no vision of how the streets would develop and the head of the traffic department was not sure how roads near the 15 May Bridge would be amended. Finally, a keyed map showing the proposed street changes, set-backs and new street alignments in and around the exit was presented (Figure 7.5). An additional map identified buildings that required expropriation, which included houses, workshops and some vacant lands. Inevitably, the exit of the bridge required a number of buildings to be evacuated and demolished as part of the state's public interest or *al-mantfa'a al-amma*, based on clauses of law 1983. However, a complete revision of this specific site was needed as the map showed a huge conflict between the proposed alignments and the bridge lines (Figure 7.6).

Afterwards, an amended version of the planning scheme was resubmitted in order to review the final proposals for the roads and to study its actual efficiency⁴⁸. In particular, specific areas were of concern to the Department of Traffic, such as Ramlet Bulaq and al-Sikka al-Tugariyya streets. The letter states that:

⁴⁷ Memorandum from the Head of Housing Department to the chief of Engineering and Traffic Planning Department, 30 May 2001, number 312, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

⁴⁸ Memorandum from the Traffic Planning Department to the Head of Housing Department, 15 August 2001, number 312, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

The department of traffic planning department requests a set of comprehensive drawings of the plan on completion. We also recommend that a critical map showing the exact road spans and widths be submitted to allow the department to revise and provide the committee's opinions and comments towards the proposed changes⁴⁹.

In accordance with changes to some major roads, as will be explained shortly, coordination between different departments was taking place; however the real trouble came from local shop owners and local businesses, who expressed their anger over the potential relocation/clearance of their businesses and shops, which would bring to an end their long-term site-specific popularity.

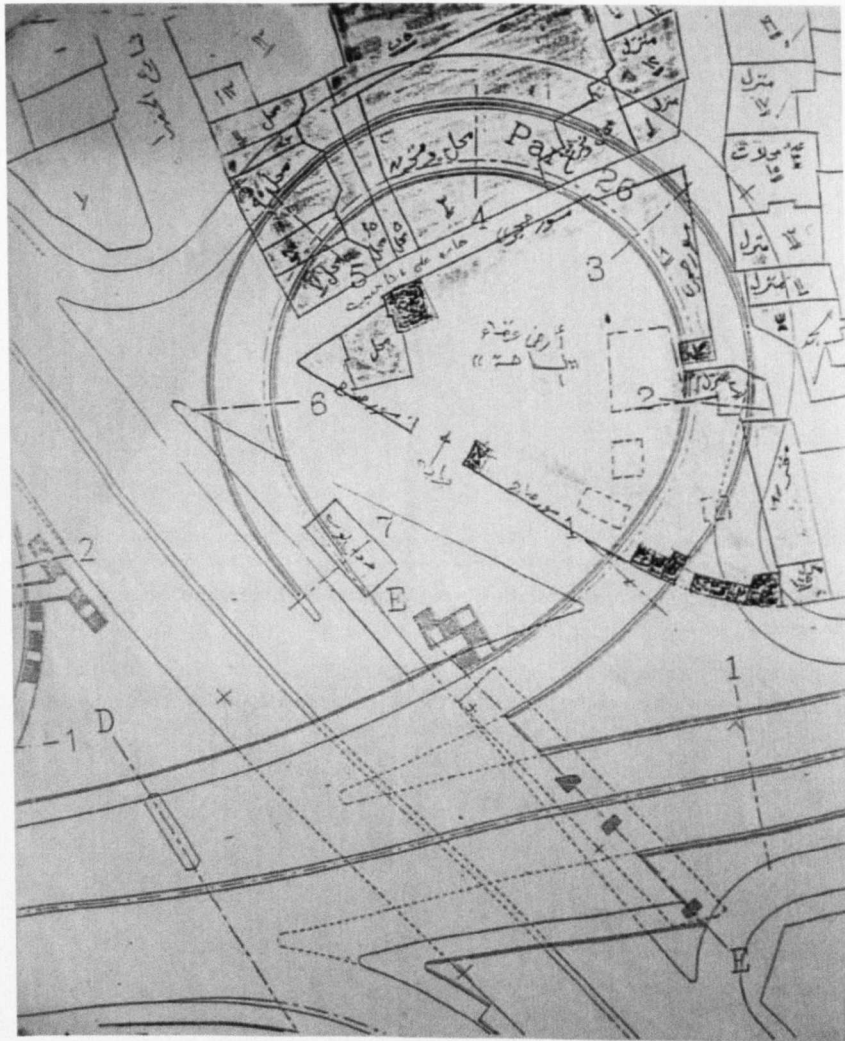


Figure 7.5 Outline of the 15 May Bridge exit overlapped with existing land-use.
Source: Documents of the Planning department, the Muhafzah.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

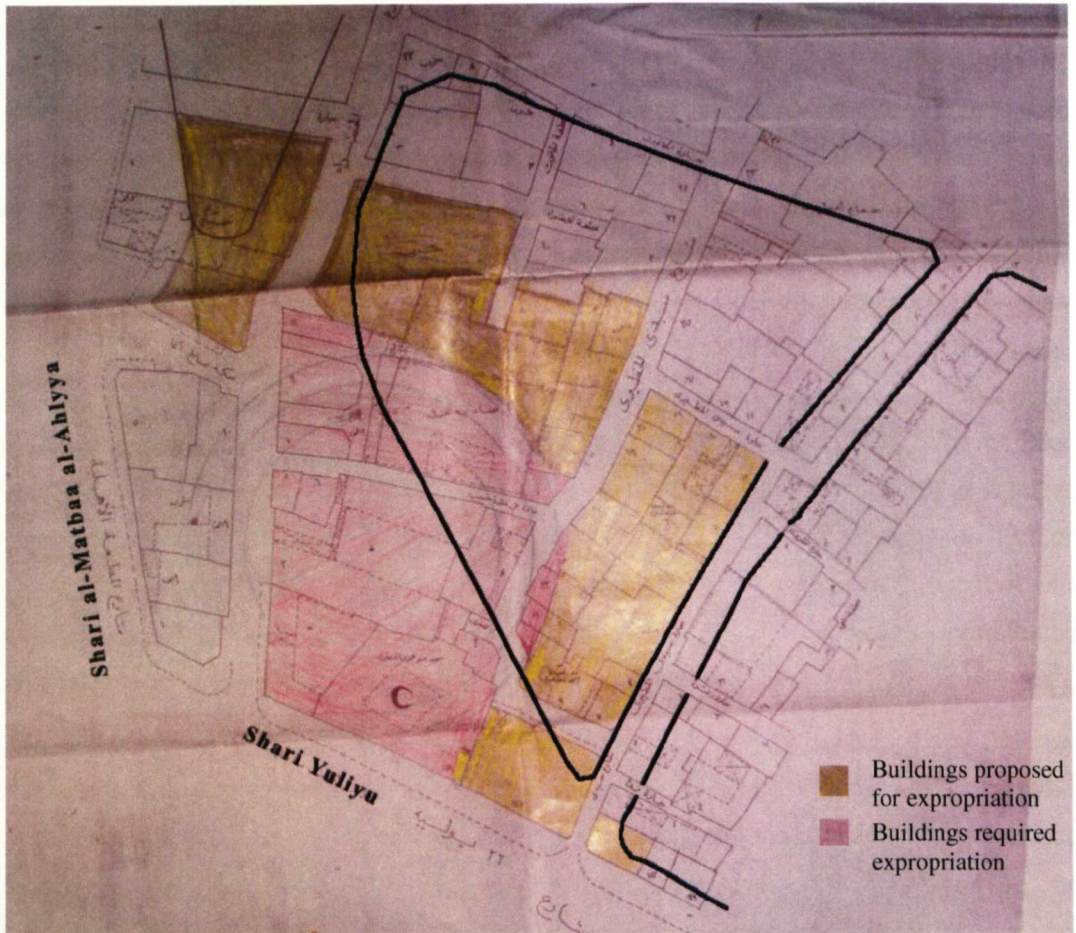


Figure 7.6 The 15 May Bridge land required through clearance and the street alignment of the original scheme.

The black lines show the street alignments proposed by the planning committee while the red zone shows the site of the bridge which required revision of the plan, while zones highlighted in yellow were not part of the evacuation. Source: Documents of the planning department, the Muhafzah.

7.5. Consultation and Approval: Areas of Disagreement with the Local People's Committee

In line with standard procedures, the plan required the approval of the assembly of the Local People's Committee, which represents the local community and had the power to approve, reject or raise comments/queries regarding the plan. These procedures, could, because of the complex bureaucratic system, delay the plan's implementation significantly. Therefore, after publishing the preliminary plan, a request from the Head of Housing expressing the urgent need to present the plans to the Local Council of the Muhafzah was sent to the Muhafez, stating that 'it is time to present the development plans of Bulaq to the Local Council Committee for consultation'⁵⁰. During August 2002, the scheme was officially presented to the local people's committee of the Muhafzah for the first time⁵¹. The Bulaqi representatives, from Hay Bulaq, expressed their regret and disappointment after the presentation. The 15 members of the committee signed a five page complaint memo to *Ahmed Fakhr*, the local council chair, noting that:

'The development project of Bulaq had become a case of public concern among Bulaq residents as many issues of the project are questionable. This problematic situation is due to the limited amount of information, data, and accurate maps presented in the meeting..... we confirm that the project did not follow the proper legislative standards according to the approved urban planning laws. Thus, we announce our official complaint and suggest that the housing department reassesses the project according to appropriate urban planning legislation No. 3 for the year 1983 as a reference, and resubmits the plans to the local people's committee in order to allow us to offer suitable feedback'⁵².

Not surprisingly, landowners and shopkeepers were the first to express their disagreement. The preliminary plan showed that many properties would be forced to adhere to rigid set-backs in cases of expropriation or demolition. In particular, some objected to the proposed set-back of al-Sabtiyya Street, as none of them were willing to lose any part of their buildings, even if they were compensated⁵³. The representatives' main issues of disagreement were listed in the memo as follows:

1. The survey findings and plan documents were insufficient and lacked important data: 'It was extremely unclear with regard to the exact spatial situation in Bulaq and the approved decisions for its inners streets'⁵⁴. This complaint was provoked by the low drawing quality, small scale, uncoloured map introduced to the committee. The plan was presented to the representatives on an A4 poster size sheet which in reality 'showed nothing', as the council members stated (Figure 7.7).

⁵⁰ Memorandum from the Head of Housing Department to the *Muhafez*, 27 May 2002, number 206/3, The planning department, the Muhafzah.

⁵¹ Documents of the local people's council, 26 August 2002, Hay Bulaq, Cairo.

⁵² Letter of complaint from the Local People's Committee to the Muhafez, not dated, the planning department, the Muhafzah (see Appendix E.1)

⁵³ An engineer from the planning committee explained to me that some residents recognized that after the implementation of the plan, the value of these lands would increase, thus they could gain extra profit in the future.

⁵⁴ Letter of complaint from the Local People's Committee to the Muhafez, not dated, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

2. The survey did not involve any social or economical study of the Bulaqi people or their actual living standards, while it was evident that a comprehensive planning survey was conducted to prepare the planning proposal. This links to the fact that the project was targeted only at improving specific physical qualities in certain sections of the district rather than offering the residents healthier living conditions overall.
3. In particular, they stated that widening three streets to reach 15 m and 25 m was not essential, given that several other active wide streets, such as *Shari al-Sabtiyya* which spans towards Shari al-Cornish, Shari Bulaq al-Gadid, and Shari Yuliu, operated perfectly. Thus, in their opinion, the plan did not adequately address the need to improve the streets' spatial qualities; whilst its failure to show the exact proposed set-backs for Shari al-Sabtiyya and Shari al-Sahafa created more confusion. Alternatively, they suggested expanding the width of Shari Suq al-Asr to 15 m as a vertical circulation axis spanning from Shari al-Sabtiyya to the 15 May Bridge, also, expanding Haret Darb Nasr to 25m as a horizontal circulation axis spanning from Shari Shanan to wikalet al-Balah and Shari al-Cornich.
4. The proposed street changes were confusing and could not be implemented in areas with a compact fabric of buildings of different sizes. They wrote that 'it seems that the planning committee had decided to expropriate the entire district, which explains why the plan lacked any distinction between private ownership lands and other lands subject to expropriation'⁵⁵.
5. The proposed land use was also an important issue. The committee suggested that the plan was based on commercial, touristic and entertainment land uses, especially in Ramlet Bulaq section, while it lacked any recommendation to construct housing blocks to re-house the residents after the scheme's implementation.

In December 2002, the local people's council wrote to the Muhafzah to request an urgent meeting with the housing department committee to discuss the representatives' comments⁵⁶. They needed maps and drawings which would better explain the development ideas. However, the Muhafzah's failure to respond for three months complicated the situation. They wrote back that:

'The housing department did not reply to our request nor did they present the accurate plans. We want to note that the Muhafazah's neglect of our request is against all legal regulations, which state the people's right to express their comments, suggestions and complaints towards this specific project, which in return involves changing their lives, future and security We regret our rejection of the proposals and request the housing department reconsider our comments and major points of complaint according to our legal rights to participate in this grand project'⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Memo from the local people's council to the Muhafez, 31 December 2002.

⁵⁷ Letter from the local people's council to the Muhafez, 19 March 2003.



Figure 7.7 The original A4 map presented to the local people's committee.
 This map was a major point of disagreement between the committee representatives and the housing department (see appendix E.5).
 Source: Documents of the local council, the Muhafzah.

It took the housing department 8 months to discuss the issues of disagreement prior the first recorded response to the complaint was confirmed by the local council resolution no. 159 dated 29th June 2003, promising that the project would be revised by the housing department according to issues of disagreement raised in the memo. Two months later, a short memo signed by members of the Egyptian's people assembly of the parliament, *magles al-Sha'ab*, and members of the local council of the Muhafzah was presented to the general secretary⁵⁸. This stated the necessity of re-housing the evicted Bulaqis, differentiating between the residents' and the Muhafzah's land ownership and offering the residents reasonable compensation due to the high value of cleared and demolished sites. The most important concession was their recommendation to limit and prioritize widening streets according to the actual number of residents inhabiting these areas. For example, streets with lower numbers of inhabitants would receive priority rather than streets located in overcrowded sections such as suq al-Asr and Darb Nasr⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ The issue was raised in the Egyptian people's assembly of the parliament when the Bulaq representative in the parliament tackled the case during one of the meetings during 2003, and he was able to persuade many to vote against the project.

⁵⁹ Memo from members of the Egyptian people's assembly of the parliament the local council to the general secretary, 28 April 2004, documents of the local council of the Muhafzah.

In reply to the issues of disagreement, the head of housing announced in February 2004 that 'the planning committee discussed in depth the issues of disagreement raised by the local people's committee of Hay Bulaq'⁶⁰. Accordingly, the planning committee suggested several modifications in areas of clearance in Ramlet Bulaq. The committee recommended constructing a reasonable number, without considering any exact number, of housing blocks in specific sections of Bulaq to re-house the residents evicted from areas of clearance⁶¹. People were promised that they would keep their workplaces and not be forced to abandon the places where they had spent their entire lives. Moreover, the committee recommended replacing the wooden workshops in Fayed section, while offering alternative locations to their owners⁶².

Regarding problems with the emergency shelters in Ramlet Bulaq, the committee proposed clearing all sites located close to the government housing blocks of Ramlet Bulaq, which accommodated 38 Isha and emergency shelters on an area of 1080m². The committee reported that the Ishash and emergency shelters have been demolished and cleared, and that the local council of the Muhafzah issued a decree No. 88 for year 2004 to transfer the building of hay Bulaq to this site'⁶³. With reference to the third issue in the disagreement list, the planning committee rejected the representatives' recommendations. They replied that other alternatives could be more appropriate. Regarding this, a special meeting was scheduled between the planning committee and the head of traffic planning to revise possible streets amendments according to the disagreement list. These included major streets of al-Sabtiyya, Shana, al-Sahafa, Darb Nasr, Suq al-Asr and al-Matbaa al-Ahliyya, as these streets had the most shops and warehouses, and would be greatly affected by the proposed set-backs. However, the planning committee insisted that main roads in Bulaq had to be modified to allow extra traffic flow, especially Shari al-Matbaa al-Ahliyya, Suq al-Asr and Bulaq al-Gadid. They expressly stated that Shari al-Mansoury, al-Sabtiyya, Shana, al-Sahafa, al-Galaa and al-Matbaa al-Ahliyya streets required development, and that all streets connecting al-Cornish and al-Matbaa needed extra widths for the same reason. Therefore, changes were confirmed and approved [I2.1.09].

Also, special concerns over alignment amendments and set-backs in Shari al-Sabtiyya and al-Sahafa raised by the local people's committee were rejected⁶⁴. On the other hand, special regulations for Bulaq were set by the committee. They stressed that all buildings must follow the approved building regulations, which state that 'no building heights may

⁶⁰ Letter from head of housing department to the Muhafez, 3 February 2004.

⁶¹ This recommendation was a similar action to the re-housing of residents of Zeinhom area in Cairo. However, they were re-housed in al-Nahda area, one of Cairo's new cities located on the city's outskirts.

⁶² Letter from head of housing department to the Muhafez, 3 February 2004.

⁶³ Memo from the Head of Housing Department to the Muhafez and the local council, 29 February 2004, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

⁶⁴ In an interview with an engineer from the planning committee, several individual complaints were raised in person by a number of the local people's representatives'. Each case showed that properties would be harmed when implementing the new set-backs, in one way or another. The engineer told me that *we were in a game of power. In this respect, the planning committee sometimes made amendments to the widths or street directions to satisfy certain representatives' requests. We had four separate meetings with the local council to discuss each case separately, away from the general approval of the plan.*

exceed 1.5 times the street's width and that the inner streets of the district must follow the official approved set-back, especially in the harat⁶⁵. In addition to this requirement, building facades facing main streets of width 15 m or more were recommended to follow a cohesive and similar architectural pattern. During that time, the local people's committee raised two additional issues of disagreement. The first was the committee's suggestion to approve tourist land use for al-Kafrawy section facing Shari al-Corniche, as the plan suggested, but also to allocate the inner part of al-Kafrawy and Kabesh sections for construction of housing blocks to re-house the evicted people. The second issue related to the future land use of Fayed section. The committee suggested that public services for the district should be allocated to this section after removal of the wooden workshops. Also, the committee agreed that suq al-Asr and Darb Nasr should still be subject to development, taking into consideration that the proposed street alignments would be implemented on a long-term basis⁶⁶.

Evidently, since 2002, new building and demolition permits in Bulaq had been delayed until the final approval of the plan. This was an informal delay that was approved by the Muhafez in order to get the new alignments and setbacks approved and implemented before any new construction commenced. Such long-term actions, on the other hand, confused the residents and created more complications for the housing department. The residents wrote a memo to the department requesting prompt approval of the plan in order to allow them to proceed with their projects and construction work⁶⁷.

At the same time, the head of the planning department spared no effort to express his rejection of the local People Committee's comments and issues. Such negotiations about the comments and issues of disagreement had continued to delay the approval of the plan; something that the Department of Housing regretted. The head of the department wrote:

'From a planning point of view, the department disagreed with the committee's proposal to add housing land uses in al-Kafrawy. The depth of the site reaches 100m, and the planning committee recommends that the entire area is allocated for the same land use activity. In addition, this section is overcrowded with housing properties and there is no essential requirement to separate this section into two different activities'. Also, it recommends allocating fayed section to its original proposed land use, as the plan stated. It is not possible to assign public services in this section because all its lands are under private ownership, and we cannot force the owners to change the land use to public services. In addition, the plan shows that public services are taken into consideration in the plan in a balanced manner⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ BDS 2002, p. 35.

⁶⁶ This meant that whenever a building collapsed or was demolished, the new construction would follow the approved set-backs. Thereby, on a long-term basis the street would be widened.

⁶⁷ Memo from the local council of hay Bulaq to the head of housing Department, 14 April 2003, documents of Hay Bulaq.

⁶⁸ Memorandum from the Head of Housing Department to the Muhafez, 9 October 2004, number 523, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

By that time, it was the Muhafez's final decision to agree with the planning committee recommendations regarding the two final issues of disagreement⁶⁹, and subsequently, his approval was raised with the general secretary for confirmation⁷⁰.

7.6. Bulaq Final plan: '3133 Plan'

Bulaq planning scheme was officially published under decree no. 2008 for the year 2005⁷¹. At that stage, the plan partially responded to concerns and issues of disagreement raised by the local people's committee and others. The decree's clauses stated that the revised plans were officially approved for implementation and that any development action in Bulaq must follow the approved land uses, street alignments and set-backs, according to the official regulations (Figure 7.8).

Following plan 2020 guidelines issued in 1966, the decree kept all street alignments or set-backs which were not in conflict with the plans and vice versa. Although several features of the plan 2020 were replicated in 3133 plan, major changes were apparent. Also, the procedures were quite different from those of plan 2020 in terms of long-term implementation. This meant that the Muhafzah was not obliged to instigate rapid and immediate implementation; however, other procedures were put into action. For instance, while construction permits had been on hold since 2002, the Muhafzah only allowed for demolition in certain cases of safety [I1.1.09].

However, the announcement of the scheme was disappointing to residents in Bulaq. A number of shopkeepers noted that 'we have been prohibited from demolishing or building new constructions for several years and hoping that the new plan would respond to our requests for a fast improvement of the district, but it has ended up that it will take ages to complete its implementation and we might not be able to do anything about it' [R12.1.09]. Residents' reactions to the approval implied that they were not, despite government propaganda to the contrary, in favour of the current deteriorating conditions. Rather, they held high expectations that the new plan would help to improve their living conditions through what they described as fast and powerful actions. Some residents, however, appreciated the temporal freeze of these actions as it would avoid immediate evacuation of poor citizens.

⁶⁹ This approval was gained by the new Muhafez *Abdel-Azem Wazzar*, who replaced *Abdel-Rehem Shehata* on 15 July 2004.

⁷⁰ Memorandum from the Muhafez to the General Secretary, 27 November 2004, number 1313/4, the planning department, the Muhafzah.

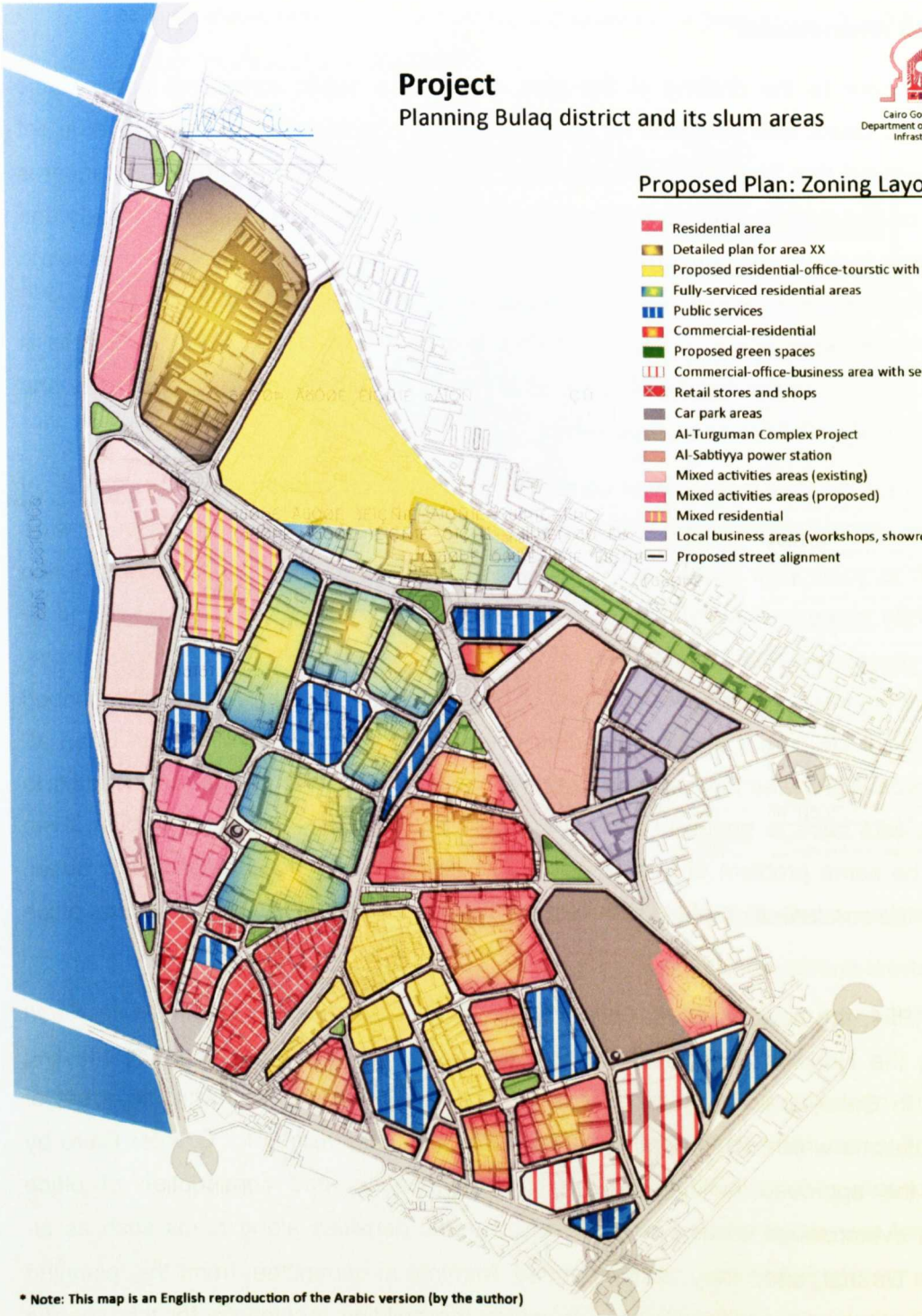
⁷¹ See (Appendix D.12)

Project
 Planning Bulaq district and its slum areas



Proposed Plan: Zoning Layout

- Residential area
- Detailed plan for area XX
- Proposed residential-office-touristic with parking
- Fully-serviced residential areas
- Public services
- Commercial-residential
- Proposed green spaces
- Commercial-office-business area with services
- Retail stores and shops
- Car park areas
- Al-Turguman Complex Project
- Al-Sabtiyya power station
- Mixed activities areas (existing)
- Mixed activities areas (proposed)
- Mixed residential
- Local business areas (workshops, showrooms, ..)
- Proposed street alignment



* Note: This map is an English reproduction of the Arabic version (by the author)

Figure 7.8 Bulaq Abul Ela planning scheme of 2005, Plan 3133.
 Source: Documents of the planning department, the Muhafzah (See Appendix C.4).

7.6.1. Road Amendments

In general, prior to the drafting of the plan, there were public complaints about traffic congestion in Cairo, with demands for proactive action to tackle the situation. Government officials declared that 'traffic problems in Cairo are found everywhere, in streets, squares and even on the bridges...although the traffic department has made many proposals and arrangements to solve this problem; it seems that this has become an impossible mission to accomplish. Urgent and powerful government action is needed to end this national failure'⁷². In another newspaper article, it was noted that 'it is perceived that the Egyptian media is paying no attention to this important case, as if the people are not part of this country and they have to solve their problems themselves'⁷³.

As part of a broader investigation conducted through the Egyptian media, a number of newspapers discussed traffic problems in public while a number of state officials were interviewed to show their individual perspectives towards Cairo's traffic problems. During 1999, al-Wafd newspaper published an article titled Shari al-Galaa, Bulaq Abul Ela and al-Sabtiyya, questioning the real causes of the daily traffic congestion in these areas, especially at the intersection between Shari al-Galaa and Shari Yuliya which they described as 'a big mess'⁷⁴ (Figure 7.9). The reporters wrote that 'any traffic coming from Shari al-Galaa towards Bulaq was blocked due to the insufficient width of any side road leading to the district; cars have to queue in a row to access Bulaq which makes the problem even worse'⁷⁵. The same problem of access and traffic flow at al-Cornish Street, facing Bulaq, was due to the concentration of old warehouses such as Wikalat al-Balah and several office buildings⁷⁶.

During 1994, the new Muhafez, *Omar Abdel Akhar*⁷⁷, scheduled a meeting with *Salah Hasabalah*, the Housing Minister to discuss a set of unclear issues regarding building regulations in Cairo, specifically in al-Cornich zone. The idea was to formulate a set of proper regulations which could complement broader planning visions for Greater Cairo by controlling the approved building heights, parking spaces, and construction of office buildings in overcrowded areas which increased traffic densities along roads such as al-Cornich⁷⁸. To that end, they recommended forming a committee from the planning department and the Ministry of Housing to revise the building regulations for this specific

⁷² Al Wafd Newspaper (1999) *Al-Galaa, Bulaq Abul Ela, and al-Sabtyya tunnel: Traffic lights with bad repetition*, February 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Note that the construction of 15th May exit was part of the Ministry of Traffic's approved solution to traffic congestion in this area.

⁷⁷ Omar Abdel Akhar was the Muhafez from 20 May 1991 to 7 July 1997.

⁷⁸ Building regulations stipulated that building heights were not to exceed 1.5 times the street's width or 30 meters, while providing a standard parking space for each 70m² of the total area of the building.

area⁷⁹. The Muhafez stressed that 'it is essential to address all gaps in the regulations which sometimes allow people to break the law'⁸⁰.

الجملاء.. بولاق أبو العلاء.. نفق السبتية؛ إشارات مرور سيئة السمعة!



حالة الازدحام في شارع الكورنيش وتحديداً أمام مبنى الإذاعة والتلفزيون سيئة للغاية



الازدحام في شارع دقق السبعية جحيم بمعنى الكلمة

في المسافة الواقعة عند تقاطع فندق هيلتون رمسيس وحتى روض الفرج.. أزمة المرور تتفاقم بشكل كبير بسبب وجود ثلاثة تقاطعات الأول عند تقاطع الوصفى الوسطاني أمام مبنى السور فيه مغارة.. فرغم أن طوله ليس إلا ١,٥ كيلو متر إلا أن المسافة تقطعها السيارات في حوالي ٢٠ دقيقة بسبب الزحام!!
الإذاعة والتلفزيون أما على كورنيش النيل وتحديداً

مازالت اختناقات المرور في القاهرة تزداد سوءاً.. في الشوارع.. والميادين.. ورواق الكورنيش.. ورغم فتوحات الناصح لرجال المرور إلا أن الأزمة لانت قدراتهم انجساقية والمظلمة والعلمية حتى أصبح العمل مستحيلًا ويحتاج إلى تدخل حكومي أكثر فاعلية لرسم حل لهذه الأزمة القومية.
والغريب في الأمر أن التلفزيونين للمصري يتجاهل هذه القضية الهامة وكان الضخم ومحاكته في واد وهو في واد آخر.
ورغم أننا نالضنا في شتيفل سابق أزمة المرور فوق كوبري أكتوبر.. إلا أن الأزمة لوق هذا الكوبري لتتفاقم يوماً بعد يوم وخاصة في الفترة الواقعة بين الساعة الثالثة مساءً حتى الساعة الثالثة مساءً.. ولأننا أصبحنا على أبواب

تحقيق!

سليم بحوري
أميرة عبدالله

رمضان فإن حالة من الهمع والفرع تسبب على مستخدمين هذا الكوبري خوفاً من عدم وصولهم إلى منازلهم ساعة الإفطار.
«الوليد» مازالت توأميل جيرانها في شوارع القاهرة لتكتشف المزيد من مناطق الاختناقات التي تشهدها العاصمة.. ورغم أن هناك إشارات مرور سيئة السمعة لكثرة الزحام بها.. إلا أن أكثر هذه الإشارات تحقياً في الإشارة الواقعة عند تقاطع الجملاء مع شارع ٢٦ يوليو.. وتحديداً عند مستطفي الجملاء للوليد.. فهي تعاني القوي كساً يعاني شارع الجملاء نفسه هذه القوي..
وشارع الجملاء الذي يبدأ من ميدان رمسيس حتى ميدان الشهيد محمدنم رياض اصوالي ١,٥ كيلو متره به ٤ إشارات من لسا إشارات المرور في القاهرة.. والتي جعلت من هذا الشارع تقطع.. أول إشارة مرور في شارع الجملاء بعد ميدان رمسيس هي تلك التي تقع مع تقاطع القلبي وهي تمتد أزمة للقيام من ميدان رمسيس وأزمة للقيام من شارع رمسيس مرة لثري.. ولأن قنادي السيارات يتحصنون الورد متجاريدين في هذه الإشارة لرايم يتسببون في غلق الطريق أمام سيارات المتجهة إلى ميدان الشهيد محمدنم رياض.. هذا الشارع القمين «شارع الجملاء»

Figure 7.9 A broader investigation of traffic problems in Cairo was conducted through the Egyptian media.

The reporters explained problems of traffic in Al-Galaa, Bulaq Abul Ela, and al-Sabtiyya streets. Source: Al Wafd Newspaper (1999) February 8.

In addition, the improved street network exemplified contrasts between the irregular tissue and regular tissue of the redeveloped lands of the river frontage zone. The average width was 15 m for riverfront streets and 5m for inner parts in slums, while sites for new high rise buildings were an average of 30.000 square meters, and the figure was less than 100 square meters for slum areas in the district. In that respect, amending streets surrounding the river frontage zone was one of the main priorities of the planning committee. Evidently, the construction of a number of high rise buildings in the river frontage zone complicated the traffic problems⁸¹. Several secondary streets located in this zone had been opened during the 1990s to provide better access, and later were also subject to widening as secondary access roads to the zone (Figure 7.10). The problem arose when new construction projects did not consider provision of parking spaces, which resulted in parallel parking of cars in

⁷⁹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1994) September 27.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ These buildings were the World Trade Centre (WTC), constructed in 1990 and later connected with the Conrad Hotel, Arcadia Mall a low-rise building constructed in 1996, and the most recent was Orascom Nile city complex constructed in 2002. In addition a number of government public buildings were also constructed within the same site such as the National Archive centre and others.

already congested side roads for long durations (Figure 7.11). On the other hand, it was asserted by a member of the planning committee that the proposed road changes had responded to the requirement to provide an integrated and sustainable transport plan. Due to the riverfront zone's proximity to the city centre the plan aimed to provide a sustainable transport infrastructure' [I4.1.09].

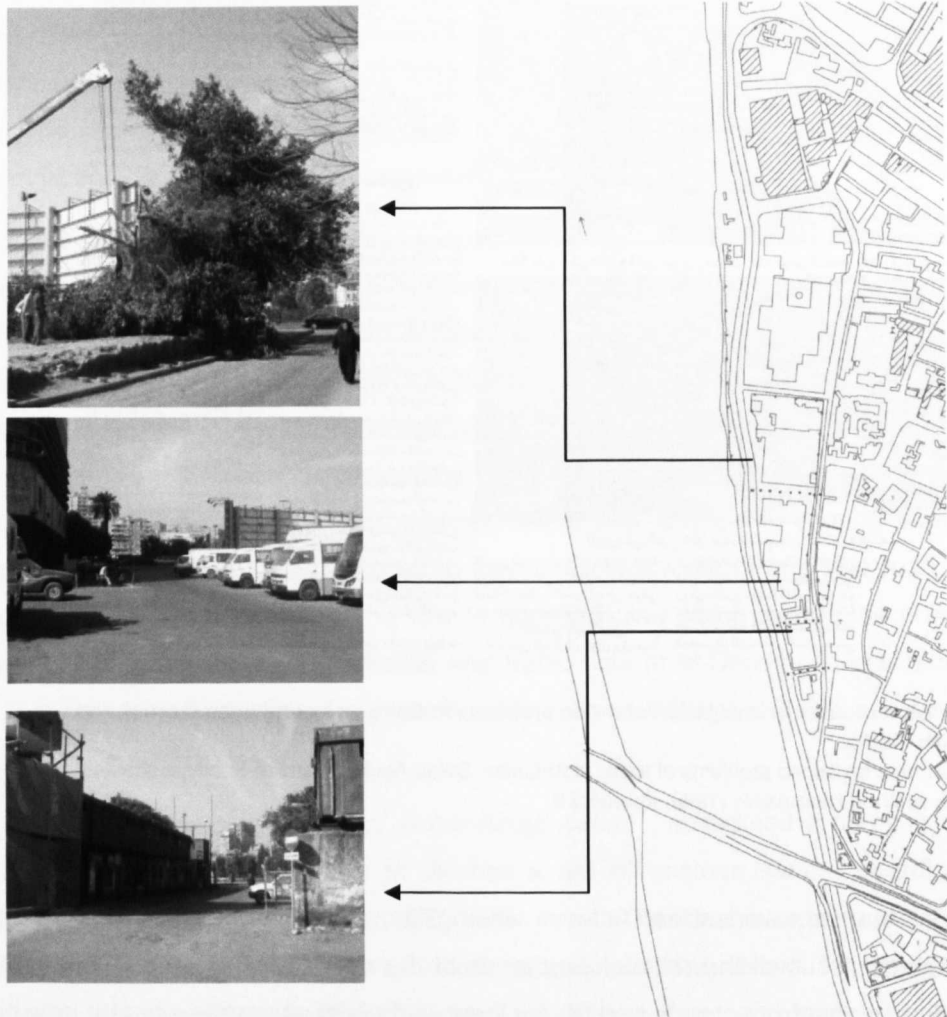


Figure 7.10 The secondary streets opened during the 1990s in the riverfront zone.
Source: Researcher and The Giza survey department.



Figure 7.11 Al-Matbaa al-Ahlyaa street behind Cairo plaza.
This image shows the concentration of parked cars in the street.

Plan 3133 showed that main and secondary streets would be subject to certain expansions which could be achieved by gradually implementing certain set-backs according to each street's situation. A number of roads were first in line for implementation. Finally, the planning committee named the priority roads subject to changes. First was Shari Suq al-Asr, spanning from Shari al-Sabtiyya to the 15 May Bridge which was to be widened to 15 m. Second, Darb Nasr was to be widened from Shari Shana to Wikalat al-Balah and Shari al-Corniche to 25m and third, Shari Ramlet Bulaq and Shari Abul farag, starting from Shari Kubry Imbaba was to be widened to 25m and its extension to Shari al-Matba to 20m⁸².

The final report did not offer any further information regarding the exact new widths for other roads. However, a detailed map was introduced on a scale of 1: 2500 showing the exact road widths, spans and set-backs (Figure7.12). Presumably, the planning committee stressed in the report the development of these specific roads for two reasons. According to a member of the planning committee, these streets were the main points of disagreement noted by the local people's committee before official publication of the plan. The fact that not all their complaints were addressed made it even more essential to clearly mention the proposed situation of these roads and thereby avoid any misunderstanding during implementation. He mentioned that what is mentioned in the report [referring to these specific three roads] is considered a direct commitment to the residents to follow the plan regulations, and whether they agreed or not, this is our final decision [I2.1.09].

⁸² BDS 2005, p. 32.

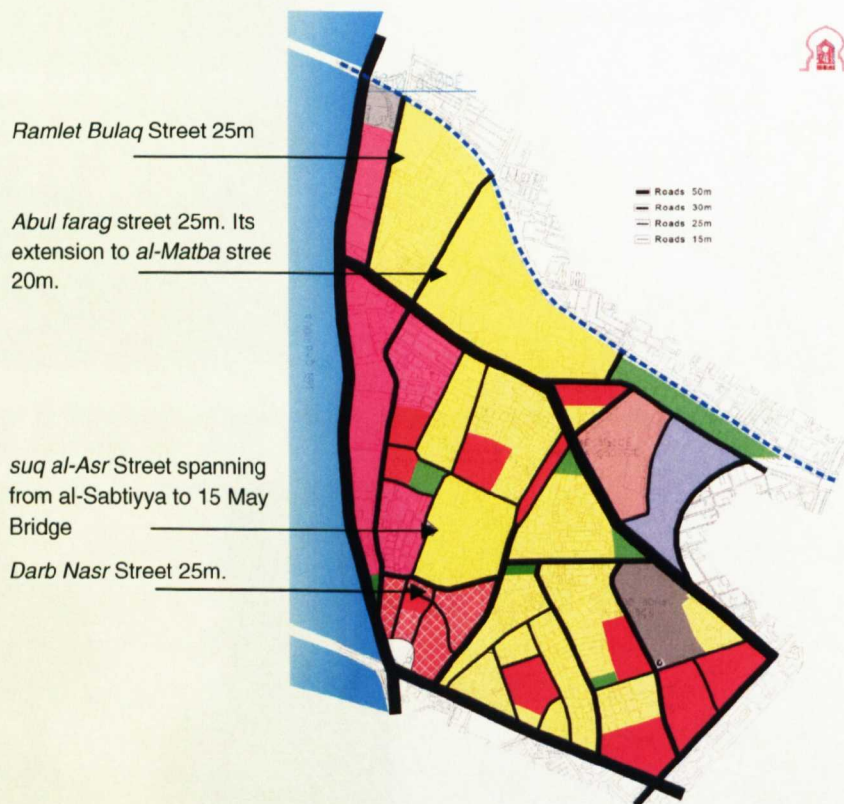
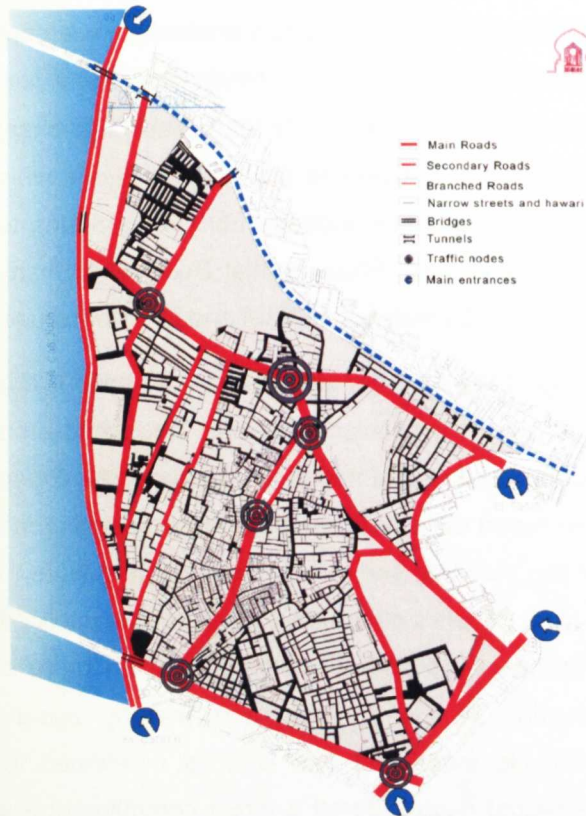


Figure 7.12 Extracted maps from the development brief.
Above: the current road network in Bulaq.
Bottom: The amended proposals for the road network.
 Source: Documents of the Local council, the Muhafzah.

7.6.2. The Riverfront and Ramlet Bulaq Zones

The final scheme, presented in 2005, made a crucial step towards changing the existing land uses of the district (Figure 7.8) and shows an indicative layout plan which provides proposals for the land uses that were necessary to achieve the aimed spatial qualities in Bulaq. Although the district was historically recognized as a place of light industry and second-hand workshops, sweeping changes were planned for resolving the current unpleasant mix of land uses. Most buildings and houses in Bulaq were very old and very often housed workshops and storehouses on their lower floors, and, in some cases, they were attached to historical monuments. Some other areas, such as Wikalat al-Balah, were typified by unavoidable overcrowding caused by visitors and traders⁸³ (Figure 7.13).

The plan proposed a high quality and reasonable density of mixed use in the inner parts of Bulaq, which in return affected the areas designated as green spaces. But, it also showed no consideration of a hierarchical network of public spaces, which were to include both hard and soft landscaping; and natural or improved spaces were added to the plan. The use by residents, with their traditional attitudes, of such places was questioned. The head of planning explained that from previous experience, green spaces in a district like Bulaq will end up being neglected and un-used. The residents do not realize their value, thus they become places for collecting garbage and raising their chicks [17.1.09]. He also explained that these areas needed a special type of maintenance which the residents could not afford. The only proper scenario was when a private investor or agents volunteered to maintain one of these areas in order to display posters and the like, and in this case they become fenced in, locked and un-used [17.1.09] (Figure 7.14) .

Specifically, due to their proximity to Shari al-Cornish, land use activities of the riverfront and Ramlet Bulaq involved several key policies and design principles regarding architectural and built-scape visual quality. Development was intended to represent Cairo's waterfront image to challenge other similar sites elsewhere. In addition, it was proposed to include buildings and towers with mixed uses functionally (commercial, entertainment, retail and residential), economically (luxuries and modern buildings) and formally (high rise buildings). It was proposed in the plan that the emergency shelters should be replaced by green spaces, while people would be relocated elsewhere in one of the Muhafzah's housing projects outside Bulaq⁸⁴. On the other hand, due to the high land value of these zones, buildings in good condition would be subject to renewal. In addition, enhancing the quality of urban and open space and adding further green spaces in accordance with the plan was recommended, while all industrial activities were to be subject to clearance.

Critical consideration of the quality of the riverfront projects was an additional concern for the planning committee, especially since several buildings had recently been constructed. In this regard, the planning department set design guidelines which extensively supported this

⁸³ A report conducted by an economic team in Egypt stated that around 9 million person visit this place every year. See <http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=40&article=242461&issueno=9348>.

⁸⁴ BDS 2005, p. 29.

type of development and insisted that only certain type of investors could be involved. They generally stated that high quality design should be achieved in all aspects of the urban environment. Good design will add value to the development scheme, socially and economically, to support the long-term renewal for the benefit of residents, visitors and private investors. The riverfront should be of a best practice standard and involve leading architects [17.2.09].

One of the plan's objectives was to encourage architects and designers to create a modern luxury image of the riverfront, and the Muhafzah to provide and re-parcel the land, build public infrastructure, and set guidelines for development, but not to act as a developer. With reference to similar conditions in other cities, such as Melbourne, Kim Dovey stated that such a global framework of urban redevelopment was similar to many public/private partnerships that emerged in the 1980s, pointing out that this same process was implemented in policies for transforming Melbourne's waterfront in 1985⁸⁵. The riverfrontage zone was to be developed in two phases, moving from the south to the north, in an area bounded by the Shari al-cornich at the front and Shari al-Matbaa al-Ahliyya at the back.

During an international conference for architects held in Cairo during 2006, a paper was presented to discuss the future potential for developing the riverfront of Bulaq. It was claimed that the riverfront development followed what the author called *the law of volumes*, to emphasize the sense of power and dignity of such investors as strong banking corporations. It also adopted concepts of free planning due to the large land areas. However, there were still a few subdivisions of low-rise development. Site surveys acknowledged that plots of mixed residential and administrative use were the preferred building types for investors. Such development constituted a high percentage of total land use on the riverfront. However, lavish towers and apartments constituted a smaller proportion. On the other hand, this development policy was counted as a long-term policy of implementation, in the respect that private investors would take some time to distinguish future potential of the site.

The key issue in developing a successful riverfront image for Bulaq was to establish an attractive and active series of new projects to replace the distorted skyline with a glorious modern image across the River Nile Boulevard. Another aim of the plan was to establish a bustling centre for tourism and business, and 'to introduce a new concept of the CBD to local Egyptians and foreigners. In accordance, shopping malls built in this context differed from traditional shopping streets in Bulaq, such as Wikalat al-Balah, as well as many other traditional districts in Cairo⁸⁶. It seemed that the planning committee had no intention to forge any spatial links between different zones proposed by the plan. Although Ramlet Bulaq

⁸⁵ Dovey, *Fluid City*, p. 36.

⁸⁶ Fahmy, S. (2006) *Buildings as Catalysts in Community Development: Monitoring, Evaluating and Enhancing an Interrelation between Buildings Settings of Value of Urban Communities*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Cairo University, Egypt.

and the river zone were still designated for 'luxury activities' and there was to be widening of the surrounding streets to ease traffic flow, inner zones did not receive this much attention⁸⁷.



Figure 7.13 Problems of deterioration and unsuitable land use in Bulaq.

Most buildings in Bulaq were very old and very often housed workshops and storehouses on their lower floors. Some other areas, such as Wikalat al-Balah, were typified by unavoidable overcrowding caused by visitors and traders



Figure 7.14 One of the very few green spaces in Bulaq.

This space is located between the governmental housing blocks in Ramlet Bulaq built in 1966.

⁸⁷ Note that a separate detailed plan was drafted for *Ramlet Bulaq* while other similar areas in the inner sections of the district were excluded from similar action.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the visions and strategies which guided the drafting of the 2005 plan for Bulaq and the extent to which the state's vision of 21st century Cairo influenced the planning institutions' decisions on particular spatial arrangement, land use and implementation strategy. It explained how the Muhafzah was forced to draft another scheme for re-planning Bulaq as part of a broader initiative to clear and upgrade deteriorated areas in Cairo. It became evident that this task was supported by the introduction of the 1983 planning law which contained a number of clauses for the renewal of old districts.

It was believed that this law would allow a fast solution for many complex issues and shortcomings of the previous planning law of 1956. The chapter also explained how the plan intended to improve the spatial qualities of Bulaq and the related effects of the erection of high rise buildings in the riverfront zone and the construction of the 15 May Bridge during the 1990s. Furthermore, the most important impact derived from the presentation of the scheme to the Local's People Committee who expressed considerable opposition to elements of the plan. After much negotiation and revision, the final plan was approved in 2005. Evidently, plan 3133 showed how the planning institution in Cairo had constituted spatial quality only in its abstracted terms, meaning that its materialization only appeared to change the physical features, as members of the local council regretted.

In this case, a crucial question can be raised: how could the planning institution in Cairo, through this plan, achieve the major objectives of successfully remaking Bulaq's spatial qualities and solving its severe problems of decline? The foundation of this query stems from the evident extensive failure of the previous two schemes drafted for the same purpose. It starts to become obvious that these schemes failed to be fully implemented, not only because of their unrealistic approaches to remaking the district, but also because of further complications on the planning institution's side. Therefore, the next chapter aims to investigate the reliability of the planning institution in Egypt in managing and completing the huge task of improving the spatial qualities of the city, which planning bodies are involved, and whether there is appropriate coordination between them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INSTITUTIONS OF SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICES AND DEVELOPMENT IN CAIRO

We needed order, but we found nothing behind us but chaos. We needed unity, but we found nothing behind us but dissension. We needed work, but we found behind us only indolence and sloth¹.

¹ Goldschmidt, A. (1988) *Modern Egypt: The formation of a nation state*. Boulder: west view Press. p. 95.

8.0. Introduction

In Egypt, a number of planning institutions have been involved in the spatial remaking of the city which intended to improve the quality of the built environment. It is evident that several institutions have played a significant role in setting and implementing national and local urban planning strategies such as the Muhafzah, the Ministry of Housing and Public Utilities, both established in 1960, and the General Organization for Physical Planning GOPP a sub-unit of this Ministry created in 1973. As this chapter will explain, during Nasser regime, the establishment of the Muhafzah and the ministry of housing supported the government in its post-revolutionary efforts to attain unity and national order regarding its planning practices and also contributions to the instituting of powerful planning agencies in Cairo. On the other hand, the GOPP was established during the Sadat regime to play a crucial role in improving the city's physical planning conditions and, in particular, in implementing projects in several old historical districts and tourist destinations.

This chapter examines to what extent the planning institution was reliable in fulfilling certain spatial remaking tasks in Cairo. I argue that although crucial progress towards establishment of an appropriate planning institution in Cairo was achieved, there was still a lack of full ideological understanding of its effective role in this regard. This was caused by vacillations of power and authority which had an erosive impact on its effectiveness. By exploring the experience of institutionalizing spatial practices in Egypt, I intend to explain how the planning institutions responded to problems of urban deterioration and lack of services constituted by the desire to beautify the city. The institution's practices, in most cases, have been driven by the need to create order. Hence, the imposition of this order required stability of political power, while to find a new order, planning bodies, as the main instruments for implementing power, needed to become institutionalized. It is in this context that the institution's role in attempting to solve Bulaq's physical problems since the 1960s will be explained. Thus, the reliability of the planning institution in Cairo will be analyzed during critical shifting stages of each institution to understand to what extent it was successful, effective and progressive in achieving its goals of implementing spatial development in Egypt.

The chapter starts with a brief explanation of the idea of a reliable institution as used in this study. I will consider chronologically the major moments of shift and highlight the significant events and ideas which from time to time clarified visions of spatial development and creation of order. A historical background of how planning in Cairo was practised before the establishment of powerful planning bodies, which followed the revolution of 1952, is essential. I will then proceed to address each institution's role in the practice of spatial remaking in Cairo. Whilst such practices have been extremely numerous, in this chapter I intend to only focus on the institutions' spatial practices in old and deteriorating parts of the city, rather than the making of new places.

8.1. The Institution's reliability for remaking the spatial quality: An Overview

Any institution is defined by its comprehensive sets of structures, organizations, customs and laws which shape its mechanism as a process of functions and therefore shape its legislative inputs. Political, economic and social factors can impact on its performance in a variety of ways. Sustained and continued progress requires effective, concerted actions by institutions that have a clear vision. Without effective institutions, cities cannot easily maintain the necessary momentum to assure their development in the long term.

To a certain extent, the term 'sustainable institution', cited by Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, was concerned with the effectiveness of institutions in implementing their goals². Based on Huntington's definition, the authors cited above stated that sustainable institutions are organizations that offer 'stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior'³. These patterns form the rules and procedures that shape the institution's performance and spatial practices which shift according to the state's progress. Therefore, when government officials, planners or intellectuals call for improvement in the performance of a certain institution, this role-orientated explanation is certainly relevant⁴. This debate was evident in Cairo in the linking of the various stages of establishment of each institution or planning body to the broader concept of implementing a pattern of order in the city and to the vision of higher authorities: which in most cases was unachievable. Thus, this idea will be discussed in the context of the spatial practices of the planning institution in Cairo, gauging its response to the actual problems of the city.

As an additional complication, when several planning bodies happen to be involved, internal corruption of vision and tasks becomes apparent. This may be particularly the case when the needs of another, higher authority reach a point of conflict with the actual needs of the people. In turn, this causes the institution to act as an unreliable institution⁵. For instance, Dimitriou and Thompson argued that planning institutions involved in implementing large-scale projects such as urban planning, transport or infrastructure projects have confined themselves to operating according to broader state concerns rather than the actual social or environmental impact. The lack of fulfilling the institutional visions for making spatial environments is noticeably reflected in its unreliability and uncertainty. For example, in situations of shortage of funds and staff, a more dynamic planning process is required in which priorities are constantly reassessed in terms of resources.

In this regard, it is crucial to explain the features that have determined the interpretation of spatial planning in Cairo in order to establish an effective understanding of its role. First, in

² Brinkerhoff, D. and Goldsmith, A. (1992) *Promoting the Sustainability of Development Institutions: A Framework for strategy*. World Development. UK. 20: 3. 369 - 383.

³ Huntington, S. P., *Political Order in Changing Societies*. In Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, *Promoting the Sustainability of Development Institutions*, p. 370.

⁴ Dimitriou, H. and Thompson, R. (2001) *The Planning of Sustainable urban development: The Institutional Dimension*. In: *planning for a sustainable future*, edited by Antonia Layard, Simin Davoudi, Susan Batty. Spon Press. UK.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.62.

order to reach a comprehensive approach to spatial remaking, 'responsive and sophisticated planning institutions' are required to coordinate relevant activities with the government⁶. In this case, efforts to organize tasks must be in coordination with relevant organizations which are expected to be capable to acclimatize the changing circumstance. Thus, the idea of reliability becomes constituted by the ones that shift and adapt to achieve its goals, not the institution that stands in a repetitive way for its action procedures.

Second, it is believed that planning practices in Cairo have deep historical roots, dating back to the nineteenth century. They started from the time of Muhammad 'Ali and the founding of the Ministry of Public Works, followed by wider scale developments which were productive in establishing effective planning institutions in the city, thus contributing to a flourishing narrative of institutional success. Perhaps visions of re-planning areas of deterioration in the city had necessitated higher level coordination of decision-making. However, the solid roots of this institution did not offer an effective system in the long term. Third, it is apparent that, in Egypt, vast numbers of diverse planning agencies are in practice. For that, I would argue that this form of institutional density did not allow the planning practice in Egypt to become effective simply because coordinated plans, visions, and practice are the key to a successful spatial planning performance, while this fact seemed lacking in the Egyptian context. Fourth, a number of academics have emphasized the ingenuity of institutions in shifting from centralization to decentralization⁷. However, the value of this success was problematic. It seemed that shifting the balance of power and gaining more tiers of governance had an extraordinary effect on the time span and process for implementing projects which, in the case of Bulaq, resulted in 'out of date schemes' which the institution failed to implement.

The following chapter should allow us to understand what kind of vision evolved through the establishment of institutions to assure a successful spatial development in the city. In addition to the planning and legislative perspectives which will be discussed in the next chapter, this will add a further dimension to construction of the framework for the remaking of Bulaq spatial qualities. Throughout this chapter I intend to focus on the extent to which the planning institution was reliable in implementing its goals. By reliability I mean the institution's ability to perform its required functions under stated conditions for a specified period of time. My intention is not to discuss the administrative structure of the planning institution but to study how this institution responded to Cairo's spatial problems in light of the broader scope of spatial development: where institutional effectiveness has proven to be of paramount importance to a scheme's success. The premise examined in this chapter is that failure/success in remaking Bulaq was constrained by the degree of adequacy of the

⁶ Hajer, M. and Zonneveld, W. (2000) *Spatial Planning in the Network Society: Rethinking the Principles of Planning in the Netherlands*. European Planning Studies. 8: 3. 337 – 355.

⁷ See Arandal, C. and El-Batran (1997) *The Informal Housing Development Process in Egypt*. DPU Working Paper. London, The development Planning Unit. p. 10. Also see El Sheikh, T. (2001) *Participatory urban upgrading in Egypt: Lessons from experience*. paper published in the Forum on urbanizing world and UN Human Habitat. p. 45-55.

planning institution itself as expressed in the ability to implement schemes and, therefore, this had a fundamental impact on the evolution of spatial development in the city.

8.2. The Origins of Spatial Planning Practices in Cairo

'The Tanzim department states that services of construction, enlargement, elevating, reconditioning, repairing or demolishing or any other works bordering the public way such as houses, buildings, enclosing walls, balconies, steps, sidewalks, must receive authorization from the Tanzim service'⁸.

The origins of planning practices may be traced back to the 1850s. Throughout colonization the pressure toward self-government seeded the ground for creating a local government administered by the foreign communities based in Cairo. This nucleus of organization evolved into a town council in 1885 and in 1890 a municipality was established. Such organizational developments represented recognition of certain basic local responsibilities for improving quality of spaces such as opening new public streets and regulating the street alignments and setbacks⁹. On the other hand, roots of modern attempts to establish a planning entity, namely the Tanzim Department, which could cope with the city's needs, could be traced back to the last years of Muhammad 'Ali. The motive for its foundation was the desire to execute street improvements. For that, all municipal improvements were assigned to the Tanzim Department¹⁰, which became a subsection of the Ministry of Public Works, and was given its own staff and separate budget to coordinate its responsibilities¹¹.

During the reign of Khedive Ismail, the Tanzim was recognized as a British institution due to Cairo being under British protectorate rule from 1882-1952. In this sense, the decision-making power was left in the hands of the British representative and the ministry's deputy was accountable for the city's improvement through public works practices¹². Its administrative structure was formed of a limited number of members, as stated in the council's report:

'The Tanzim department of al-Mahrousa[referring to Cairo], to be composed as follows: a Director representing the Ministry of Public Works; an officer, who is the head of services of al-Mahrousa; Members, one delegate each from the Cairo Governorate

⁸ The Ministry of finances of the Egyptian government Documents (1901). The National Archives

⁹ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 146.

¹⁰ See Ramadan (1955), The *Tanzim* department was an organization created in 1864 under Mohamed Ali's rule. The function took on new significance at the time of Ismail, due to the stepped-up pace of municipal improvements. It was part of the Ministry for social services at that time. The new administration issued its first new regulation and came into effect in 1882. These laws covered regulations concerning the width of the streets, their lay-out and the strict control of projecting facades. The Tanzim carried responsibilities of establishing the city's infrastructure network, distributing water on the western side of the Nile and the suburbs, construction of roads and buildings, public lightning, Trams and bus control. In addition to the Tanzim, general social services department was created, for the town of Cairo, the duties of which included the cleanliness and upkeep of the streets, a service for granting building permissions, the building of roads, the plantation of trees and public lighting. Also See Amin Sami (1928) *Taqwim al-Nil*, Vol. 2, Cairo. p. 210. ; Abu-Lughod: *Cairo*, p. 96,106.

¹¹ Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah*. p. 55.

¹² Clerget, *Le Caire*, p. 257.

[The Health Department, The Tanzim Inspector, and other inspectors], and Engineers from the Tanzim department'¹³.

However, the Tanzim's capacity to improve the city was affected by the British administrative control of this entity. The review introduced by G.L. Pepler in the Journal of the Town Planning Institute in 1934/35 illustrates an important aspect of the story of planning in Cairo when he wrote that 'Egyptian planners face dramatic difficulties, for the east meets west, and that the desire to move toward new trends of innovation and planning had to be driven within an old model'¹⁴. Moreover, a significant document published by the Public Works set out the main problems of the organizational structure of the Tanzim¹⁵. The document was based on a report prepared by the officer of Cairo to report the organizational conflicts within the Tanzim such as the need for improving the administrative ranking of the engineers¹⁶ (Figure 8.1).

'The Tanzim's municipal responsibilities included the districts of Bulaq, old Cairo, al-Abbasiyya, al-Waiyyly, Gezerat Badran, and the suburbs reaching Shubra. These districts covered an area of 27.000 km², and are managed by five engineers only, although residents in these areas number 500.000 people. This fact reflects that an average of one engineer is assigned to follow up 100.000 people'¹⁷.

Indeed, these figures indicated the need for an increase in the number of engineers employed in the Tanzim section if their roles were to be effective. The officer insisted to 'employ greater numbers of assistants, as we cannot always blame these engineers for not fulfilling all their responsibilities unless we support them with proper assistance'¹⁸.

Regarding the city's spatial improvements, the Tanzim was in a position of applying some improvements in the city following the publication of the 1889 Edict. In respond, the Tanzim was obligated to regulate the streets of Cairo and in short, the director of Public Works, *Mohamed Zaki*, suggested surveying several sections of Cairo to identify the exact streets which required alignment¹⁹. One of the problems which faced the Tanzim was that the available maps of these areas did not match the actual street lines as 'the maps show that 1/9 of the streets lines are erroneous and irregular, and certainly required alignment'²⁰. Therefore, the Tanzim tasks were to rename streets, amend street lines and to follow-up improvement projects in Cairo²¹. From then, the Tanzim responsibilities involved in managing the city's planning problems were officially formulated. For example, on 17

¹³ The council of the Tanzim department Report (1881-1889). The National Archives.

¹⁴ Pepler, G. L. (1934/35) *Cairo: some notes on its history, characteristics and town planning*. Journal of Town planning Institute . Vol (21). p. 288.

¹⁵ The Ministry of Public Works Documents '*Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya*' (1889) : Douser 6/2/a (0075-035966). The National Archives.

¹⁶ It is important to note that the Tanzim had no capital improvements budget of its own, but it could only recommend to the Minister of Public Works a budget allocation for purposes of improvement.

¹⁷ The Ministry of Public Works Documents '*Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya*' (1889) : Douser 6/2/a (0075-035966). The National Archives. (See Appendix B.7).

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ The Ministry of Public Works Documents '*Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya*' (1889) : Douser 6/2/a (0075-035248). The National Archives.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*, it is important to note that determining accurate street boards and lines were considered an essential matter for higher authorities' obligations. Evidently, legal courts of Cairo rely on these maps to solve problems of property borders between people. Thus, it was essential that these maps had to be drawn accurately for each road, street, and hara 'according to the geometric principles' as the officer stated in his report.

October 1920, the Minister of Public Works circulated a memorandum announcing a project to rename some streets and implement new street lines in some areas²². The memo stated that Shari Bulaq and its extension towards Zamalek were to be renamed Shari Fou'ad al awal and Shari Abul Ela was to be renamed Shari Bulaq al-Gadid²³.

By 1890, the Tanzim employed twenty-nine engineers. Their responsibilities were to support senior town planning engineers in completing drawings and planning improvements for governmental buildings²⁴ and in 1896, a new administrative ranking for its engineers was devised²⁵. Indeed, the rapid urban growth of Cairo could not have been possible without further upgrading the Cairo Tanzim into a fully-fledged British Municipality²⁶. The Tanzim was entrusted to a sub-unit entitled the Town Planning Service which later became the Ministry of Town Planning. The Ministry obtained approval of the government to supplement new regulations with certain clauses that could support improvements to the planning of streets, the development of unbuilt areas, and finally, the improvement and redevelopment of built areas²⁷. This action allowed plans to be set for all previously planned and unplanned districts. However, although there was a set of provisional regulations to monitor construction control, these regulations lacked a comprehensive framework to assure their effectiveness. Furthermore, no technical clauses were included²⁸. Contraventions of the regulations were punishable by the penalties provided in the Tanzim decree of August 26, 1889²⁹. It could be said that, during this time, planning practices in Cairo had suffered from diffused and uncoordinated administrative systems combined with the lack of a cohesive body of municipal control³⁰.

²² The Ministry of Public Works Documents (1920) Douser 8/8/T (0075-037600). The memo included two lists, 'list B and C', which contained a full record of streets and locations approved for alignment; in addition, a 'list D' included buildings approved for expropriation.

²³ Memorandum by the Ministry of Public Works (1923) No. 43. The Ministry of Public Works Documents: Douser 8/8/T (0075-037610). The National Archives.

²⁴ The Tanzim Department council documents (1890): Douser 6/2/b (0075-035999). The National Archives.

²⁵ The Tanzim Department council documents (1896): Douser 6/2/d (0075-035658). The National Archives. The new ranking was as follows: the *Tanzim* supervisor of Cairo, *al-Sayyed bek Shukry*; the *Tanzim* Director regarding Cairo's streets and squares, Mr. Cerazouly *Bek*; an Architectural Engineer in the Ministry of Public Works, Mr. *Mansque le Cubic*, and *Mahmoud Bek Fahmi* as the Head of Municipal Works in Cairo

²⁶ The Prime Minister decree (1904) *magalis niyabyya, al-Gamiyya al-omomiyya*, Douser 3/3/b, (29-04-1899) – (31-12-1904), Cairo Archives.

²⁷ Ministry of public works report (1926). The National Archives.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ The Tanzim Department Decrees (1900). The National Archives.

³⁰ Although that Cairo municipality was established in 1949, but the political situation in Cairo did not support its active control at that time. See Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 222.

بنا على التقرير المتقدم من مدير مصالح مدينة المحروس من الضروري ان يصير تغيير هيئة ترتيب مهندسي التنظيم كالاتي

الفصل الاول عن احوال الراهة

المهندسيه

ان صيحه تنظيم مدينة المحروس تستلزم على الاقسام اربعه مدينة المحروس وبلوونه ودمر القديم والبيسب والواحي ومرشيه وجزيرة بدران وضواحي مدينة المحروس بجزيرة البحرية لغاية تبدا قطع جزرات التي تستلزم صيحه التنظيم هي مقدار سبعة وعشرين كيلومتر مربع عباره عن ٦٠٠٠٠٠ متر مربع تقريبا وهذه المصلحة جاري اذ ترا بمرور خمسة مهندسيه ويجب ان سكاه جزرات المبنيه اعمدوا بفتح تقريبا حسبية الفذ فيكون مهندس واحد لكل مائة الف ففخذ عن ان المهندسي لم يكنه مع شخص اخر حسب اعمد في صيحه الكتابه فاذا فرضنا ان المهندسي يعنى كمال اوقاته بالمرور في القسم بدونه على شى اخر فلو يمكنه معاينه باكثره ايتي مهندسيه كالمى ومن ذلك يتضح ضرورة تغيير هيئة الترتيب المذكور وزياده عدد المهندسيه بتغييره او اشغالهم بالقيامه من مرام مساعدههم ولا يمكننا انقاء المسؤليه على هؤلاء الموظفين بل انه المصلحة الامم بعد اعطاهم الوسائل الكافيه لاستيفاء العمل

رسوماً في التنظيم

ان تسعة عشر من هذه الرسومات لم تكنه منتظمه وجزم منها اعمار مجددا نظرا لصدور الامر العالي والديكيم في مرسوم التنظيم والفضود من الامر العالي المسار اليه والديكيم الحكيم في مرسوم في التنظيم والترتيب عليه باستيفاد من مساعده ناز الاستاذ العمومي ثم يبعد من مرسومه المندوب عليه بالاعتماد والمحاكم تستند على هذه الرسومات لتسوية ارضيات المسقطه بالتنظيم فنه الضروري اذا ان يعمل الرسم بالوضع لكل شارع وطريقه بالتقسيمه للقواعد التي يجب بموجبها ولذلك نطلب ان طوائف مرسوميه يكونوا مخصصه باعمال الرسومات المذكوره طبقا لتعليمات المرسومه بترتيب التنظيم كجد بده

الفصل الثاني - عن ترتيب المهندسين

المهندسيه

يكون عدد مهندسي مدينة المحروس تسعة عوفا عن خمسة ويجعلوا فرق فرعيه كالاتي

١	مهندسيه من الدرجه الاولى
٤	من الدرجه الثانيه
١	من الدرجه الثالثه
٦	الكسانه

Figure (8.1) The original memo issued by the Public Works. The memo set out the main problems of the organizational structure of the Tanzim. Source: The Ministry of Public Works Documents 'Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya' (1889).

8.3. The Establishment of Institutional Planning Organizations: In Search of Order (1952-1970)

After the Egyptian revolution of 1952, President Nasser emphasized that the ultimate goal of the revolutionary government was to establish a new order in society. Following the Suez Canal nationalization in 1956, new principles were established, and the majority of the private companies were nationalized and controlled by larger public organizations³¹. The regime of the sixties focused on employing Arab socialism, especially after the break with Syria. The National Charter, drawn up by Nasser, was popularized in 1962. It established the basis of order and authority for the new constitution that was to follow. It showed a change in orientation from the nationalist goals of the original revolution and emphasized that Egypt was an Arab nation based on Islamic principles. Thus, we need to trace how the philosophy of establishing order influenced the planning institution and organizational stability in Cairo during this period.

Also, this period saw considerable progress in terms of provision for the city of more powerful control within distinct institutional frameworks of decision-making agencies, which were more responsible and receptive to the needs of the society. At the planning level, immediate reconstruction activities were emphasized rather than adopting long-term solutions, whereas planning practices were more a compilation of projects on hand than consistently evolved comprehensive schemes³². Besides, the Egyptian government acted with no formal planning arrangements: rather, a public investment programme combined with certain policy measures to create a promising environment for public investors, and to encourage them to participate, in return, in the state's national development plans. However, crucial shifts to add further formality to planning practices in Cairo have become evident since that time.

8.3.1. The Ministry of Rural Affairs: al-Baladiyya

It took thirty years to establish sufficient planning machinery in Cairo to replace the Tanzim. It was not until 1949 that King Farouk published Law 145 to establish the Ministry of Rural Affairs, or al-Baladiyya, headed by *Ibrahim Basha Farag*, as distinct from the local provisional government, in the absence of any previous local independent municipal structure³³. Since then, planning practices in Cairo have witnessed greater practical shifts.

³¹ The nationalization programme continued in successive waves through 1962 and 1963 and involved shipping companies, cotton-ginning factories, cotton-exporting companies, pharmaceutical producers, ocean and river transport companies, trucking companies, glass factories, and the largest book-publishing company in Egypt. By 1964 a huge public sector had evolved, including all utilities, communications, and finance as well as large manufacturing enterprises, transportation, wholesale and foreign trade, some big retail stores, and construction firms.

³² Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 176.

³³ Ramadan, T. (1955) *The Egyptian Administration during the British occupation*. Cairo. p.46 - 47. Also see *al-Kahira* Newspaper 1888, *al-Mouaaed* Newspaper 1905. The upgrading to a municipality went through several efforts to emphasize its establishment as a governmental administration leading aspects of modernizing the city

According to Abu-Lughod, Law 145/1949 was issued to create a new municipal entity, named al-Baladiyya, which had the formal status of a town council to redress the inconsistencies of previous acts for governing the city, albeit with very limited powers; however, it neither solved the problems of overall coordination, nor established true representative government and 'its relationship with other existing administrative units remained relatively unspecified', as Abu-Lughod stated³⁴.

While al-Baladiyya was headed by an engineer³⁵, its official tasks were to handle all municipal functions that had been previously under the supervision of the Tanzim Department; however, the scope of the ministry was too broad and this rendered its actions ineffective. Shortly afterwards, Law 5 for year 1950 published the ground tasks of the new ministerial responsibilities which showed further attention towards the city's spatial qualities such as drafting planning schemes for parks and streets, providing sewage utilities around Cairo, organizing and implementing technical programmes for housing projects such as location, amendments and proposed land-use types, but, as yet, it had no efficient role. It was four years later when a significant change took place in the Ministry's administrative structure. On 17 April 1954, after the revolution, Colonel al-Baghdady was assigned the first minister of al-Baladiyya, who was also a fervent proponent of Nasser and the revolution, was recognized for his efforts to improve Cairo as authentication of the revolution's goals. In the words of *Mohamed al-Hawady*:

'Abdul-Latif Al-Baghdady was a distinct character from all of his revolution fellows. He had a unique ability to dream, to deliver and to visualize these dreams. He also had the ability to develop plans to implement this dream'³⁶.

In 1956, a development plan was approved to commence a new stage in improvement of the city. According to al-Baghdady, 'the state needed to create image projects [as he called it] to establish a stable economic base that supports its industry'³⁷. He was successful in creating within the ministry different administrations and specializations which formed a re-ordered institutional structure. For example, from 1955, problems related to shortage of housing stock, which had been the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs, came under the auspices of al-Baladiyya along with implementation of housing projects and responsibility for public buildings³⁸. Although merging tasks and responsibilities in a ministry was expected to guarantee greater efficiency and progress, it actually added further conflicts with the Ministry of Social Affairs. There seemed to have been disagreement and lack of coordination

and improving its civilized images. Such efforts were published in official newspapers and were held by local officials in the government starting from 1888 until the date it was recognized.

³⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p.147.

³⁵ The head engineer of al-Baladiyya had very limited and restricted powers to be effective in his position.

³⁶ Al-Hawady, M. (2007) *Abdel-latif al-Baghdady the integrity revolutionary martyr*. *Dar al Khayal*, Cairo.

³⁷ Al-Baghdady, *al-Baghdady diaries*, p. 78.

³⁸ Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 145. In particular, worker housing projects, which had previously been the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs, were, during the time of al-Baghdady, commonly completed by the *Baladiyya*. Projects constructed during the fifties included *Zienhum* Housing project in 1954, *Al-Azhar* project and workers housing project at *Shoubra* district both in 1955, the state workers city projects at *Imbaba* district, *Helmiet al-Zatoun* and *Helwan* projects, *Abu-Zaabal* Housing project in 1955, and finally, *al-Marg* project.

in the management of joint projects: which caused delay and, in some cases, failure to fulfil tasks.

Also, the ministry was involved in establishing large scale projects, improving the spatial deterioration of districts and, most importantly, projects to house migrant workers who arrived in the city after industrialization. Due to the military background, as former officers, of the government members, it is possible to understand how their priorities for governance were framed and the motivation behind their ideas for Cairo's development. Although al-Baghdady was motivated to establish grand projects, as we mentioned earlier, he was also keen to eliminate any obstacles that could affect the state's ambitions of modernization in support of the revolutionary philosophy (figure 8.2).



Figure 8.2 One of the standard public housing blocks built in al-Sharabiyya district during the 1950s.

It was claimed that the project added greater people to the district rather than solving problems of over population.

Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1971) January 15.

8.3.2. The Establishment of Muhafazah and the Department of Housing

The Baladiyya did not last for long. Early in 1960 there was an important event that supported the government in its post-revolutionary efforts to attain unity and national order. In that year, Nasser issued Law 124 which made many positive contributions to the establishment of powerful institutional planning agencies in Cairo. Significantly, a new agenda for stabilizing order was in progress. This law incorporated the establishment of the Ministry of Local Administration that outlined a consistent system of local governance in Egypt and it was by that time when Greater Cairo was divided into three governorates

(*Muhafazat*, singular is *Muhafazah*)³⁹. In accordance with the previous law, a single planning entity named the Cairo governorate, or *Muhafzet al-Kahira*, was established as an institution, headed by Mr. *Salah Disuky el-shishtawy* as its first governor in 16 April 1960⁴⁰. The government then announced the integration of al- Baladiyya as a sub-unit to the Muhafzah, under the name of The Department of Housing and Public Utilities, or *Mudereat al-Iskan wa al-Marafek*. This allowed for sweeping action to develop several sections in Cairo. Abu-Lughod wrote that the law was successful in '*abrogated conflicting clauses in the 1949 law*'⁴¹. In accordance, the Department of Housing held several additional responsibilities such as

1. Assessing the wider scope of housing policies including transportation problems
2. Recommencement of legislation, programmes and plans for solving the built environment problems
3. To direct, and follow up national projects approved by the local councils
4. Developing tourist areas in Cairo and coordinating with the local authorities involved.
5. Supervising and approving housing projects

Also, the involvement of the Ministry in supervising the housing stock and projects increased and sustained the efficiency of the planning machinery. After 1962, with the nationalization of Egyptian companies, a number of cooperative organizations became involved in the scene of housing supply⁴². However, conflicts over tasks were recorded between official municipal and private organizations. The history of such conflicts dates back to the 1950s, particularly in terms of the rise of housing problems in Cairo. For example, in 1956, the state established a number of private organizations to supplement the government's efforts to provide housing stock. In this respect, Law 317 for year 1956 stated in one of its clauses that any group of people have the right to establish a cooperative organization with no obligation towards the government⁴³. A further clause in the same law stated that 'cooperative organizations would be under supervision of involved governmental institutions [al-Baladiyya in this case], and in the case of any members gaining personal and individual profits from the organization, the ministry had the right to exclude them'⁴⁴. This clash between hierarchies and roles resulted in additional conflicts of institutionalization. One clause adopted the establishment of private organizations, whilst another confirmed the

³⁹ These three were the Cairo Governorate, the Giza Governorate and *al-Qalubiyya* Governorate which became the main agents of local authority in Greater Cairo. Also Law 124/1960 stated that large urban centres such as *Alexandria*, *Ismailiyya*, and *Qalubiyya* may have the rank of governorate. Accordingly, Egypt was divided into twenty four *Muhafazah* of which Cairo is one of them. Each governorate represented a separate legal entity which was subdivided into smaller local units: centres, towns, districts and villages.

⁴⁰ I will refer to the Cairo governorate which is one of the three divided governorates as 'Cairo', and will refer to the Cairo governorate, or *Muhafzet al-Kahira* which is the planning institution using the Arabic phrase '*Muhafazah*'. Also, the governor (*Muhafez*) is considered the representative of the executive authority and supervises the implementation of the state's general policy. The local units are responsible for establishing and managing all public utilities within their jurisdiction.

⁴¹ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 225.

⁴² It is significant to note that cooperative organizations in Egypt are business organizations owned and operated by a group of individuals for their mutual benefit. Implemented projects, therefore, were considered as private ownerships for all members. The government encouraged this type of organizations, believing that they could be a successful tool to manage housing shortage and deterioration in Cairo by that time.

⁴³ Cited in Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 157.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

authority of the government to control such entities. Between 1957 and 1960, cooperative organizations were excluded from paying tax and had to be critically assessed for their performance⁴⁵. In addition, the government organized a legislative framework which allowed the cooperative sector to participate in developing the city and to become involved in the general development policies.

Subsequently, in 1961, the government established a new cooperative organization. The Public Cooperative Housing Company was an institutional power equivalent to a ministry, and its chairman was awarded the position of Minister. By 1960, census reports show that 40,000 buildings in Cairo were in a dilapidated state: a situation which provoked the government to search for urgent action. For that, the Department of Housing and the Public Cooperative Organization were assigned for upgrading and supervision of improvement projects. However, cooperative institutions preferred to deal with middle and high-income projects in order to gain higher profits.

It is also crucial to consider the establishment of an influential planning institution in Cairo during this period when July 1965 witnessed the establishment of the Greater Cairo High Committee (*al-lagna al-olya le-takhtet al-Qahira al-kubra*) as a sub-section of the Muhafzah⁴⁶. The committee was responsible for drawing up broader strategies for the development of the city. In 1966, a new master plan for Cairo was introduced. One of the main goals of this plan was to solve the problem of deterioration of the housing stock within old districts of Cairo such as Bulaq and *al-Sahel*: where huge numbers of buildings were considered unsuitable for human habitation⁴⁷. In addition, the centralization of power in the capital was an attempt to address the inadequacy of infrastructure networks, which exacerbated Cairo's transportation problems, and the water drainage system⁴⁸.

8.3.3. The Role of the Institutions in Improving Planning Conditions in Cairo

8.3.3.1. Awareness and Response

It was claimed that by early 1960 an era of awareness and response had arisen. Following the revolution, Egyptian policymakers were anxious to improve living standards and they were aware of the negative consequences of population growth and industrialization on the city's physical situation. In 1962, President Nasser addressed the Egyptians and highlighted problems of housing and spatial qualities deterioration and called for instituting what he

⁴⁵ Law 128/1957 stated that the organization should fulfil at least 50% of its annual tasks; which had been approved by its members.

⁴⁶ The Egyptian gazette (1965) *The formation of Cairo planning committee*, 9 July, p. 1-3.

⁴⁷ In 1958, Cairo Municipality evacuated 3000 collapsing buildings, and in 1966 a conducted survey reported that 45 per cent of the buildings in districts of *Bulaq Abul Ela*, *al-Sayyida Zainab*, *al-Sahel*, *Misr al-Qadima*, *al-Gamaliyya* and *Shubra* are unsafe for living.

⁴⁸ Other goals of the master plan of Cairo included an attempt to control Cairo's urban planning by giving the city an optimal size to solve problems caused by high densities in certain sections of the old city and to attract population growth in new self-sufficient satellite towns constructed on desert lands to preserve agricultural lands from being replaced by built constructions. Note that in 1965 all the sewages pipes collapsed. A '100-day emergency plan' was implemented effectively within three months and most of the damaged collectors were repaired.

called 'a development map for Egypt'. By 1964, the considerable administrative structure of the Dep. of Housing had been formed. By that time, problems related to Cairo's urban growth were notable; however, it was less alarming in other primary cities such as Alexandria and Giza. To a certain degree, the government had attempted to cope with this situation in the form of re-planning projects to reduce the negative effects of over-population and deterioration. The government also recognized that promotion of reasonable living standards for its citizens, adequate homes, sufficient infrastructure and wider roads could reverse the declining situation. Therefore, improving the city's urban centres, supporting urban growth and upgrading services of deteriorating urban sections were prioritized.

Evidently, the year of 1965 was considered the year of disasters and emergency plans, based on two crucial events. Both catastrophes happened due to the increase in population and, hence, users, and ultimately the situation was made worse by the failure to repair, or replace any damage. The first event occurred in July 1965: when the entire sewage system collapsed. A *hundred day plan* was drawn up to repair the sewerage network. Although this breakdown was described in official newspapers as a sudden incident, in reality it was a problem which the housing department had been aware of several years before the collapse⁴⁹. Abu-Lughod states that:

The emergency came as no surprise to engineers in the housing and public utilities department of the governorate, for their numerous requests for funds and in their plans submitted annually they had stressed the need for undertaking major projects to renovate equipment, enlarge capacity, and add pumping stations⁵⁰.

The second event was the disastrous inadequacy of the public transport network, and again an 'emergency expedient was resorted to when the army was assigned the special task of coping with the mass transit crisis in the city'⁵¹. From that date, Egypt devised new approaches for improving living conditions of the city. Fortunately, both critical situations led to a change for the better, or, as Abu-Lughod described the Egyptian government's efforts, ingenuity in dealing with disaster⁵². For that, the supreme council development, which was established in 1965, was concerned with spatial and urban planning activities of the city⁵³. Within the purpose of defining urbanization policies connected to the government's goals, a national development planning programme was launched in 1966 in the hope that it would stimulate development⁵⁴. According to Khairy 'development measures and programmes were designed to contribute to the achievement of economic, social and political goals through affecting critical demographic variables followed by a number of goals'⁵⁵. Perhaps

⁴⁹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1959) *Another Crisis: the sewerage breakdown*, 2 October. ; Al-Ahram Newspaper (1959) *a new threat to Cairo: The sewerage stations are 50 years old*, 20 November.

⁵⁰ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 227.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Functions of this council were to set a planning development scheme for Cairo, and to coordinate all population affairs including housing, social conditions, economic analysis and any relevant needed studies for family development.

⁵⁴ I want to add that a previous development policy was set for defining urbanization policies in coordination with development goals as part of the first five years plan of 1952 - 57.

⁵⁵ Khairy, *Political transformations and the built environment*, p. 132.

these two disasters had an impact on governmental attitudes and led to increasing reliability of the planning institution in Cairo in dealing with the city's problems of deterioration.

8.3.3.2. Instituting Order

In line with Cairo's five year plan of 1962-67, wide-ranging projects were rapidly undertaken by the Muhafzah to solve problems of deterioration and greater consideration towards the city's urban fabric was on the agenda. Tracing Egyptian newspaper archives informs us that the establishment of the Muhafzah demonstrated an unforeseen shift in attitude towards Cairo's built environment. For the first time in many years, newspapers started to announce the Muhafzah's initiatives, focusing on renovation and improvement of what it called *dilapidated neighbourhoods* or *al-ahyaa al-mutahalka*⁵⁶. For instance, the Department of Housing instigated a number of middle and low-income housing projects. These included setting plans for land acquisition and the installation of essential services⁵⁷. Specifically, in Bulaq, during 1962, the Department of Housing proposed the construction of an Egyptian Opera House in Bulaq, surrounded by museums and touristic hotels, after identifying suitable locations and land for expropriation, although this idea was later cancelled⁵⁸.

In addition, as part of the five year plan, a major project was implemented to construct low-income houses in Ramlet Bulaq. Thirty two blocks were constructed in 1964⁵⁹, which were assigned for rental by people relocating from al-Abbasiyya area. Initially, the project was conducted by the Muhafzah, but the government required the assignment of the project to the public cooperative organization, although, after negotiations between involved parties the original assignment to Muhafzah⁶⁰ was allowed to stand. In similar projects constructed in Cairo, Abu-Lughod informs us that:

Priority had been given to accommodation of persons displaced by clearance operations, even when their incomes exceeded the limits established for eligibility. Waiting lists were long, and it was necessary to resort to a public lottery for initial selection of tenants from the long list of those eligible⁶¹.

At the administrative level, improving the street network and regulating the streets in sections of Cairo which suffered extreme deterioration was given priority, particularly when major disasters took place. In the case of preparing plan 2020 of Bulaq, the Muhafzah usually would become involved because much of the site was considered historical and

⁵⁶ See the official Egyptian newspapers from 1961-1965. For example, Al-Ahram Newspaper (1961) *The Old Cairo is Renovating*, February 2. ; Al-Ahram Newspaper (1961) *Re-building 22 Districts in Cairo within One Year*, 12 November.

⁵⁷ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 231.

⁵⁸ This project was cancelled in 1967 by a presidential decree after selecting a different site for the Opera House, and all land expropriation were also not valid.

⁵⁹ The public housing plan included construction 21 housing projects for low-income tenants in areas seen as deteriorated and lacked necessary services. See the five year plan report of Cairo 1960-1965, Cairo.

⁶⁰ Minutes of the Muhafzah (1963) the planning Department, the Muhafzah. This case explains how far the cooperative organization was powerful and influential during this regime.

⁶¹ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 232.

contained public properties which would be affected by re-planning. Organizationally, the involvement of the housing department evolved from its authority for managing public housing in Cairo. In coordination, a planning committee composed of a board of directors from the departments of housing and planning was formed⁶². All proposals submitted by the committee needed approval from the Minister of Housing and subsequently the governorate council, with the plan's final authorization being approved by the Muhafez.

The previous instance demonstrates how plan 2020 approved amendment of the street lines rather than addressing the problems of mixed land-use and deterioration⁶³. In this case, I would argue that the various problems caused by industrialization drove the government's ambition to re-plan the old districts. First were the problems of narrow roads and the difficulty of accessibility inside Bulaq. The scheme was drafted with the intention of loosening the tight tissue of the district, which had actually remained unchanged for centuries. Second was the need to reduce the number of inhabitants in the district. As explained earlier, the district suffered from overcrowding due to the vast number of workers and immigrants. Thus, eviction was seen as a feasible solution to this dilemma. Third, the government realized that the Ramlet Bulaq housing project was a successful model which deserved to be repeated in other areas. Therefore, the vision was defined as follows: to clear large sections of Bulaq, and then to encourage private cooperative organizations to devise profitable plans for these plots. Abu-Lughod wrote that:

There are many housing developments which have been or will be planned, constructed and initially financed by special housing authorities but then sold in the form of cooperatives to occupants-owners⁶⁴.

The question arising in this case is why this method was a significant step in the development of Bulaq. There are several possible explanations. Initially, assigning these projects to private cooperatives would secure the availability of financial capital required for further development. The involvement of a single entity would allow for efficient control and standardization of plans, which otherwise would be affected by conflicts of planning laws and regulation of housing and land-use control. Also, possible clashes between public or governmental institutions would be avoided. Ultimately, this process enabled the government to avoid having its funds tied up indefinitely in projects which it would have had to supervise and maintain⁶⁵.

In the wider picture, this arrangement provided reasonable possibilities for further improvement of Cairo's spatial qualities. For example, at the national level, planning the new districts such as *Madinat Nasr* district (Nasr city) in 1956, was seen as the first example of a central government-sponsored project to contain not only housing projects, but also to

⁶² A complete list of the administrative positions of each member can be illustrated from the original plan of 1966.

⁶³ It is worth to mention that officially, the plan was published as a street alignment plan, but practically, it was guided to accommodate housing blocks similar to the project of *Ramlet Bulaq* built in 1964. In addition, several other sites were recommended for upper-income apartments and luxury projects. Also see Al-Ahram Newspaper, January 1967.

⁶⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 232.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

provide centrally planned employment centres⁶⁶. Furthermore, planning Nasr City was a prototype experiment for further governmental subsidised planning developments in Cairo: should it prove successful, this would encourage other ventures along similar lines; should it encounter insurmountable difficulties, lessons for the future would be learned from the experience⁶⁷.

Apparently, considerations for implementing order in dilapidated districts were distinct from their physical environment. Indeed, many of the important edifices of the Muhafzah were located in prosperous districts: contradicting the idea of allowing equal access to all social classes. Various improvements, new facilities and constructions were targeted at the higher social classes and people of the revolution located in the prestigious districts of the city. It can be said that two important factors had impacted on the structure and process of implementing spatial order during that time. The first was the adoption of European ideas in re-planning Cairo, although this was nothing new. But what was new was the fact that Egyptian planners, who studied abroad and became exposed to foreign planning ideas, were personally involved in decision making. Second, indisputably, the revolutionary government was seeking to stabilize order in everything, the military, the administration, and even the people. But, the main negative point was that most of the higher ranking members of this government had been army officers during the revolution, and were people upon whose loyalty to Nasser could depend in his pursuit of modernization. Thus, in employing them in such critical positions he had two objectives: he was rewarding them for their efforts during the revolution and, second, he was confident that they had the power and capability to manage and implement his vision of order.

Perhaps, the standardization of planning ideas appealed to the regime at that time because it symbolized the government's efforts to modernize Egypt. It was earlier clarified by al-Baghdady that the modern manifestation would show the whole Arab state that the government was capable of establishing order, which was paralleled to the government's political will to achieve a transformation to modernity. However, planning institutions which had been set up particularly to establish order were at odds with the existing conditions in the nation by that time.

Therefore, I would suggest that the decision to re-plan many parts of Cairo at that time was, once again, rendered as an idea of applying order. Clearly, the government thought that re-planning several parts of Cairo could create something homogeneous and standardized but which still manifested in different forms elements of what Timothy Mitchell had called 'the model village'⁶⁸. Mitchell described the introduction of disciplinary mechanisms of order in modern Egypt as the 'world as an exhibition', when considering the process of setting up '*methods of order*' which dated from the era of Muhammad 'Ali. In this sense, he explains, for example, the project for the reconstruction of the villages of Egypt

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 233

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. 43.

and how the village of *Kafr al-zayat* was rebuilt using particular models of houses 'which were also used to rebuild several other Egyptian villages'. He adds that:

'Projects of improvement of this kind contain less harshness of the methods of military order. But the order they seek to achieve is a similar one. Such projects, no less than the military innovations, typifying the new way in which the very nature of order was to be conceived. In modern Egypt, as in every modern state, order of this kind was to claim to be order itself, the only real order there has ever been'⁶⁹.

For that, such a method of uniformity was viewed as the possibility of creating order⁷⁰. However, while Mitchell limits his ideas of order to the 19th century colonization, I would suggest that during the 20th century, specifically during the Nasser regime, a period of institutionalization of planning had started. It was about imbuing a profession with power, presenting and utilizing planning as a tool for establishing order or, as the coming section will show, as a picture that could be redrawn, manipulated and displayed⁷¹. Therefore, the instituting of spatial planning practices in Cairo was concerned with embodying the attitudes and strategies of order in a more physical image, and defining the basis of a previously unclear role of planning practices in Cairo. Khaled Alam suggests that practising planning in the absence of a powerful institution would lead to inadequate outcomes and greater problems of deterioration⁷². Merging al- Baladiyya to become a sub-unit of the Muhafzah and restricting its role under the name of 'housing utilities' seemed an inequitable decision. Combining the strategies of planning and renewal with strategies of housing created confusion and inefficiency and raised questions regarding the practicality of involving diverse apparatuses in planning decisions⁷³. Although tremendous efforts were made to form a stable unified planning administration capable of actualizing planning vision, at the practical level it was believed that greater progress could have been achieved without standardization. However, it could be said that the regime brought about the establishment of planning authorities with powers that had previously been absent.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷⁰ This method also came in line with the target of the government's will to eliminate differences between social classes. Although that the re-planned districts were never inhabited by any middle or high class families, contrariwise, they moved out these areas to accommodate other new districts and newly built ones.

⁷¹ Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Age of the world picture: in the Question Concerning technology*. New York: Harper & Row. p. 134.

⁷² Alam, *Urban Renewal*, p.76.

⁷³ Specifically, the illustration of the original scheme of plan 2020 shows that six different higher authority engineers had to officially approve the scheme.

8.4. Shifting the Vision: The Shift towards Capitalism and Place Re-making

The opening will embrace the entire world, both east and west, because we are fully aware that wide ranging international economic relations constitute the material basis for the freedom of the political action⁷⁴.

The radical changes driven by the Infitah policies starting from 1974 affected the planning institution in Cairo and in some cases the Muhafzah faced problems in fulfilling tasks due to lack of coordination and efficiency⁷⁵. An effort to boost the effectiveness of the role played by Muhafzah in the physical planning of Cairo was made in 1971 when a number of state officials called for a massive administrative restructuring in the planning institution. Although the Muhafzah had increased in status during Nasser's regime, it lacked the legislative power and a sufficiently high organizational profile to re-plan Cairo in a position that satisfies Sadat's vision of creating a modern image for his capital.

During the period from 1970 to 1980, a series of laws were passed to define and organize the hierarchy of authority and power among different levels of the governmental institutions/bodies, particularly between the local councils and the Muhafez. According to Arandel & el-Bataran, the Egyptian institutional authority was transferred from central ministries, previously formed during the Nasser regime, to units of local government⁷⁶. They asserted that:

Policy guidelines, development standards, capital investment programmes, and operational budgets continued to be the responsibility of central ministries. Programme implementation and construction, operation and maintenance were delegated to the governorates through hierarchies headed by under secretaries attached to the central level but working for and in the governorates⁷⁷.

Since then, five distinct levels of local government have existed: the Governorate (*muhafazat*), town/ city (*mudun*), Centre (*Markaz*), urban quarter/district (*Hay*), rural district/ village (*karyya*). Each local unit has its individual executive committee and elected council. In 1979 two new councils were formed at the level of each governorate (*muhafazah*): the local council (*al-magles al-mahalli*) and, in each district/quarter (*Hay*), the local people's council. Local councils were responsible for supervising the progress of public utility projects

⁷⁴ Sadat, A. (1974) *The October working paper*. Cairo. Egypt.

⁷⁵ Such as the previous breakdown of the sewerage network.

⁷⁶ Arandel, and El-Batran, *The Informal Housing Development Process in Egypt*. Law 75 for year 1971 and Law 43 for year 1979. The former law also approved dividing the Greater Cairo into districts or quarters, which acted as administrative sections. Therefore, The Cairo Governorate is divided into four sections as follows: The Eastern section combines nine quarters (*qisms*): *Al-Matariyya*, *Misr al-Gadida*, *al-Nozha*, *Manshiat Nasser*, *east Madiant Nasr*, *west madinat Nasr*, *al-Salam Awal*, *al-Salam Than*, *Al-Marg*, *Ain-Shams*. The Western section combines ten quarters: *al-Wayly*, *Wasat*, *Misr al-Qdimah*, *Sayda Zaynab*, *Gharb*, *Abdin*, *al-Basateen*, *Bab-al-Shariyya*, *al-Khalifa and Muqattam and al-Mousky*. The Southern section combined of eight quarters: *Shubra*, *al-Zawya al-Hamra*, *Hade'ek al-Qouba*, *Roud al-Farag*, *al-Sharabiyya*, *al-Sahel*, *al-Zaytoon* and *Bulaq Abul Ela*. The newest added section is the *Helwan* Governorate combined of four quarters: *Maadi*, *Helwan*, *al-Tobeen* and *Mayo*. However, this division did not follow any historical, or social, or economical order.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

and preparing annual plans budgets. However, in reality, the central government authority could withdraw decisions made by the local units in cases of interference with its own policy⁷⁸. As such, it was expected that not all decisions approved by the local councils were to be implemented until they were approved by the local government committee. However, in 1981, this law was amended to restore the local council's right of interrogation. The subsequent flow of consecutive laws, in accordance, enabled the planning institutions, situated in the Muhafzah, to play a significant role in national and local programmes for the city's development⁷⁹. In time, the Muhafzah became responsible for developing plans to implement decisions taken by the local people's council⁸⁰ (Figure 8.3, 8.4, 8.5).

8.4.1. The Foundation of the General Organization of Physical Planning GOPP

The period of the 1970s was considered the peak of inferior deterioration of spatial qualities in old districts, and the period when the government took notice of the phenomenon and began to react towards their renewal. In 1971 *Ezz al-Din Farag*, Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Construction, announced that the Muhafzah's intention was to demolish the old districts in order to fulfil some of the Cairo's master plan of 1966 goals⁸¹. In 1972, one year before the establishment of the GOPP, the government officially launched a programme to improve the ashwaiyyat throughout Egypt. In Greater Cairo a total of 81 deteriorating areas were identified, of which 63 were deemed upgradable. These districts were classified into three groups according to their spatial conditions⁸². Farag also added that 'it could be appropriate to develop a comprehensive plan to re-plan the deteriorated districts in phases according to the actual condition of housing in each district'⁸³. However, implementation of this vision required instant social, economical and legal studies to be conducted and also a scheduled plan to return the residents⁸⁴. Nevertheless, due to the lack of the financial ability to fund temporary accommodation, and the entire project was halted for much of the 1970s and later, in 1977, a decision was made to evacuate only homes that were subject to serious danger of collapse.

⁷⁸ Financial and budgetary allocations are dedicated to the central government directly leaving the local councils with an extremely limited budget.

⁷⁹ The Greater Cairo Region is recognized as the urban, political, social and economic capital for Egypt and one of the largest urban agglomerations in the world.

⁸⁰ UN-HABITAT, *Metropolitan Planning and Management* .

⁸¹ Interview in al-Ahram Newspaper (1971) January 10.

⁸² These three groups were as follows; districts approved for clearance; *Misr al-Qadima, Bulq, Bab al-shariyya, al-Gammaliyya, al-Mousky, al-Darb al-Ahamr, al-Kahlifah, al-Sayyida Zainab, Abdin, Shubra, al-Sharabiyya, Giza and Imbaba*. Upgradable Districts of intermediate housing and planning conditions; *al-wayly, al-Zaher, Azbakiyya, Roud al-Farag, Shubra al-Khaimah and al-Sahel*. Districts in reasonable condition; *Misr al-Gadida, Maadi, Helwan al-Dokki and Qasr al-Nile* .

⁸³ Interview in al-Ahram Newspaper (1971) January 15.

⁸⁴ The implementation of the idea included setting a criteria towards who was eligible for housing entitlement, their ownership proceedings, and whether was it possible to compensate the owners. An argument was raised in the institution because some officials claimed that this was a project of public interest, thus, the Muhafzah had the right to seize the lands.

Cairo Governorate / Muhafazah
Administrative structure

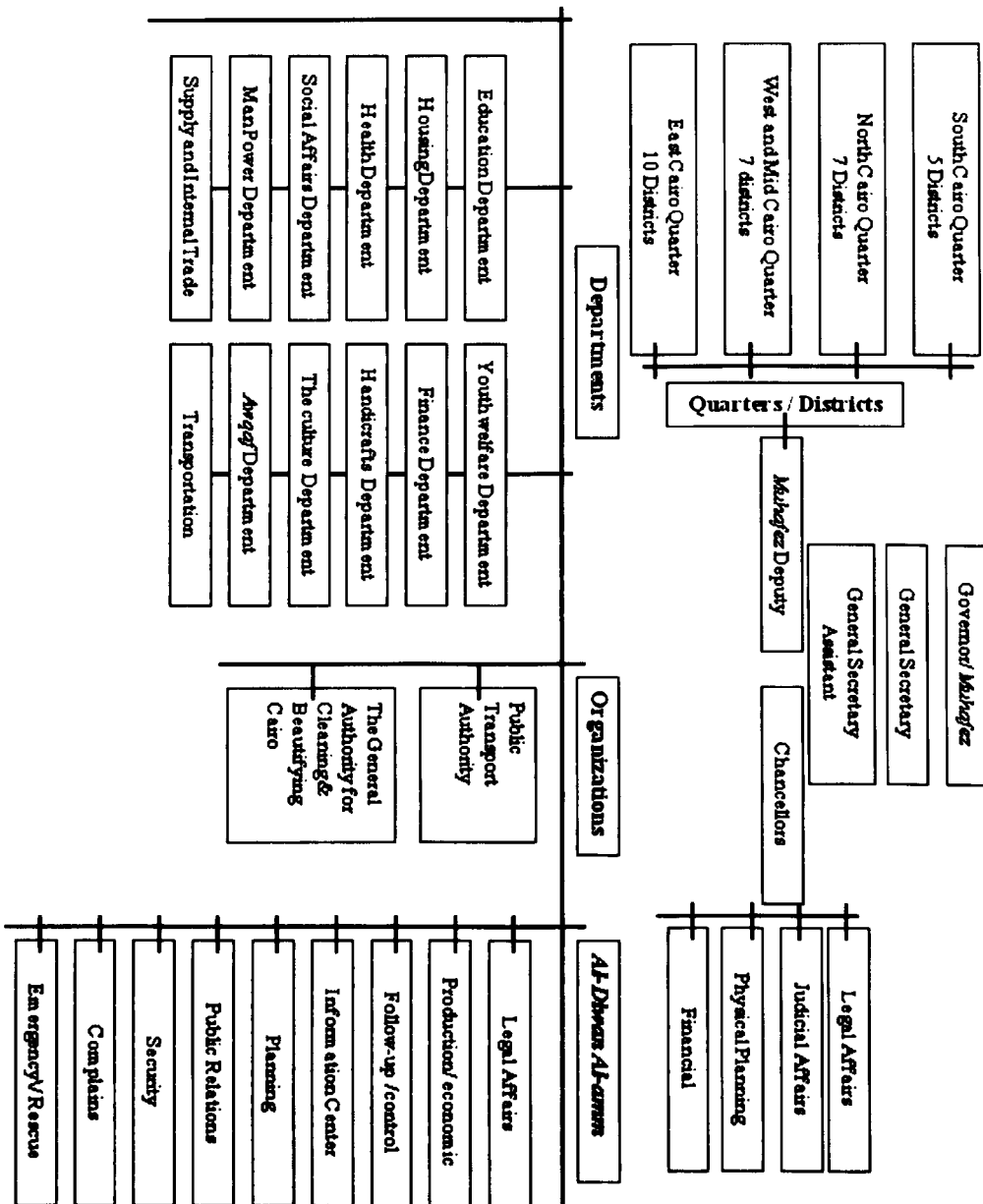


Figure 8.3 The Cairo Governorate /Muhafzah: Administrative structure.
Source: The Researcher, adopted from The Muhafzah Administrative Profile.

The Housing Department
Administrative structure

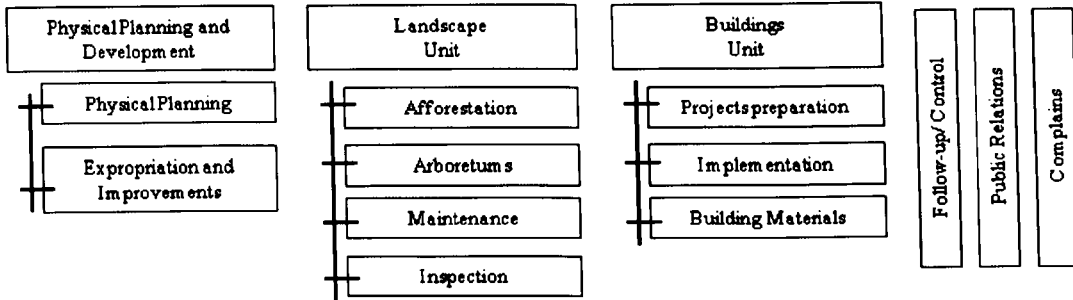


Figure 8.4 The Administrative structure of the Housing Department, the Muhafzah.
Source: Alam, 1995.

The Quarter/ Hay
Housing Section Administrative Structure

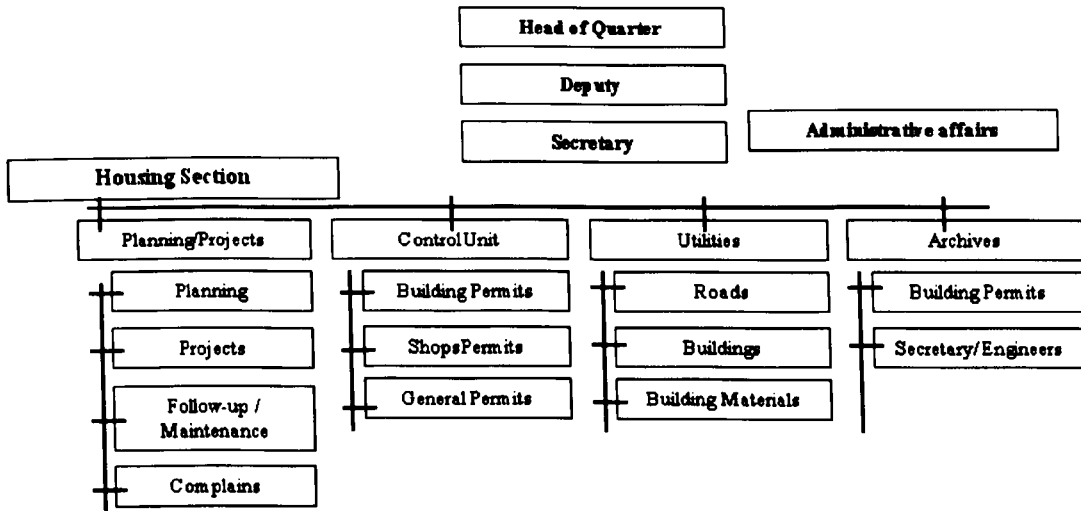


Figure 8.5 Administrative structure of the Housing Department of the Hay.
Source: The Researcher, adopted from The Hay Administrative profile.

In 1972 the Muhafzah's capability to handle the task of managing Cairo's infrastructure, planning and housing problems was questioned⁸⁵. In fact, the initiatives of Nasser's governments to construct low cost housing and grand projects were not favoured by the new regime that intended, among other things, to construct new tourist attractions in Cairo such as museums and entertainment facilities. Such ambitions were described by *Saad el-Din Ibrahim*, a famous Egyptian social scientist, in the following words:

'Sadat wanted to develop Egypt along western lines with western economic aid, western technology, and western experts. If Paris and Rome were the favourite models for Khedive Ismail, Los Angeles and Houston were favourite models for Sadat'⁸⁶.

In this context, Hirst and Beeson reported that Sadat summoned Peter Munk to design the 'Pyramids Oasis Project'⁸⁷. The project replaced an earlier proposal by the Ministry of Tourism to establish a 'Disneyland' in the location of the Giza Pyramids⁸⁸. Munk proposed a golf course 'flourishing within the smell of ancient life of the pharaohs'⁸⁹, and a residential resort for tourists containing hotels, boulevards and luxury villas⁹⁰. However, planners and architects' ensuing criticism of the project was explicit and loud to the extent that the plans were soon abandoned. The proposal was considered a threat to one of the country's major archaeological sites and, in addition, the extremely high level of funding required rendered it unaffordable by the planning institutions.

However, such ambitions sowed the seeds for establishment of a new planning organization that could handle planning tasks as suggested by state officials. The republican decree No. 1093 / 1973 announced the establishment of a new bureau named the General Organisation for Physical Planning (GOPP) as a state body within the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Official newspapers declared that the bureau would play a crucial role in improving the city's physical planning and, in particular, in implementing projects in several old districts and tourist destinations: whereas, the first five years of its foundation were dedicated only to exercising the administrative, executive apparatus responsible for amending planning legislation and designs. By that time, the GOPP was headed by the

⁸⁵ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1972) March 12. No additional records were located to explain the exact environment where the GOPP was established.

⁸⁶ Ibrahim, S. (1985) Cairo: A Sociological Profile. In: *The expanding metropolis: Coping with the urban growth of Cairo*, Singapore: Concept Media LTD.

⁸⁷ Hirst and Beeson, *Sadat*, p. 205.

⁸⁸ According to the Egyptian Gazette, The project was described as the Honoluluization of Egypt. The Disneyland project was designed to facilitate a plastic pyramid housing a museum and other Entertainment facilities as a tourist package with an estimated cost of 50 million Dollars. However, the scheme was not implemented.

⁸⁹ Hirst and Beeson, *Sadat*, p. 206.

⁹⁰ Eventually, this is still a dream to renovate the site of the pyramids which flows till recent days. Comparable to those in the States and the Arab world, such as the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, *Al-Masri al-Youm* Magazine published a private consultant proposal to develop the pyramids site in a new global image. The proposal assumed a joint corporation between Egyptian and with Arab investors, to create a mid space to group the three pyramids with the Sphinx. In addition to constructing an international horse track, the allocation of seven and five stars hotels, and building a more proper site for tourists, and more attractive than the current location, with facilities such as groups of shops, cafes and popular pedestrian corridors. According to the Magazine, This project will provide job opportunities, and enhance rates of tourism in Egypt, and enable the Egyptian pyramids to restore its glory. See *Al-Masri al-Youm* newspaper (2008) May 18, ed. 1435.

Minister of Housing and employed a reasonable number of qualified architects and urban planning graduates⁹¹.

Besides, the introduction of the Physical Planning Law of 1983 restructured the GOPP administrative organization as a National Governmental Authority responsible for drawing up general physical planning policies⁹². Its activities included: 1. fixing the planning rates, conditions and indicators for the national and regional urban organization. 2. Preparation of physical, environmental, economic, communal, demographic research and studies, and 3. Organization of international and local scientific conferences on urban development. In addition, the GOPP was responsible for the preparation of physical plans through its technical entities and specialized consultancies⁹³.

Apparently, for the planning institution to intervene in the spatial improvement of Cairo, it was necessary to involve the GOPP in the physical planning activities. However, some of my respondents from the GOPP had different reactions towards the real reasons behind its establishment. They ascribed it to the broader scope of the economic changes brought about by Infitah. This suggests that its establishment was an intentional message to local and foreign investors that Egypt was in the process of remedying shortcomings in its urban planning institutions; thus, private investors in Cairo would be offered a well organized and stable investment environment⁹⁴. Therefore, its main task was to boost the wave of investment by preparing detailed planning schemes that would fulfill such a vision: schemes that would transform old districts with modern buildings and luxury projects.

The establishment of the GOPP was a shifting stage in the spatial planning discourse in Egypt, especially in the sense of the increasing awareness towards the city's built environment. It was apparent that the foundation of the new bureau was essential to the materialization of the state's tendency to improve the built environment in light of the confusion over the position of the Muhafzah as the primary planning institution. There was a need for a body specialized in spatial planning that was equipped to take on the tasks, responsibilities and expectations of Cairo's beautification and realize the state's ambitions for modernization.

8.4.2. The Response to Remaking

During the International Engineering Conference held in Cairo in January 1975, a group of government engineers recommended that, for a city like Cairo, it was important to start

⁹¹ Interview with a planning official in the GOPP in 2009.

⁹² The Egyptian Gazette (1983) *Law 3 for year 1983*, The Ameri Press.

⁹³ Its administrative and organizational structure included the Chair of the Board (General Administration of Technical Office, General Administration of Legal Affairs, General Administration of Organization and Administration, Public Relation and Communication Administration, Planning and Monitoring Administration), Vice-chair for research, studies and regional planning, Vice-chairperson for plans and programs, Central Administration for Infrastructure and Central Administration for the General Secretariat.

⁹⁴ Interview with a planning official in the GOPP in 2009.

constructing large numbers of skyscraper⁹⁵. The recommendation reinforced the Muhafzah's visions which were in this same direction as the benefits were twofold: first, it legitimized the act of building high-rise constructs in valuable areas, which for a long time had been criticised and prohibited by successive state officials and planners⁹⁶. Second, this advice would prevent agricultural lands from being used for construction. This idea was explained as a viable alternative to accommodating a rapidly increasing population in new cities far away from the heart of Cairo⁹⁷. By that time, various solutions were suggested for remaking Cairo's old districts. Perhaps, there was an idea to re-plan the old sections of Cairo to absorb the increase of population rather than construct new cities around the capital and thereby add further problems to those already in existence. In 1976, the Dean of faculty of Engineering at al-Azhar University stated that:

Cairo is moving towards a process of a comprehensive reconstruction development. Thus, looking back to benefit from its old districts, especially districts in the centre of the city, will offer more practical solutions for the city's growth, rather than building extended cities around the capital. The city of Cairo has an urgent need to demolish all its old buildings, which are about to collapse, in order to replace them with modern skyscrapers and the state should be in charge of constructing such projects with all kinds of technical and financial support. In this case, the state would be in the position of evacuating the land and rebuilding on it⁹⁸.

In addition to the work in old districts, there were problems with housing stock and utilities, identified by the Egyptian Prime Minister in 1978 as major concerns of the state⁹⁹. This call was preceded by several meetings between official executives from the Muhafzah and the National Democratic Party (NDP) leaders to discuss the dimensions of housing and infrastructure deterioration to seek a practical solution. For that, several procedures were in action; first the Muhafzah was offered proper financial support to construct 15 thousand housing units every year, with 10 thousand units being required urgently. Second was relocating the residents from areas such as al-Tourguman in Bulaq and Arab Al-Mohammady in Abbasiyya¹⁰⁰. Third was the provision of lands to housing cooperatives for investment on the assurance that land prices would include utilities costs and those projects would be expanded vertically.

These procedures supported the Muhafzah in implementing its spatial planning goals. The first project to emerge was the allocation of 450 *feddans* of land for construction of 10 to 15 thousand mass housing units to re-house people evicted from areas of Bulaq assigned

⁹⁵ Al-Goumhuriyya Newspaper, January 12, 1976. This was followed by the announcement of construction the first skyscraper in official newspapers named *Burg al-Sadat* (the *Sadat Tower*) in 1976. The project was due of completion by 1977 containing a huge cinema and a luxury hotel for tourists on one of the sites next to the new Ramses Bridge on the western side of the Nile. This was followed by the announcement of construction the first skyscraper in official newspapers named *Burg al-Sadat* (the *Sadat Tower*) in 1976.

⁹⁶ See *Ahmed Bahaa el-Din* article published in al-Ahram newspaper 1983.

⁹⁷ The government asserted that constructing such new cities were economically high in cost.

⁹⁸ Interview published in al-Ahram Newspaper 1976.

⁹⁹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1978) *The renewal of 17 old districts starting with Ishaah al-Tourguman and Bulaq*, December 22.

¹⁰⁰ According to a respondent from the physical planning department of the Muhafzah, financial credits of the relocation were estimated to reach 24 thousand EP.

for clearance¹⁰¹. For one year following this debate, ambitions to implement luxury and high-rise projects were announced by the Muhafzah and the site of al-Tourguman was selected to be the first and most promising site for new projects. However, the Muhafez confessed that the planning department would draft a comprehensive master plan to develop Bulaq which would only set out the main ideas, while the GOPP would be responsible for drafting detailed urban design plans in certain areas; in this case it was al-Tourguman, as discussed in an earlier chapter.

It was suggested by several planners, who were against the idea of the plan at that time, that re-planning old districts, especially al-Tourguman, was a process of in-filling the site with high-rise projects which could never match the surrounding context and failure could have been predicted in advance. Although the Muhafzah attempted to intervene to beautify Cairo, its views on re-making spatial quality remained limited to images of buildings that could be displayed in the city. It was seen that improving the visual quality to represent a modern image was linked to a broader vision of applying order to what were thought to be two different realms in Bulaq, the realm of the poor and the realm of the modern. Therefore, the failure of al-Tourguman could be better understood in this sense as it corresponds to Mitchell's world as an exhibition¹⁰². Implementing such projects, while turning a blind eye to the other spatial and social problems of the district, was viewed in terms of dividing the district into parts and fixing each part separately, without considering the impact of each part on the other.

8.5. Implications of New Order: the Position of Hay Bulaq

The beginning of the 1980s was marked by the introduction of the Physical Planning Law of 1983 which established a central spatial practice framework for planning in Egypt. The Law's general statement noted that 'master planning is a primary tool which is necessary to guide the process of urban development in Egypt'¹⁰³. However, since that time, there has been only limited evidence of progress in the development of Bulaq. However, by that time, building permits were approved once again in Bulaq after being on hold for some years. This was viewed by the Muhafzah as a temporary action that could partially address deterioration within the district and it was announced to the public as 'a project to re-plan Bulaq and Maspero'¹⁰⁴. In addition, efforts to upgrade facilities were made by government bodies. For example, the NDP upgraded some infrastructure facilities by installing water pipes in certain areas of *al-Adawiyya*, *al-Gawaber*, *Darb Nasr* and *Sinan Pasha* in Bulaq, in addition to

¹⁰¹ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1978) *Building 10 thousand houses to accommodate relocated residents in cairo: Re-planning Bulaq and Maspero areas*, January 5. Also, it is important to note that new building permissions in most areas of Bulaq and the adjacent *Maspero* were denied or frozen.

¹⁰² Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*.

¹⁰³ The Egyptian Gazette (1983) *Law 3 for year 1983*. The Physical planning Act of 1983 will be further explained in chapter nine.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1982) *Re-planning Bulaq and Maspero*, December 30.

installing some lighting cables¹⁰⁵. It seemed that after the Muhafzah's failure to implement plans for al-Tourguman during the 1980s, another shift in the planning institution directions was traced. It appeared that the Muhafzah, as the main body of planning, had realized that it was not possible to move on with its remaking visions in Bulaq, at least for the coming years, or even to manage the application of this vision in the future.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the implementation of the 2005 scheme was set on long-term procedures. This urged the Muhafzah to allocate supervisory responsibility to Hay Bulaq, which is a lower tier¹⁰⁶. The administrative structure of the Hay included a housing section which contained a 'planning and projects unit', subdivided into three sectors for planning, project supervision and building maintenance. It appeared that the Hay was the appropriate institutional body for performing these functions. In addition, the housing unit's municipal tasks included issuing building permits for shops and houses, following up different types of projects such as road construction and maintenance, providing infrastructure facilities and public cleanliness. Although it was more realistic for the GOPP to manage this task as the main urban design institution in Cairo, at that time it was involved in other projects for improving al-Cornich Boulevard, spanning approximately 40 km.

In this case, supervision of the scheme became the task of Hay Bulaq. As the scheme approved new zones for land-use activities, each engineer in the planning unit was assigned supervisory duties for one type of land-use of each zone. Based on the building conditions and land-use map prepared by the survey team of the Muhafzah in 2005, engineers could follow up on site the condition of each individual building every six months before issuing a report stating the actual physical status of the building. It was then down to the engineer's judgment to decide whether it needed renewal, maintenance or a demolition permit. Also, the engineer had to ensure that the height of any building designated for demolition and reconstruction followed the Building Code regulation No. 119/ 2008¹⁰⁷ and also that the new land-use activity, set-backs and alignment followed the specifications plan 3133 had previously approved.

However, not all building permits were approved in Bulaq, although theoretically this was the best way to encourage the implementation of the scheme. In addition, only the Muhafzah had the authority to issue these permits; it's not within the authority of the Hay to permit the demolition and reconstruction in Bulaq in order to widen the roads and implement the street alignments and set-backs approved in plan 3133, argued one of the Hay engineers [I6.1.09]. Another official from the Hay stated that:

'When a building requires demolition, a permit must be issued from the muhafazah. The Muhafez Deputy will form a team to preview the building's actual condition and accordingly a permit to demolish or restore it would be issued'¹⁰⁸. In the case of

¹⁰⁵ Al-Ahram Newspaper, March 29, 1984, Sa'ad Ma'mon announces the NPP's success in Bulaq.

¹⁰⁶ Un-Habitat, *Metropolitan Planning and Management*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁷ This point will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸ The official also added to me this statement: *note that in case of restoration this means that the new street alignment would not be implemented.*

demolition approval, after following these procedures, the owner has to contact the Hay to get another permit for construction according to the amended set-backs and heights approved for each zone individually [18.1.09].

As such, this means that the powers of giving permission were held by the Muhafzah, as the higher planning authority, while the power of the Hay is limited to supervision and following up. This confirmed that decision making and comprehensive implementation of a project was entirely in the hands of the Muhafzah. Such contradictions reflect some of the difficulties that confront spatial remaking at the implementation level in Egypt. Also, the lack of proper control within the Hay could be another contributory factor in this regard. It seemed that engineers of the Hay were always put under pressure by powerful residents in Bulaq, such as traders and businessmen, to delay a demolition decree or to make illegal changes to new constructions. This issue was evident when the head of Hay Bulaq controversially resigned from his post after 60 days¹⁰⁹. This occurred after he had redeployed three engineers to other local units with very limited tasks and responsibilities, claiming that 'they were not able to adopt the head's visions and style of work. He wanted to solve the people's accumulated problems'¹¹⁰. In general, he refused to mention the exact reasons for this resignation and only stated that:

'The government is required not to turn a blind eye towards problems of local units of administration 'referring to the hay'. It must take positive action to make sustainable reforms in its structures to allow further room for an effective role. Now, hay Bulaq has turned out to be like a 'post office' whose only purpose is to receive the residents' problems and complaints without offering any useful services'¹¹¹.

Even though master plans were produced with clear intentions of implementation, their progress was fraught with problems and obstacles. Following the approval of plan 3133 that reorganized street lines and buildings setbacks, for example, minor implementations were recorded¹¹². The Muhafzah was not legally entitled to demolish existing buildings without legal procedures to either acquire the property of the public interest, or proceed with gradual piece-by-piece adjustment to setbacks and alignment following the collapse of each unit. In light of the huge cost of buying out private plots, with all the legal ramifications, the decision was made to align with the gradual progression of implementation. In addition, there have been apparent pressures to slow down the implementation to allow local investors and businessmen the opportunity to purchase large areas/zones in Bulaq for private commercial investments such as hotels and commercial complexes. But although some of these areas were public properties, most were under private ownership, which encouraged the Muhafzah to set up more covert deals with investors. They would be conducted along the following lines: the Muhafzah would refrain from urging the residents to demolish their houses and

¹⁰⁹ October Magazine (2008) 13 January, ed. 1629.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² I say this because I was able to access the archive section of the Hay and review the number of building permits issued in Bulaq from 2006 till 2009. The records showed that only 72 buildings were listed while the rest of the demolition requests were refused and permitted for further maintenance and upgrading.

complicate the procedures for issuing renewal permits, while at the same time giving investors the green light to negotiate the purchase of homes and lands, especially in sections of Bulaq with high land value, specially areas located in Ramlet Bulaq.

It would be impossible to measure the success of implementation of this scheme at the present time, except in the form of predictions based on the previous review. To this end, it is necessary to refer to assessments from the more recent statement by Arandal and el-Batran on similar projects carried out in other old districts in Cairo during the 1990s, such as Shubra al-Khayma and al-Mounira districts.

'Transformation of these areas is possible at this stage since the areas are not entirely built up. It is however urgent to act immediately before the area becomes too densely built and action is impossible or very costly. In itself, this is an important shift in the role of the planner who acknowledges that the city is being built and whose objective is limited to accompanying this growth so as to limit its negative consequences. As such, these projects represent difficult balancing act between the acceptance of popular city buildings and the reassertion of planning principles and land use regulations'¹¹³.

Schemes approved for both areas proposed clearance, infrastructure upgrading, and improving the streets and land -use activities. Their previous statement had disclosed the challenges posed to remaking projects due to predicted increases in population in these districts, while it also stressed that planners and the planning institution should be aware that deterioration problems and poor spatial qualities which become more concentrated over time: to the extent that in some cases they could never be remedied. One of the main factors to inhibit implementation is, perhaps, the slowness of the implementation process which causes many projects to remain unfinished. Considering the current physical conditions of Bulaq, its population, high density, and the unreliability of the institution, the prospects for successful implementation of the 2005 scheme for Bulaq are questionable.

8.6. Remaking quality in Egypt: Constraints and Shortages

8.6.1. At the Planning Level

The movement towards institutional decentralization in Egypt needs be placed within the complex framework of the various levels of government, ministries and planning entities. It was apparent that, due to the interrelationship of the different parties involved in planning such as the Muhafzah, the GOPP and the Hay, there was no single unified organizational structure responsible for remaking Cairo. Instead, extensive overlapping of tasks and responsibilities meant that the Muhafzah drew up comprehensive guidelines for re-planning, or drafting plans in some cases, while the GOPP was responsible for drafting detailed plans for certain sections of the same area: frequently in isolation from any previous studies of social or cultural concerns and, finally, the involvement of the Hay threw up contradictions of tasks with the Muhafzah in terms of implementation.

¹¹³ Arandal and El-Batran, *The Informal Housing Development*, p. 32.

In response to questions over the reliability of the planning institutions in terms of its effectiveness to handle the task of improving the spatial quality in Cairo raised earlier, el-Batarn argues that master planning in Egypt 'had proved to be a tool of limited effectiveness, particularly in the developing world, and where the Egyptian experience is no different'¹¹⁴. The GOPP, for at least the past ten years, had prepared planning schemes for different sections of the city; however, most had failed to be fully implemented. She reveals the fact that plans had, in most cases, 'greatly exceeded the limited resources of the concerned city'¹¹⁵. Also, it is evident that other agencies have the right to modify development projects in coordination with the Muhafzah. For example, the Ministry of Planning is responsible for approving budgetary appropriations for all central ministries, the governorates and the Ministry of Local Government. However, conceivably, the lack of a proper mechanism for coordination of planning authorities, conflict of development priorities and shortage of resources and funds had prevented implementation of the Bulaq schemes and impacted on spatial practices of the institution in Egypt since then.

8.6.2. At the Implementation Level

On the other hand, difficulties in implementing master plans in Egypt reveal a huge gap between planning theory and the reality of practice. Indeed, planning policies in Egypt were designed at the central level of authority without taking into account the actual needs, priorities and resources¹¹⁶. Therefore, the selected tools for allowing a sufficient and successful practice were inappropriate in terms of management and guidance. In this sense, building permits to construct a chain of projects in the riverfront zone were issued by the Muhafzah, supported by the ideology of encouraging touristic investment, regardless of the context, conditions or land-value. Private investors were promised by the Muhafzah a guaranteed profit which was tested in similar projects elsewhere. A point of conflict that could be discussed in this regard is that the Muhafzah considers that lands located within the city's formal boundaries are part of their jurisdiction. Therefore, conflicts of ownership between different institutions increased the chances of land seizure. Representatives from the planning department claimed that the Muhafzah could only approve building permits to lands under its jurisdiction, but obviously there are other sites which are private properties... we do not have authority to expropriate or evacuate the residents [14.1.09].

A similar situation arose with the plans to develop inner zones in Bulaq. Although the plans for al-Tourguman recommended developing the site with commercial and administrative high-rise projects, the site was not developed until 2001. After clearing the site of al-Tourguman, the Muhafzah issued a decree stating that the site was subject to

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

subdivision into 25 plots which came under Muhafzah's jurisdiction¹¹⁷. Later, the Muhafzah announced in the newspapers an auction to sell 22 plots to local and foreign investors, although none were actually sold. A respondent from the planning department of the Muhafzah attributed this failure to financial constraints and professional shortcomings of the project's feasibility study¹¹⁸. Further explanation for this failure was given by a respondent:

The site of al-Tourguman was designated for commercial and administrative land-use to boost the vision of constructing modern buildings and to gain further profit. Several times the Muhafzah announced the sale of the plots by auction, but none was ever sold. Plot sizes were huge¹¹⁹, their prices were unaffordable: especially as the site was still surrounded by poor buildings, warehouses, and unplanned streets. No development projects were implemented in this site for a long time, until a project was implemented in 2001, because none of the developers wished to invest in Bulaq at that time due to its dilapidated conditions' [I2.02.09].

However, this was not the only case of land seizure in Bulaq. Previous attempts were recorded when several agencies seized massive areas of land such as the site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and towers constructed on the riverfront zone, the most important being the Muhafzah's seizure of Ishaash al-Tourguman lands in 1979. Furthermore, the institution's leniency in dealing with violations of the law encouraged ineffective management of the existing activities of land-use in Bulaq.

Similar failures of the institution to implement a successful spatial remaking practice were recorded in different projects, such as the hay al-Salam re-planning project upgrading project, implemented in 1978. The project was designed to offer the poor adequate houses and infrastructure while allowing people on higher income to acquire plots of land. Although the project was pronounced successful in terms of implementation it failed to re-accommodate the original residents. According to el-Batarn, this failure was due to an accumulation of circumstances which resulted in land prices rising beyond the reach of the targeted groups. She wrote that:

'First, the prevailing concept was that the new project should not end up as a similar informal project. Inhabitants were directed to build with higher construction specifications, using skeleton structures rather than bearing wall types. The subsidies provided by a number of bodies encouraged higher building standards in anticipation of price increases. A second important change occurred in the layout of the sites and services section. The original plan was to allocate the plots of land overlooking the main streets to middle income groups at market prices...Meanwhile, narrower subsidiary streets were allocated to the poor. The design included a number of spaces for common use. However, the inhabitants pressured project officials to abandon the narrow streets and common urban spaces, and to have modern streets instead'¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷ Decree 255 for year 1980, The Muhafzah documents.

¹¹⁸ The study estimated that the evacuation and relocation would approximately cost the Muhafzah 36 million EG. After clearing the site, the Muhafzah was indebted when actual costs reached 100 million EG. However, during 1998, the local press published that an Egyptian investor proposed to the Muhafzah to buy this site afterwards. This offer was followed by a wide rejection from the public authority in Egypt.

¹¹⁹ Plots sizes were huge because it was thought that this would allow a better selling for the plots to cover the Muhafzah's actual costs of the project, but this did not happen.

¹²⁰ El-Batarn, M. (1994) *Transforming the Role of Private Sector in Managing and Developing of Urban Land for the Poor, with special reference to Ismailia, Egypt*. The 2nd Symposium Housing for the Urban Poor. The International Convention Centre. Birmingham, U.K.

It was evident that sites were being allocated to land-uses that would accumulate the highest profit possible: while there was no consideration of problems that could affect the implementation or even affect the surrounding users. In fact, in combination with the conflicts apparent in planning decision-making, this reveals that the planning institution in Egypt was not capable of adopting a reliable approach to remediation of deterioration within the city.

8.7. Conclusion

This chapter offered a review of the institutions involved in planning in Cairo. Despite the changing institutional structures, shifting visions, policies and attitudes towards the spatial re-making, the institution offered a consistent ideology of re-making based on its ambitions of applying spatial order. Attempts of the institution to planning from top-down, not from down-up, to regularize the deteriorated patterns of districts in Cairo reflected a wider view of making physical order away from any social or cultural concerns. There was a persistence to reshape the image with minimum effort to tackle daily problems. Therefore, establishing additional planning bodies and approving policies that could support the ideational view of making order were needed to fulfil these ambitions.

In addition, the discussion tended to address the reliability of the planning institution in dealing with problems of deterioration and to what degree was the institution successful in achieving its spatial remaking goals. However, the review of the planning institution and its involvement in clearance, upgrading and renewal projects revealed the overlapping tasks and responsibilities in an extremely complex bureaucratic structure and conflicts which lead to a wide lack of effective spatial planning and implementation. But it seemed that dealing with existing problems of deterioration, policies of re-making become shaped according to other priorities rather than searching in the deep needs of the people therefore the ongoing conflict of goals between the bureaucracy and the citizens had never ended. Therefore, unreliability in the development of Bulaq throughout the three schemes was caused by factors such as problems facing the institution on the planning and implementation levels, neglecting the actual needs of the people, and most importantly was prioritising the state's political and economical agenda upon any other aspects.

CHAPTER NINE

THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF PLANNING CONTROL

FOR SPATIAL QUALITY

9.0. Legislating for spatial quality

In the conclusion of their book *Sustainable Neighbourhood Transformation*, Vincent Gruis, et al., raised the issue of *Spatial Quality*, or as they called it, the *Project*, in which demolition and replacement are principal strategies for transformation and remaking of the urban space in the Netherlands¹. For them, urban transformation could be achieved by adopting a specifically designed spatial framework and interventions to form the desired spatial images, in keeping with the changing economic and social demands. In response to these demands, spatial quality of urban planning and design is a central piece in the larger jigsaw board required for transforming urban contexts and neighbourhoods. Restructuring the existing fabric, however, essentially requires a legislative framework that allows and makes a provision for gradual implementation of planned policies of change. In the *Project* of spatial quality, the inclusion of urbanism and urban planning policies make people think more carefully about the (re)design of outdated public spaces (usually those at odds with contemporary values or desired images)². In addition, urban planning and associated legislation should seek to improve the quality of the neighbourhood and its surroundings by upgrading their spatial relationships. Hence, it becomes apparent that achieving spatial quality would never be possible without a raft of supporting legislation that allows for the practice to assume control of spaces for the sake of implementing specific policies or re-making urban spaces.

Planning policy and strategy set a specific spatial framework by which to control the outcomes of the development of the built environment during a certain period of time. Urban Development Plans and Local Area Plans are modern demonstrations of these processes of control³. They are mostly accompanied by codes and laws of control, which become of principal concern during the drafting of any planning policy in the sense that long-term design control determines the outcome of this built environment and forms its image as well as its spatial organization. To achieve good quality of the urban environment, improvement plans are best achieved over longer time spans, as short-term phases of implementation are unreliable in achieving long-term visions⁴. Therefore, to achieve excellence of quality and innovation, the effective employment of rules and codes of practice is an additional, but significant, dimension of success. It is the role of local planning authorities to develop and structure these codes: even though it is argued that it is not possible to legislate for good design practice⁵.

Egyptian planning authorities, on their part, struggle to define the actual needs for delivering quality spaces or a specific overarching strategy for the long-term improvement of existing quality, especially in old quarters of the city. The rules and laws issued in relation to

¹ Gruis, V. et al (2005) *Sustainable neighbourhood transformation*. IOS Press. p. 154.

² *ibid.*, p154-155.

³ Perfect and Power, *Planning for Urban Quality*.

⁴ Tibbalds, *Making People-Friendly Towns*, p. 100 - 101.

⁵ *ibid.*

the development of Bulaq in Cairo lacked any supporting consultation, feedback or study of the local needs, or what makes an urban space of certain importance. It could be argued that this was derived from the lack of reference to academic studies to investigate, describe, and evaluate these needs. In Egypt, local planning applications do not require any social study or investigation of people's responses, in stark contrast with counterpart European legislation. Despite the long history of Egyptian planning practices, and their association with Europe, their slow progress in developing a substantial structure of effective and well-informed planning legislation affected the formation and effectiveness of such laws until recently. It was not until 2009 that planning policies started to incorporate and further consider aspects of planning needs and drivers, such as social control, economic growth and issue relevant to spatial quality⁶. Specifically, the need to design policies for its achievement was somehow underestimated in the tradition of remaking places in Cairo. As a critical practice of urban design, planners in Cairo need to expand their scope to determine and plan for quality outcomes and people's participation in remaking places.

In Egypt, the municipal government is the legislator and the official authority that uses its uncompromised power to impose its ideologies on urban reform in the city. It is also in a position to issue resolutions in the name of the president. The Muhafzah, as the local planning authority, through the design and drafting of various plans, is responsible for much of the enforcement of statutory legislation, such as approving, regulating, prohibiting/allowing, or declaring restrictions on certain actions. Planning legislation in Egypt is set out in a series of enacted planning laws, which are legally compulsory and treated as statutory law for consideration in the determination of planning applications. Ironically, the weakness of such policies has been exposed by the fact that associated planning legislation has never been stable and has undergone constant change⁷. In such situations, the market assumes overwhelming power to reverse actions and legislation or at least ignore them (without accurate implementation). The private sector, hence, assumes a position of control over highly-valued and sensitive areas, enabling new developments outside, if not in contradiction with, current planning guidelines and legislation.

The arena of planning legislation, building codes, and their executive regulations is filled with a plethora of complex and overlapping laws and decrees. However, it is noted that such planning laws and building codes, approved during the 1970s in Egypt, were questioned in terms of their effective application within residential areas of Cairo, and their negative influence on the resultant spatial qualities of the city⁸. The lack of legal stability regarding planning legislation was apparent to the extent that every failure to implement was followed by a series of ill thought out laws that, arguably, lacked the necessary practical basis and

⁶ Khalifa, M. (2010) *Redefining slums in Egypt: Unplanned versus unsafe areas*. Habitat International. 35:1. 40 - 49.
⁷ El-sheikh, T. (2002) *Participatory urban upgrading in Egypt: Lessons from experience*. Forum on Urbanizing World and UN Human Habitat II. p. 45 - 54.

⁸ Mohamed, E. A. (1999) *Building Regulations in Egypt and Their Impacts on the Quality of Urban Environment*. The 6th International Conference of Building and Construction organized by the Arab Group for development. 26-30 June. Cairo. Egypt.

worsened the deterioration of the built environment⁹. I argue in this chapter that the failure or success in achieving locally determined spatial quality in Bulaq was derived from the implementation of the legislative framework and its stability. It also shows that controlling quality was seen, for the first time in Cairo, to be possible through re-making, rather than making: adjustment and enhancement of existing order rather than clearance and imposing new order. Aspects of planning control will be discussed in terms of different Planning Laws, their application, and their deficiencies. This will be supported by evidence from plans for Bulaq and other Cairene quarters to develop a broader understanding of the implications of such planning legislation.

9.1 Planning and building control in Cairo

9.1.1 The origins of planning control: 19th century legislation

Until the middle of the 19th century there had been no formal planning acts in Cairo relating to the efficient management of the built environment and its growth. The modernization project of the khedive Ismail was the first formal act to allow mixed activities and land uses to exist within the same district¹⁰. However, this approach did not correspond or respond to the actual problems of the city at that time. Rather, it was meant to regulate new districts and control their environment in replication of 19th century European cities. It could be confidently claimed that the first form of planning control in Egypt was a replication of existing models rather than a self developed strategy to tackle local problems or improve the quality of the built environment. However, this applied to architecture as well as the planning discourse. In promoting his desire to replicate the European model, Ali Pasha Mubarak stated in the 1880s:

'Today people have abandoned old ways of construction in favour of the European style because of its more pleasant appearance, better standards and lower costs. In the new system, rooms are either square or rectangular in shape. In the old system, living rooms, together with their dependencies, were disordered corridors and courtyards occupying a lot of space...most of the spaces lacked fresh air and sunlight, which are the essential criteria for health. Thus humidity accumulated in these spaces, causing disease... facades never followed any geometric order, thus looking like those of cemeteries. In the new system facades are ordered and have a good familiar look'.
Ali Mubarak, the Minister of Public Works, 1888¹¹.

Europeans living in or visiting Cairo at that time were critical of this approach. For them, replicating European city models negatively affected the distinctive character and peculiar quality specific to old Cairo. Sophia Lane-Poole, a British visitor to the city, expressed her criticism by saying:

⁹ Mohamed, *Building Regulations in Egypt*.

¹⁰ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

¹¹ This statement is from his book, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah*. The translation is taken from Khaled Asfour, *Identity in the Arab Region: Architects and Projects from Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar*. p. 151.

Cairo, therefore, will no longer be an Arab city, and will no longer possess those peculiarities which render it so picturesque and attractive¹².

The built fabric of the old city of that time, as seen in the French map of Cairo at the turn of the 19th century showed a non-linear maze-like street network that had no regular shape or defined pattern¹³. The natural development of Cairo seemed to be moving towards juxtaposition to the medieval structure, which would add further complexity to the desired quality as seen in 19th century European urbanism. To control such undesired natural growth, a new legislative system had to be implemented and the traditional master-builder control over the process of building had to be stopped. To justify such diversion in the management of the city, the authorities and their officials claimed that Cairo lacked the control of construction activities required to cope with the expanding population. The planning system, in their opinion, needed a proper administrative structure, continuous involvement in everyday construction activities and appropriate legislation to support these improvements¹⁴. Moreover, the city lacked the necessary building regulations and constraints to control its visual and physical appearance; in other words, it lacked the proper quality of space (as interpreted by the city officials).

During March 1881, the first legislative edict was issued by the newly formed Department of Public Works, which was intended to secure a healthy environment and beautiful living spaces¹⁵. It was designed to regulate the then irregularly growing street lines in several Egyptian cities and included clauses to empower local engineers to censor and control building and construction work on a systematic basis. Nevertheless, one cannot help but believe that the edict was made specifically for Cairo, whose quality of space was the prime concern of the rulers of that time. It was a response to the complexity of the city and its growing structure and uncontrollable growth, which had to be dealt with through local offices but under central authoritative control and legislative framework. However, as could have been predicted of a first attempt at legislation, the edict's framework was limited to consideration of specific regulatory issues in specific areas.

The second edict was published during August 1889 to override the previous one¹⁶. It was even more specific in terms of regulating certain physical elements of streets and public pathways, in particular through a set of regulatory codes which aimed to enhance the visual image and physical patterns of the city. The focus of this edict was apparently towards allowing more authority in demolition and clearance of old quarters. It was intended to improve the quality of the streets by increasing their width and setting up their minimum dimensions. In fact, it was set up to authorize the demolition of all constructions that blocked

¹² Sophia Lane-Poole describing her criticism of Muhammad Ali's policies and plans to modernize Egypt and abandon the old city, during her stay in Cairo. She is the sister of Edward William Lane, and frequently visited high profile women in their harem quarters. Lane-Poole, *the Englishwoman in Egypt*.

¹³ Arnaud, *Le Caire*.

¹⁴ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 289.

¹⁵ The Ministry of Public Works Documents 'Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya' (1881): Douser 6/3/a (0075-035856).

¹⁶ The Ministry of Public Works Documents 'Nazaret al-ashgal al-omome'yya' (1889) : Douser 7/2/C (0075-035934).

public traffic and any protrusions into streets, such as the mastaba (outdoor stone seat), steps, outdoor stairs: all of which had for a long time been part of the traditional urban scene in Cairo¹⁷.

Additional clauses provided specifications on the preparation of street maps for modifying street lines, hierarchy, and widths, and most importantly, the identification of street extensions within dead ends¹⁸ (Figure 9.1, 9.2). In Cairo and Alexandria, minimum street widths, in the case of new or amended streets, were set at no less than 12 meters for major streets, and 10 meters for main streets. Furthermore, local open-ended streets could range from 4 to 6 meters wide, while the dead-end streets were to be 3-4 meters¹⁹. Although the law was specific in terms of alterations to the existing built fabric, it also added constraints for new constructions 'to complement the future expansion of the city'²⁰. A clear description of such constraints is given by Sabry Mahboub, who stated that:

'They [meaning the powerful legislations] are wide to the extent that by the application of Tanzim Alignment laws of 1881 and 1889, building lines can be decreed for the widening or modifying of any public street or road. No new constructions can encroach on these lines, and moreover, heightening or any forms of maintenance, including even plastering of such portions of existing buildings as are cut by these lines, are forbidden'²¹.

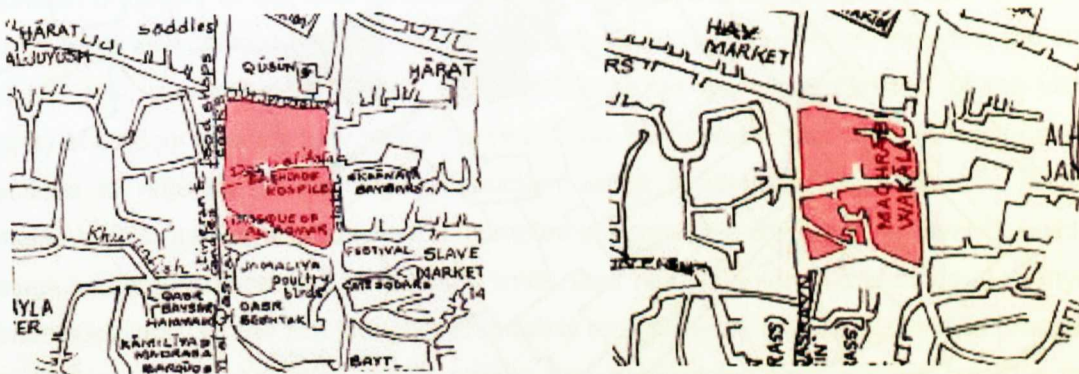


Figure 9.1 Extension of streets with dead ends in accordance with the Edict.

Top left: The dead end on haret al Darb al Afar, located in old Cairo, during the Mamluk rule (13th -16th centuries).

Top right: the dead end was opened by the end of the 19th century.

Source: Staffa, 1977.

¹⁷ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*.

¹⁸ Acts for opening streets of deadends were practised since the early attempts to modernize the city and especially in the hawari of old Cairo. For example, opening the dead end of al Darb al Asfar during the end of the 19 century.

¹⁹ The law focused on the two major cities of Egypt at that time which are Cairo and Alexandria, but also mentioned the regulations for other cities collectively.

²⁰ Alam, K. and Kashwa, I. (1995) *Laws of urban planning and building regulation. al-Anglo al-Masriyya*. Cairo. p. 150.

²¹ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 292.

Plots that require expropriation
 to connect Share'i Shunat al-Malah the Qadimah with
 Share'i al-Qisariyyah (East) and Haret Ali Emarah

Al-Zaqaziq Town Council

Project 1953

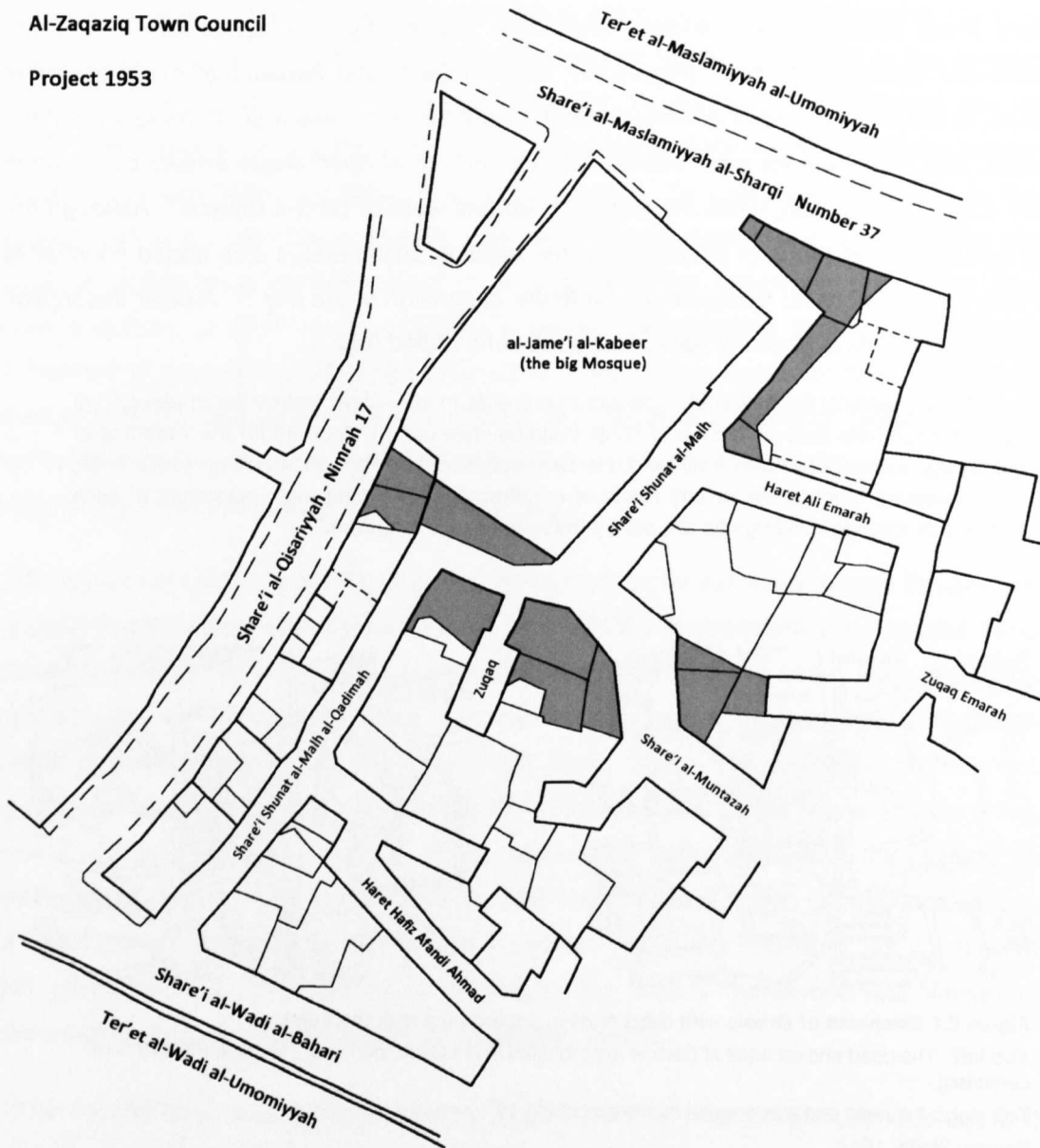


Figure 9.2 Regulating the streets in accordance with the 1889 Edict.
 Source: The Tanzim Department Archives (1892), Dossier 8/2/C. *Dar al-Watha'iq al-kawmmya al-Missriyya*. The National Archives.

9.1.2 Acts and building regulations in the pre-liberation period (1900-1950s)

During the early 1900s, a policy to exert further control was promoted by the Liberal constitutionalist party government (*al-Ahrar al-Destoryoun*). The Prime Minister Mohammed Mahmoud had called for urgency in improving housing conditions of the workers and the poor, and this policy, called *the policy of renovation and reform*²², was a reflection of the growing criticism of Cairo's old districts and housing conditions by a number of influential Western-educated Egyptian architects and civil engineers²³. The question of urban renewal, hence, acquired a new urgency and momentum for further legislative control. The policy contained an entirely novel provision to allow the Ministry of Public Works to control the character of building design and ensure its compatibility with the desired quality of the quarter and urban image by requiring the submission of complete plans and documents for formal approval. As a result, quality was, for the first time, introduced to embrace aspects of the physical and visual characteristics of the built environment; however, it had never been clearly defined.

Over the following decades, during the period before liberation in 1952, additional acts had frequently been introduced to assume further control of the outcome of the built environment in both the short and long term. They attempted to provide more clarity in the definition of quality of the built environment for the planning authorities. Spatial quality, in this context, was defined in terms of regulating street and building forms, including the size, height, style, and character, which in effect constitutes the characteristics of the visual quality of outdoor spaces. Law 51 for the year 1940, for example, was the first legislation for decades to regulate on building construction within residential blocks/areas²⁴. Several articles in this law were introduced to complement previous edicts at the level of building design and organization, including height limits, floor heights, internal and external courtyard dimensions, and, for the first time, fire and safety requirements (Figure 9.3). While preceding edicts focused on regulating public streets and determining their width, Law 51's main concern was with building regulations and did not challenge or compromise any of the previously set street design requirements.

While the control of building heights was an attempt to permit the proper amount of daylight and ventilation to access the buildings and public streets, it formed an effective method of controlling the floor area ratio and the efficiency of the road network and public infrastructure and services. Law 51 also contained a clause stating that 'the total height of a building's façade should not exceed 1.5 times the street width or 35 meters'²⁵. It, moreover, did not list any exceptions to this rule or the building height principle, which leads us to believe that it was applicable to all parts of the city. The Law states that 'it was prohibited to

²² Volait, *Town planning schemes in Cairo*, p. 57 - 8.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Law 52/1940 was concerned with land subdivision for the construction of new housing blocks, which is out of the scope of this thesis.

²⁵ The Egyptian Gazette (1940) *Law 51 for year 1940*. The Ameri Press. Cairo.

build or modify any building unless it followed the mandatory rules listed in the building law²⁶. In this sense, it could be noted that the introduction of Law 51 had displayed the planning authority's concerns for the quality of the city's urban spaces. It denotes a progressive responsiveness to the importance of quality that involves not only enhancement of living, communication, and interaction spaces, but also includes the quality of individual building designs and forms²⁷.

The quality of the urban environment, hence, was the implicit force behind these early legislative actions and attempts to implement them. However, the control by the planning authority and ministry of public works presented a clear dilemma and problematic issues. Such strict adherence to one Law resulted in a mono-style urban image that was a replication of the classical European designs. This was a reflection of the ideology of the western-orientated Cairene elites who were in charge of the planning institutions at that time and their attempts to recreate a specific urban model, in denial of the city's distinct character. In her visual investigation of the architecture of Cairo of this period, Cynthia Myntti named her book: *Paris along the Nile*, highlighting the intention of the planning authorities and relevant legislation at that time²⁸.

Law 656/1954, on the other hand, was issued to address what seemed to be *inadequate implementation of the previous acts*²⁹ by adding further articles to control the involvement of the planning authority regarding new developments, such as the rapid increase in private car ownership³⁰. It was noted, for example, that 'no administrative body is allowed to intervene or impose specific regulations in certain areas, such as land use, building style, certain colours or materials that affect the visual appearance of a building'³¹. In addition, other clauses set requirements for building setbacks and obligated owners to supply parking spaces in accordance with the buildings' average level of occupancy. Furthermore, the law stated that the minimum street widths in the case of existing sites 'should be no less than 6 meters and in cases where the actual street width is less than 6 meters, building set-backs will be calculated as the average sum of the difference between the actual street widths subtracted from the proposed 6 meters'³², which was a significant additional clarification that assisted in regulating the average limit of street widths.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Other clauses of law 51 expressed first attempts to interfere in regulating private ownership for the purpose of making healthy and clean living conditions in the public interest.

²⁸ Myntti, C. (1999) *Paris along the Nile: Architecture in Cairo from the Belle Époque*. Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press.

²⁹ Alam and Kashwa, *Laws of urban planning and building regulation*, p. 175.

³⁰ The Egyptian Gazette (1962) *Explanatory notes of Law 45 for year 1962 for building regulations*. 4 February, v. 31. p. 214.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³² The Egyptian Gazette (1954) *Law 656 for year 1954*. The Ameri Press, Cairo.



Figure 9.3 Building control in the pre-1950s period.

Emphasis of strong stylistic control is apparent in both an administrative building (top) and *Omar Effendi Building* (above) and in the pre-1950s Cairo's urban context.

9.2 Legislation to control the urban transformation in Cairo

It was apparent that the inadequate control of the growth of old quarters such as Bulaq and their built environment was an effect of the unstable political and economical situation during the British occupation and shortly after independence in 1952. However, since the mid 1950s, the Egyptian government has recognized problems of space quality by introducing several pieces of effective legislation aimed at transforming the urban context to comply with the agenda of the new regime in Egypt. Spatial quality in Cairo, hence, was adopted as a system of creating healthier and more adequate living spaces for low-income citizens. Drawing on ambitious projects by the planning authority, the regime was able to create an official planning agency to develop and improve these spatial qualities, especially in deteriorated areas³³.

The comprehensive process to form an efficient base for planning control in Egypt became evident during the year of 1956, which was declared the year of administrative reform. Following the planning of Heliopolis, carried out in 1905, Nasr City, a new district created in Cairo, was seen as the first instance of a central *government-sponsored project* which not only provided housing projects, but also centrally planned 'employment centres'³⁴. Furthermore, it was considered a *prototype experiment* for further governmental subsidised planning developments in Cairo: 'should it prove successful, this would encourage other ventures along similar lines; should it encounter insurmountable difficulties, lessons for the future would be learned from the experience'³⁵.

9.2.1 Legal control of urban transformation: Defining the scope

Henry Sanoff argues that the quality of the public realm is structured according to our perceptions of the daily life and in the social performance, activities, and interaction attitudes of users of the urban space. These perceptions develop in accordance with the values people attribute to their lived spaces, which in return enhance the meaning of the space³⁶. According to Sanoff, both the visual quality from one side and the meaning and values of the lived space from another maintain a reciprocal process of integration and mutual influence, in which both contribute to and influence the development of the other. On the other hand, while planners and planning institutions in Egypt tended to 're-evaluate the meaning and desirability of built environments rather rapidly'³⁷, it emerges that what constituted a successful plan for the past is no longer unacceptable for the present, and what was minimalist and poor in quality has become appreciated and has retained eventual valuable

³³ Feiler, G. (1992) *Housing Policy in Egypt*, Middle Eastern Studies. 28:2. 295 - 312.

³⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 233.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Sanoff, H. (1991) *Visual Research Methods in Design*. New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

³⁷ Salama, A. (1999) *Contemporary Architecture of Egypt: Reflections on Architecture and Urbanism of the Nineties*. Regional Seminar entitled Architecture Reintroduced: New Projects in Societies in Change. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture (AKAA) & The American University of Beirut (AUB) Beirut. Lebanon.

meaning³⁸. For example, wide streets and high rise buildings were formerly seen as unsafe places and disconnected from active social life in medieval Cairo; hence, the meaning and values of the latter became associated with poverty, lack of resources. Their appearance, as a result, was regarded as poor and undesirable, whereas ideals represented by wider streets and high rise buildings later become crucial signs of modernity and a healthier environment.

Such changing perceptions and values, therefore, fundamentally affect the understanding of spatial qualities from one era to another and from one socio-cultural context to another. Thus, understanding of the shared values and sometimes ambiguous meanings of urban contexts proves essential to determination of the appropriateness and achievement of spatial qualities in certain contexts. Their scope, arguably, needs to be determined through an in-depth understanding of the meaning and values people attribute to their experience of the urban spaces and built fabric. The control of the quality of urban spaces in Cairo through appropriate legislation has always been inevitable. However, whilst such legislation has no direct involvement in managing these values, it is crucial to the process of remaking through the managed control of urban transformation from one state to another, e.g. from low-rise and dense to high-rise stretches of urban landscape. While the planner/designer develops the anticipated image through a detailed program of actions, the legislation provides the legal tools to facilitate the implementation of these actions. Hence, in the process of remaking existing urban settings such as that of Bulaq, legislation is considered the principal tool in either ensuring the success of the transformation process or supplying the reason for its failure.

On the other hand, it is evident that many of the relatively modern areas in Cairo, built under colonization, such as Cairo downtown and Garden City, have a distinctive quality that is in a stark contrast to older quarters, such as Fatimid Cairo and Bulaq, which experienced successive layers of urban transformation. It would be almost impossible to maintain the quality of each of these areas unless unified planning regulations considered the differences among them or what people regard as their distinctive urban character. The attributes of Garden City and Misr al-Gadida districts are entirely different from those of al-Gamaliyya in old Cairo, or Naser City, the newly developed quarters. Hence, a unified planning regulation system for one city becomes problematic and unjustifiable in various respects. Such a system needs to be based on urban legislation that takes account of the infinite variety of human activity and includes renewal and conservation policies, expressed through specific development plans and acknowledgement of the implications of redevelopment.

One significant role of legislation in urban transformation is to facilitate urban change through the demolition process and to impose certain building restrictions on building heights and setbacks. Demolition legislation, for example, was put in place when it was proved that renewal and conservation were not viable options in light of the extreme deterioration and

³⁸ *Ibid.*

economic necessity. Thus, it is clear that the implementation of certain measures of legal control is subject to its relevance to the desired process and actions of change.

9.2.2. Upgrading and renewing the spatial settings

I argued above that improving the quality of an urban environment is fundamentally connected to the meaning and values people attribute to their spaces as well as to the emotions individuals develop, linking their individual or collective experience, from one side, with the physical space from the other³⁹. However, the real intention behind improving spatial settings was nothing to do with the satisfaction of the users of these spaces. Rather the urge to eradicate apparent signs of deterioration or select certain areas for development was, in principle, due to the top-down desire to upgrade their spatial settings for reasons such as developing economic activities, attracting investment or to upgrade a district for development. This top-down form of decision making, to replace old patterns with new ones without consultation or gaining comprehensive input from the users, was exemplified by several re-planning projects. The history of the city informs us of a number of situations where people resisted such action, fearing the loss of their properties, part-houses, or even special privileges in the local context as a consequence of the implementation of an urban improvement plan or expropriation decision⁴⁰.

This demonstrates, for example, that, for planners, achieving expropriation involved the exercise of uncompromised authority, which gave them a free hand in producing their plans for an urban Utopia. For instance, Law 5 for the year 1907 was the first expropriation law to manifest this power, at that time through the Public Works. It was introduced to authorize planners to expropriate and implement radical plans for economic improvements that involved changing land use or demolition of properties for the purpose of providing associated public utilities⁴¹. Article 3 of this law, for example, indicates the formalities for expropriation and payment of compensation for both the land and buildings, insisting that this process needed immediate implementation⁴². According to Sabry Mahboub, Bulaq was the first district authorized to apply the new provisions of expropriation which involved acquisition, demolition, and reconstruction of all sites and buildings⁴³. The Act allowed planners of that time to apply further control over old districts in changing the image of their unplanned streets and deteriorated buildings, while after acquisition these areas would be

³⁹ Altman, I., and Zube, H. (1989) *Public places and spaces*, New York; London: Plenum. p.135.

⁴⁰ Hanna, *Habiter au Caire*.

⁴¹ The Ministry regulations included clauses for the improvement and redevelopment of built areas. These indicate that this type of work fell under two categories: first, improvements not urgently required and which consequently can be deferred, and second, improvements which were necessary or which from their nature could not be delayed.

⁴² See the 'Expropriation law' for Cairo building and town planning regulations (1906). The Tanzim Department informed the proprietor of the price to be paid, but if he did not agree to the valuation, he could appeal to the court for a revision. The estimates of the value of the land and buildings were tabulated in a form that provided a full description of the action to be taken (complete demolition or betterment) which might result in the property being in accordance with the law of expropriation.

⁴³ Mahboub, *Cairo: some notes on its history*, p. 289.

subject to re-planning schemes based on land subdivision. It was also evident that the proposed new subdivisions had allowed planning authorities to replace the old areas with modern spaces, supported by other regulations for constructing new buildings, which would also contribute to changing the appearance of these districts⁴⁴. It was not until 1954 that a substitute act was initially introduced, and then amended in 1956, to respond to the social surveys that expressed concerns over the quality of government-adopted programs for low-income housing. Law 27/1956 was designed, as was explained in chapter eight, to authorize the revolutionary government to re-plan and develop the badly deteriorated districts for the public good⁴⁵.

During the 1980s and 1990s, and for similar purposes, the national planning authority had issued a series of planning laws to allow expropriation of privately owned lands/buildings required for physical planning purposes and improvement of public utilities and infrastructure. For example, Law 3/1983, section six, enumerated regulations for re-planning deteriorated areas, and, furthermore, attempted to clarify the newly used term *district renewal* which was to be applied in regions or areas that suffered from overcrowding, overpopulation, and whose buildings were in a state of decay. This definition concerned areas that lacked the necessary public utilities and infrastructure, but needed major improvements rather than clearance.

During the stages of preparations for law 3/1983, the Egyptian Cabinet added further clauses before its final approval, such as those relating to green areas and public parks, to address omissions in the initial drafts of the acts⁴⁶. It was apparent that acquisition and clearance laws and decrees published during the 1980s and 1990s reflected an increase in consideration of aspects of quality of space in the area of development control in Egypt. The wide use of expropriation laws addressed, from one side, the need for quick action and implementation that otherwise would not be possible, especially for those developments that required evacuation. On the other hand, excessive use of such controversial acts highlighted the weakness in the long-term of upgrading and re-planning of deteriorated districts. With the change of government or officials and subsequent policy changes, planning authorities had to translate each new state vision into planning projects. This was, in fact, the reason behind several revisions of plans and associated acts for developing Bulaq, which, as explained earlier, followed different economic and political agendas. In addition, the revision of these laws and acts illustrates the shortcomings of the previous law/act, reflecting the lack of research or pre-planning behind these laws (Figure 9.4).

The manifestation of these political changes can be seen in the different visions promoted of Bulaq's riverfront. It was evident that design quality was a major concern for the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292 - 300.

⁴⁵ The Egyptian Gazette (1956) *Law 27 for year 1956*. The Ameri Press, Cairo. Also see the appendix for the full copy and detailed proposed actions.

⁴⁷ Note that the Muhafzah also insisted that only specific investors could be involved.
e involved.

Muhafzah in all schemes that had loosened planning constraints to allow for investment. For this particular purpose, the Muhafzah provided design control guidance in addition to the previous clauses of Law 3/1983⁴⁷. To allow more flexibility for this particular zone, the quality of design was referred to only vaguely and with almost no restrictions.

‘High quality design should be achieved in all aspects of the urban environment. Good design will add value to the development scheme, socially and economically to support the long-term renewal for the benefit of residents, visitors and private investors. The riverfront should be of a best practice standard and involve leading architects’⁴⁸.

It is widely argued that Egypt’s practical efforts at legislating on clearance and relocation were obviously limited and mostly ill-planned⁴⁹. This argument is driven by the fact that actual implementation was limited to a few minor projects conducted during the late 1970s. However, perspectives of the local planning authority including the GOPP of clearance and expropriation suggested that such actions were convenient for improving the quality of a specific area, rather than as a general approach towards remaking the urban environment [12.2.09].

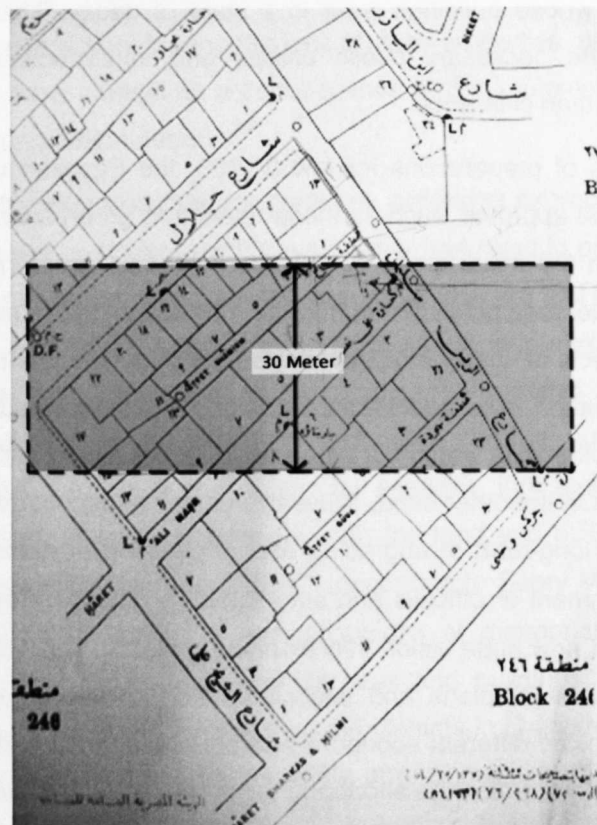


Figure 9.4 An example of an area in Bulaq subject to expropriation. Houses located within the highlighted zone are subject to expropriation according to the latest scheme for Bulaq in order to open the new 30 meter street.
Source: Documents of Hay Bulaq, the archive section, 2009.

⁴⁷ Note that the Muhafzah also insisted that only specific investors could be involved.

⁴⁸ The Egyptian Gazette (1983) *Law 3 for year 1983*. The Ameri Press

⁴⁹ El Batran, M. and El Shahed, F. (1995) *Towards a Gender aware Approach for Re-housing policies in Egypt*. The International Conference of Improving the Living Environment for the Urban Poor Towards Sustainability Development organized by The Society for Upgrading the Built Environment, (SUBE) and Habitat.

9.3 Assuming control of the built space

As clarified in Chapter three, this thesis refers to the built space as a set of physical configurations and characteristics of the urban space, whose control requires legislation that defines specific requirements and constraints for planning and building code purposes. These requirements are understood to be specific to each area/part of the city, to attend to the values and meanings people attribute to their specific character and spatial organization. Legislation to control such physical settings, hence, aims to provide guidelines for building construction, street network, services that attend to other rules and codes such as health, security and user comfort, in addition to the aesthetic values of buildings. These rules also include natural lighting, natural ventilation, fire security, accessibility, transportation, sanitation, and sound and heat insulation. In this respect, residential districts and their specific requirements for traffic and services are seen to have different constraints and requirements from those of business, commercial or recreation zones. In Egypt, building regulations that are applicable to all building activities, therefore, are separated from housing legislation.

The majority of planning legislation in Egypt, as we saw above, aims to regulate the street lines and widths, which are perceived as the principal elements of planning schemes, whether by initiating new streets or by widening and aligning existing ones. It is evident that in all planning schemes, the design and amendment of street paths are common features, but full detail is not supplied. For example, planning schemes do not explain the exact amount of space that will be added in street width or how amendments would affect other factors, such as the building heights on both sides of the street. In the following section, I shall discuss the way planning legislations in Cairo have addressed the physical characteristics of the urban space and the way they are supposed to be controlled.

9.3.1 The standardization of physical quality

By the early 1960s an era of awareness of the quality of the built environment had arisen with regard to the city's built spaces and the need for an accurate design control mechanism for building regulations was recognized⁵⁰. The institution's response however, was dictated by the perceived modern practice of standardization of urban fabric, with modular designs, standard street grid and mass housing projects. In such a context, the irregular non-standard and vernacular urban fabric of old city quarters are seen as images of the past that must give way to the future. This response was marked by the introduction of an impressive body of laws and regulation, which were enacted to respond to all aspects of urban development, from land subdivision to master planning, building codes and infrastructure⁵¹. The regulations were intended to introduce some control over quality of design in the

⁵⁰ Law 45/1962 is a presidential law issued by the Egyptian president on 31 January 1962. The idea of 'awareness and response' has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

⁵¹ El Batran & El Shahed, *Towards a Gender aware Approach for Re-housing policies in Egypt*, p. 22.

broader development plans of the city. Although previous planning guidance drew heavily on similar issues, Law 45/1962 was introduced to overcome shortcomings of the preceding law and to offer further control over built spaces in Cairo. The introductory statement of the explanatory note stated that:

'It is evident to the Ministry that law 656 had failed to cope with the modernization of the city's administrative systems which requires further simplification of several procedures. It was also noticeable that all engineering and technical building regulations listed in the previous law, and which are basic requirements of any buildings, are not compatible with the modern development of architectural and planning trends of the city of Cairo. This lack had caused an imbalanced contrast of visual and physical characteristics in different areas of the state which requires urgent consideration and action'⁵².

The first six articles were more concerned with administrative matters regarding the process of issuing building permits, and the circumstances for their approval. The limitations became apparent in article (10) which acknowledged the failure of buildings to adhere to standard building regulations and the lack of public utilities. While this act was developed to tackle the problems of the many buildings in old districts that were illegally constructed, its implementation proved, in the long term, to be impractical due to the deprived context and lack of infrastructure and access to public utilities. Such deprivation, moreover, had not only negatively affected local public health, but also had a remarkable impact on the built space quality.

For instance, many illegal structures such as the *Ishash* or temporary housing in Bulaq, as explained in chapter five, had never been supplied with public services such as sanitation, water supply, and electricity. It emerged, however, that this was part of a silent government plan to relocate the low-class population from such central urban quarters to the periphery of the city. The *Muhafzah*, after denying them access to public services, declared that these sites were for development and issued rules for urban clearance and the relocation of the local population. To state the obvious, legislation was used here as a tool to implement the government agenda of social engineering in some deprived areas.

Following on from the state's overwhelming desire to produce urban images of modernity and a standardized urban fabric (buildings, streets), regulation of streets (width and activities) in old sections of Cairo was given priority over a more comprehensive approach to development. While Bulaq 2020 plan of 1966 followed the building regulation law of 1962, which stated that 'widths of public roads were not to be less than 6 meters'⁵³, the proposed pattern for streets such as *Shari al-Corniche*, the new diagonal street of Bulaq al Gadid, and the streets of 26th *Yuliya* and *al-Sabtiyya*, allows us to imagine their future disharmony with the existing streets. This particular initiative was associated with Nasser's desire to display a

⁵² The Egyptian Gazette (1962) *Explanatory notes of Law 45 for the year 1962 for building regulations*. 4 February, v. 31, p. 214.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

number of grand projects and housing blocks in prime locations, for which purpose Bulaq's waterfront was ideal.

The overwhelming ambition to widen the streets as a principal step towards reorganizing the urban patterns of Bulaq and providing a model urban design for the future proved to be flawed. In order to implement such initiatives on street widths, old streets whose widths ranged between 15 and 30 meters needed more land expropriation to supply proper sites for construction. While the legislation here supported this vision, the prevailing belief that these projects would encourage private companies to invest in Bulaq was nothing but an imaginative picture rather than a study of real needs and potential. Minutes of the planning board at that time confirmed that the plan to follow standard setbacks and road width requirements was somewhat unrealistic 'if not more than what is needed sometimes'⁵⁴.

The proposed street arrangement provided reasonable possibilities for further development in Cairo. It was claimed that plan 2020 was an attempt to replicate the successful model of Nasr City⁵⁵. Deliberately, the 1956 planning of Nasr City followed different regulations from the building codes of the 1960s. According to 1960s' codes, the average width of main streets was to be between 50-100 meters and maximum height of buildings was to be 19 meters. Secondary streets, on the other hand, were not to exceed 50 meters, while internal ones were to be between 12-50 meters and their buildings' maximum height was to be 16 meters⁵⁶ (Figure 9.5). However, it was apparent that aims to impose standard order on dilapidated districts were in stark contrast with their immediate physical settings, and that the standards implemented in Nasr City, a district created from scratch, were completely inappropriate in an ancient area such as Bulaq.

The standardization of physical settings, however, has its own problems and limitations, especially when it comes to defining a standard system for building heights. Even though, regulations limited the building heights to 1.5 times the main street width or 35 meters, we can track different laws that contradict such standards. For example, Laws 656/1954 and 45/1962 allowed for additional height to be added within a method of recessed blocks to add additional floors. Both laws authorized extra height inside an *imaginary plane* whose vertical and horizontal slope ratio was 2:3, starting from the intersection plane of the maximum height (that matches the street width) (Figure 9.6). Such additional floors were not to exceed 7 meters in total, regardless of the building height itself. On the other hand, amendments to some laws, such as law 656 for the year 1954, gave options for different scenarios and situations that led to more confusion rather than solutions. While law 51/1940 stated that 'the building height is applied according to the minimum span between both

⁵⁴ Minutes of the Planning committee, December 1966, The Muhafzah.

⁵⁵ Al-Ahram Newspaper (1967) April 12. Also, Recommendations of the 1956 scheme for planning Nasr City on desert lands of Cairo set two objectives. First was the state's intent to move the administrative centre of Cairo towards the district of Heliopolis, which was considered the centre of power, close to the existing military areas⁵⁵. Second, was to offer the middle-class citizens a higher standard of living since this class were the social origins of the new government (Habitat 1993).

⁵⁶ The Muhafzah decree published later in 1989 amended these building heights.

street lines⁵⁷, law 656/1954 stated that 'height is calculated in accordance to the average span'⁵⁸. In cases where the building was located on the corner of two perpendicular streets which varied in width, law 45/1962 stated that 'heights are calculated in accordance to the wider street span'⁵⁹. In this sense, building heights were allowed to exceed the limits to match the entire building height, but to a maximum of 30 meters (Figure 9.7).

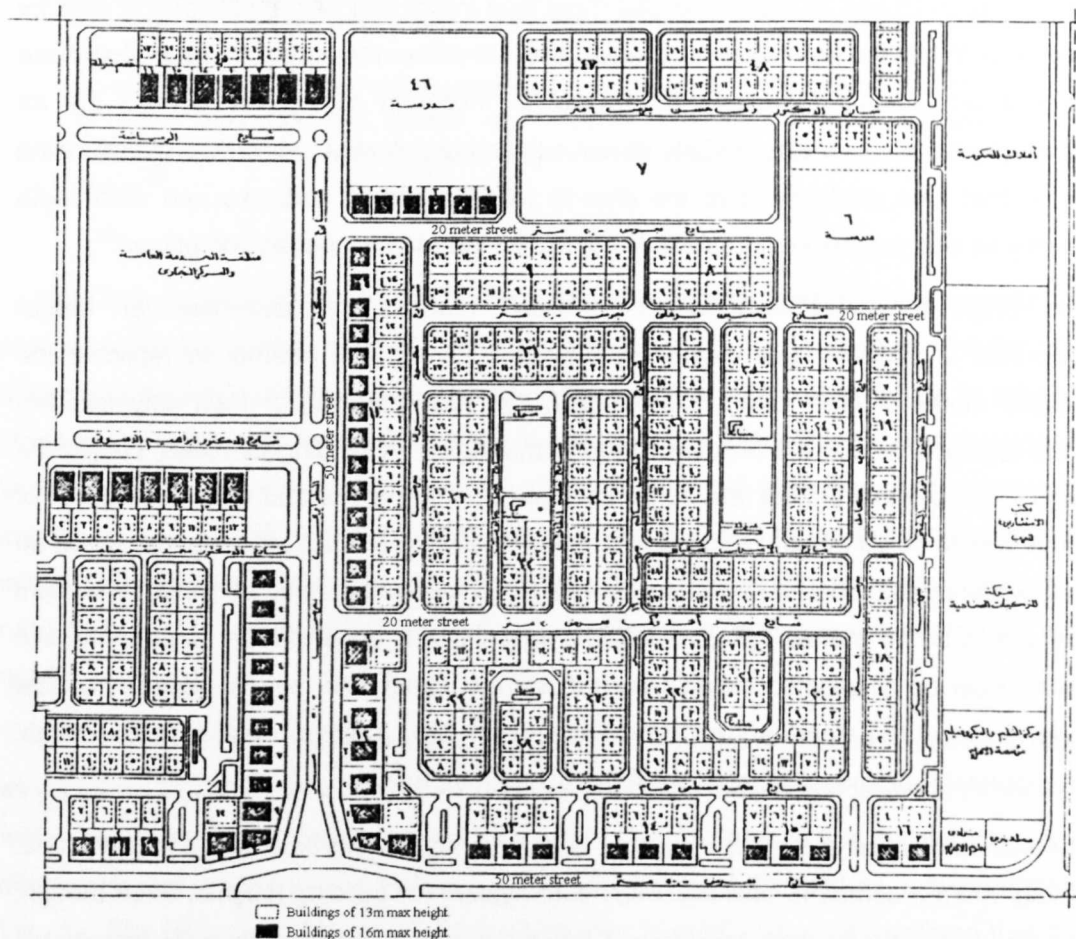


Figure 9.5 Nasr City street widths and building heights.

Source: Alam and Kashwa, *Laws of urban planning and building regulation*, p. 107.

⁵⁷ The Egyptian Gazette, Law 51 for year 1940.

⁵⁸ The Egyptian Gazette, Law 656 for year 1954.

⁵⁹ The Egyptian Gazette, Law 45 for year 1962.

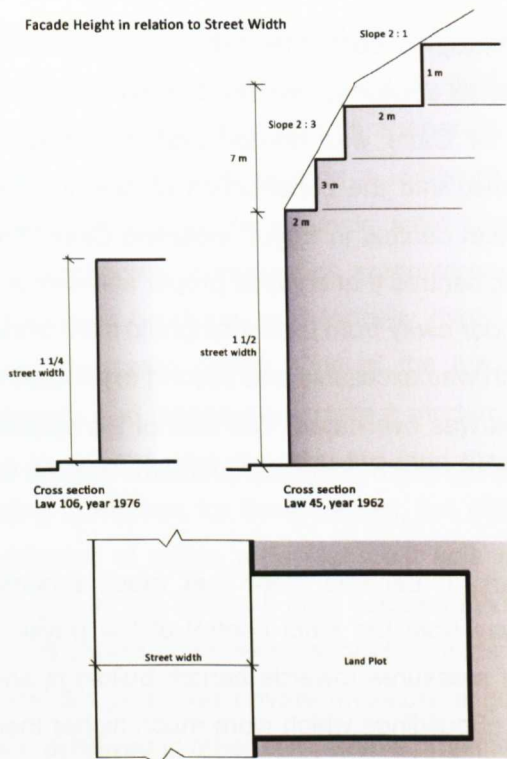


Figure 9.6 The imaginary plane for building heights.

Left: the method of the imaginary plane for extra building heights as explained by Alam
Source: Alam, p. 177

Right: The resulting quality of central areas in Cairo, implemented according to Law 656/1954, and what followed

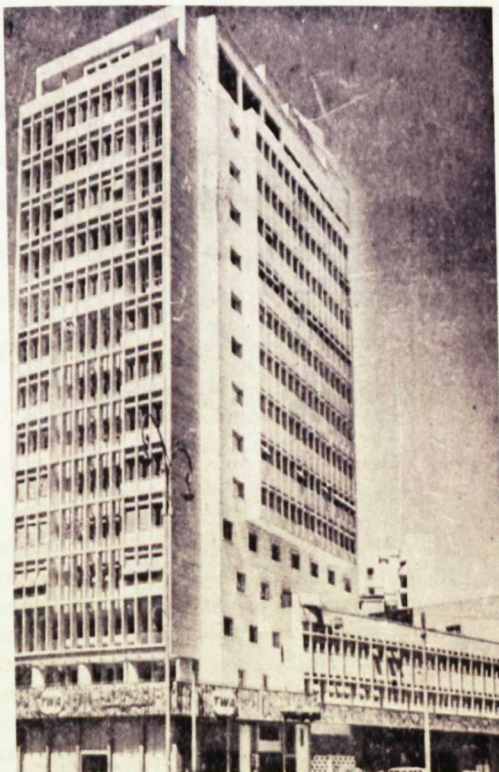


Figure 9.7 The tendency to implementing high-rise buildings during the 1960s.

Left: Cleopatra Hotel.

Right: Masr el Ta'ameen building. Both constructed during the 1960s.

Source: Mohamed Hammad, Building Egypt, 1961.

9.3.2 The counter effects of control

During the mid 1970s, the state adopted a new strategy to control the urban growth of Cairo by diverting the excess population towards satellite economic centres around the city of Cairo. Within this context, a national scheme for Cairo was drafted and approved for implementation⁶⁰. Major investment was channelled into the construction of new satellite cities in the desert on the peripheries of main urban centres in Egypt, including Cairo. The strategy was aimed at creating attractive economic centres that enjoyed proper services and secure jobs, away from Cairo, and at driving the poor away from their stronghold slum areas and old districts. However, the demographic growth was excessive and beyond expectations and the potential of the planned economic centres was over-rated. The idea of the satellite cities was also perceived as a possible solution to the socio-economic problems caused by large-scale and irregular urban growth.

From investigation of local authority circulars, it became clear that much broader conceptions of design quality were achieved away from the strict control of the physical setting and its standards by applying exceptional measures towards certain buildings and structures. We started to see exceptions in terms of buildings which were much higher than the standard height of 1.5 m of the street width or the 36 meter level. It was notably the first instance of individual authorizations of violation of these regulations under the umbrella of special cases where 'the prime minister is authorized to constrain, exempt or approve certain height limitations within some areas of the city, or even for a specific building in special circumstances for national purposes, or economic interests, or to contribute to the character of a certain context'⁶¹. Evidently, height rules were specified in particular areas in Cairo such as Zamalek, Garden City, and Maadi districts, in addition to the newly developed area of al-Mukatam located close to old Cairo⁶². It was argued that the quality of the built environment of Cairo was constituted by a different checklist of design control considerations that involved the nature of the building activity, its owner and investments. Examples such as Cairo Plaza Towers, constructed in Bulaq in 1979, illustrate the government tendency to practice much greater flexibility towards private businesses and large investment projects whenever they were in contradiction with the regulations.

⁶⁰ An agreement was signed in 19 February 1981 between the *Institut d'Aménagement Urbain et Régional de l'Île de France (IAURIF)* and the Ministry of Planning / GOPP aimed at providing technical support for drafting a long term scheme for urban development of Cairo. In 1960, a government initiative gave rise to the IAU *Île-de-France* in an effort to establish a master plan for the Paris Region. Since 1983, it has been affiliated to the *Île-de-France Regional Council*.

With 40 years of experience in the development of the metropolis of Paris, it has progressively become involved in a wide range of urban development and planning projects on an international scale. Its activities in Cairo included the following: 1. 1981-1984 Preparing the Master Plan of Greater Cairo, 2. 1984-1986: Cairo ring road and new towns financed by the GOPP and French corporations, 3. 1986-1995: Technical assistance and training projects, urban regulation, transport, environment, GIS ... financed by the GOPP and French corporations, and 4. 1998-1999: The Cairo Metro Line 3, Feasibility Study financed by the GOPP.

⁶¹ The Egyptian Gazette (1976) *Law 106/1976*. The Amiri Press. p. 19.

⁶² Note that these three districts were constructed during colonial times, under special planning regulations set by the British administration, as explained in a previous chapter.

Accordingly, in Cairo spatial quality is apt to be interpreted in terms of high rise buildings and luxury projects in any context or setting. It was claimed that the urban space's quality was at the heart of the majority of guidance and control considerations such as the character of the context and its appearance, the order of the layout, and the individuals' needs, but the facts provide a different picture. The riverfront zone and Ishash al-Tourguman in Bulaq, for example, were intended to include buildings and towers with mixed uses functionally (commercial, entertainment, retail and residential), economically (luxuries and modern buildings) and formally (high rise buildings), like other projects implemented during the same period. One of the main aims of the development was to encourage architects and planners to create a modern luxury image of the district, while the Muhafzah was to acquire and re-parcel the land through expropriation. Also, it was in a position of setting guidelines for development, but did not act as the developer. Certainly, this global framework of urban redevelopment was similar to many public/private partnerships that emerged in the 1970s. It later became evident that the many new projects on the riverfront of Bulaq were undertaken without consideration of the condition and value of context. The Muhafzah promised private investors a guaranteed profit which, as they suggested, had been achieved in other comparable projects (Figure 9.8).

It becomes apparent that, in planning terms, if we provide standardization of the physical settings to control the built environment, we then have to rescind these standard regulations to restore the unique and distinctive spatial quality in certain districts. In other words, while the state appeared to reject the distinctive nature of old districts, they contradicted this approach by trying to provide an improved distinctiveness in the built environment in certain areas; those of higher social level, in this case.

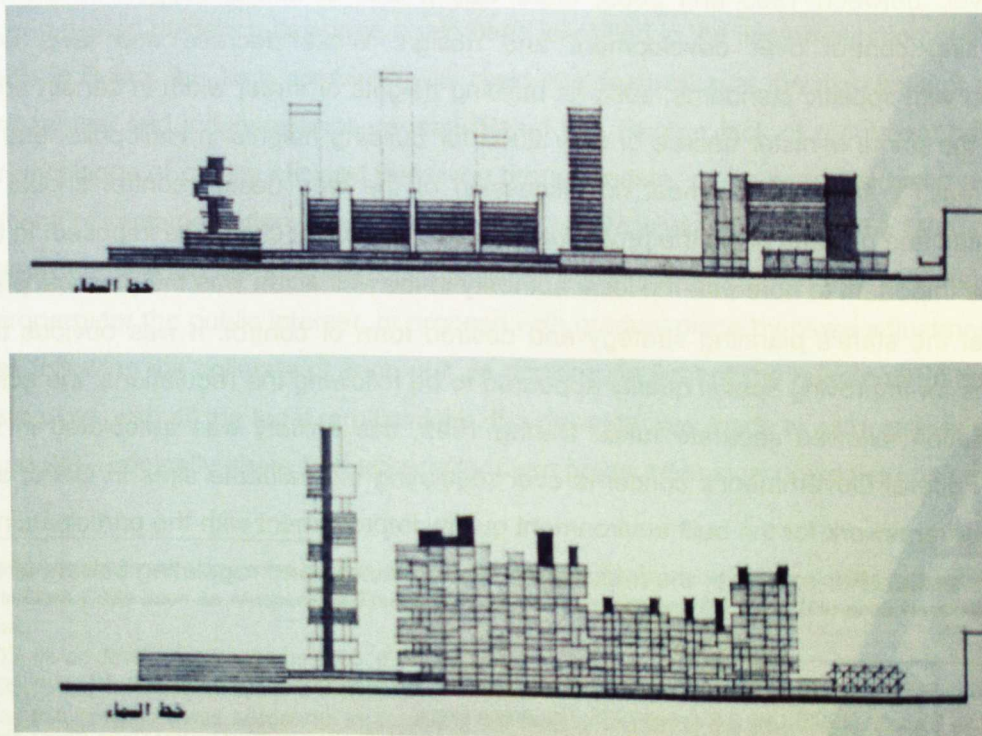


Figure 9.8 Ishash al-Tourguman scheme showing the skyline proposals.
Source: Ishash al-Tourguman re-planning scheme Report 1979, GOPP, Cairo.

9.3.3. The right for quality

Generally, the introduction of the physical planning Law in 1983 was considered the first active method for the design control of development plans in Cairo. The Act's efficiency in structuring a statutory legal planning framework was acknowledged by its authors, who praised it as a model for change of planning procedures in Egypt. This act, in fact, was required by the mandatory rules in order to produce developed master plans for areas in need of improvement⁶³. All building permit approvals, as a result, had to be issued in line with the newly issued master plans. The Act, in addition, clarified the distribution of power and decision making. While the Macro master plan was to be produced by the GOPP, the local planning authority alone was in charge of preparing detailed plans and implementation procedures; the housing department in each Muhafzah was obligated to assist the local authority in the development of the plans⁶⁴.

In 1999, a comprehensive working report drafted guidelines entitled *Good Practice in Core Area Development*, aimed at reviewing the planning conditions in old Cairo, and particularly al-Darb al-Ahmar area. The report drew heavily on Cairo's problems of rapid urbanisation and economic development, which led to intense pressure in core areas to relocate any low-income communities, settlements, and businesses to peripheral areas (away from the centre). These guidelines were, however, remarkable for their sustained exploration of ways in which urban planners could intervene to protect the interests of existing low-income residents and of developing understanding and awareness of the way in which changes in legislation and practice could be achieved in ways that benefited the urban poor and the quality of their living space⁶⁵.

However, between 1983 and 2005, there was a lack of official support in terms of implementing control over development and design. While decrees and laws were concerned with specific standards, such as building heights or street width in certain areas (such as the prime minister decree of 963/ 2003 for building heights in Heliopolis, and al-Haram areas⁶⁶), there was almost no discussion of the way design control should be implemented and on what basis the procedures for design control should be imposed. In this sense, it is important to note that the local authority in the Muhafzah was the practical place to interpret the state's planning strategy and desired form of control. It was obvious that while plans for improving spatial quality appeared to be following the regulations, the actual implementation followed separate rules. During 1999, this anxiety was articulated in the Egyptian Federal Government's concerns over regulating old valuable sites in Cairo, and providing a framework for the built environment quality improvement with the participation of the private sector. For example, the importance of maintaining and regulating streets of the

⁶³ El Batran and El Shahed, *Towards a Gender aware Approach for Re-housing policies in Egypt*, p. 10.

⁶⁴ The Egyptian Gazette (1983) *Law 3 for year 1983*. The Ameri Press.

⁶⁵ Taylor, K. (1999) *Guide to Good Practice in Core Area Development: Review of the Central Cairo Study Areas*. Max Lock Centre. University of Westminster.

⁶⁶ Alam and Kashwa, *Laws of urban planning and building regulation*, p. 95.

public realm, particularly in cases of traffic congestion, was emphasized. In effect, good practice in the planning intervention coupled with the proper type of control was seen as the most effective means of improving the spatial quality in a locality.

In the search for quality of the urban space, planning schemes of specific districts were used as practical guidelines, and in fact as experimentation, in the institution's quality control strategy. These planning schemes were a way of legislating through practice. Notably, Bulaq's scheme of 2005 was drafted to demonstrate an overarching exemplar strategy and regulations to develop several districts located in the western section of the Cairo Governorate that lacked specific qualities in terms of meaningful urban spaces, well-designed spatial configurations and integrated land use⁶⁷. The scheme proposed to preserve the current activities and some land uses in an area covering approximately 60% of the district. Retaining and preserving such a large part of the district was a response to the failure of previous plans which adopted complete demolition and impractical strategies of social engineering as their principal approaches for quality. The Muhafzah's intentions during the 2000s were to re-plan the district in terms of *limiting areas of clearance*⁶⁸. In other words, controlling quality was seen, for the first time in Cairo, to be possible through re-making, rather than making: adjustment and enhancement of existing order rather than clearance and imposing new order. In addition and in response to previous criticisms from architects of the limited prescriptive options for elevations and materials, Bulaq design guidelines, for the first time, had included measures to 'ensure the unity and harmony of the architectural vocabulary for building elevations facing streets of 15 meter width and upwards'⁶⁹.

However, since 2006, the lack of proper coordination and integration of the existing laws and design guidance has once again been identified in the implementation of the same projects in Bulaq, this time combined with residents' frustration at the high level of planning permit refusal and inconvenience caused [R11.1.09]. Such a lack of regulatory power and clear definitions of quality showed that even though master plans were produced with clear intentions of implementation, their progress was fraught with obstacles⁷⁰. The Muhafzah was not legally entitled to demolish existing buildings without legal procedures to either acquire the property for the public interest, or proceed with gradual piece-by-piece adjustment to plot edges following the collapse of each unit. In addition, In light of the huge cost of buying out private plots, with all the legal ramifications, the decision was made to align streets gradually (Figure 9.9). Ironically, there had apparently been pressure to slow down the implementation

⁶⁷ Several schemes were approved to clear, develop, or modify building regulations for districts and sections located in western Cairo such as Maspero, al-Tourguman, Zamalek district and the River Nile sections limited to these areas.

⁶⁸ BDS, Bulaq development scheme 2005, p.11.

⁶⁹ BDS, Bulaq development scheme 2005, p. 31.

⁷⁰ I say this because I was successful in accessing the archive section of the *Hay* and reviewing the number of building permits issued in Bulaq from 2006 till 2009. The records showed that only 72 buildings were listed, while the rest of the demolition requests were refused and the properties designated for further maintenance and upgrading.

to allow local investors and businessmen the opportunity to purchase large areas/zones in Bulaq for private commercial investments such as hotels and commercial complexes. But although some of these areas were public properties, most were under private ownership, which encouraged the Muhafzah to set up more covert deals with investors. They would be conducted along the following lines: the Muhafzah would refrain from urging the residents to demolish their houses, while at the same time giving investors the green light to negotiate the purchase of homes and lands, especially in sections of Bulaq with high land values, such as areas with river frontage.

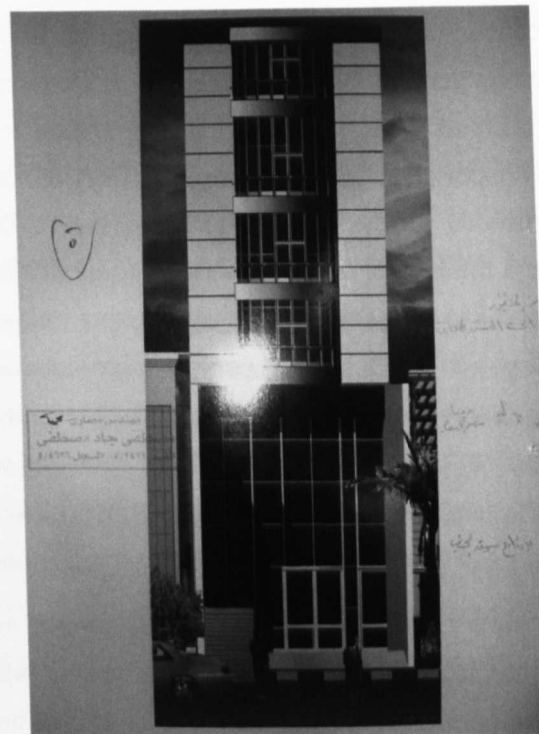
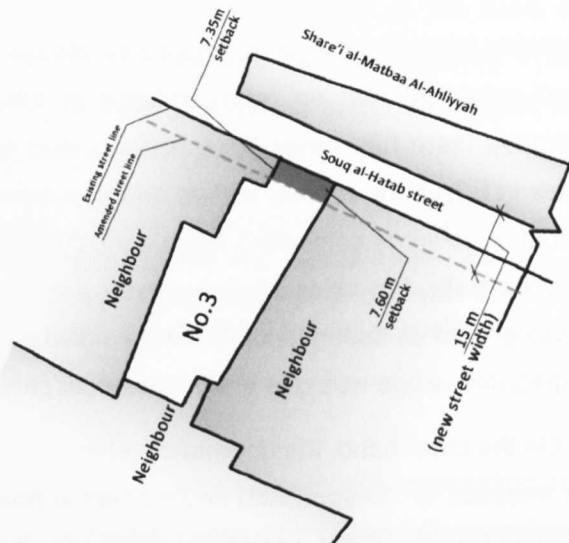


Figure 9.9 The implementation of new spatial qualities in Bulaq.

An example of the new set-back after the demolition of the previous construct, Building No.3 *Suq al-Hatab* Street, Bulaq.

Top: the hatching identifies the site of the building facing *suq al-Hatab* Street, of which the current width is approximately 7.5 meters.

b. the new amendments approved in the 2005 scheme for the street width to become 15 meters .

Bottom: The implementation of the new regulations during the rebuilding showing the 7.35 -7.5 meter setback, constituted by a maximum height of 22.5 meters.

9.4. Control of land use

Timothy Mitchell's image of Egypt has always been portrayed as 'a narrow strip of fertile land crammed with so many millions of inhabitants occupying so little space', simply because there has never been enough land to satisfy the capacity of growth⁷¹. As most cities in Egypt are densely settled and populated, urban development meant that expansion would be towards converting more agricultural land at the city outskirts for urban land use. But, ironically, few cities offered greater possibilities for urban expansion than Cairo, which is designated as desert land. Although mixed land use is counted a universal quality of cities, segregated usage was one of the most noticeable features of preindustrial Cairo⁷².

On the other hand, the dogmatic patterns of land use activities in Cairo had contributed to the increase of transport and environmental problems, in addition to an increase to energy consumption⁷³. Such problems could be traced back to the 1960s due to activity concentration driven by industrialization and the concentration of workshop sites in the inner areas such as Shubra and Bulaq. For example, most of the products sold or traded in Bulaq (such as textile products) are produced in factories on the outskirts of Cairo, and their transportation to Bulaq requires frequent truck journeys across the city and through the district's narrow streets. Turning to the 1970s and 1980s, difficulties in implementing control and the lack of effective housing regulations emerged as the main features of inappropriate land use. The implications of adaptive reuse of activity units combined with higher densities of use in major activity centres were substantial: to the extent that policies to tackle these problems were considered as a priority and a series of long-term and short-term strategies was set out. One of the long term solutions was the previously discussed decentralization of activities and land use by redistributing them to new cities around the capital, whose sole purpose was to lessen the density of population and activity.

One of the discrete actions to control the land use, which was in line with long-term strategies, was to relocate the widely spread wholesale markets and workshops to peripheral sites in greater Cairo or one of its satellite cities, as proposed by the Muhafzah during the 1990s. Control by building regulation and adaptive reuse, on the other hand, was a micro-scale strategy to gradually change the undesirable land use. However, this latter action was supported by the physical planning law, introduced in 1983, which adopted a comprehensive regulatory approach to control. In addition, the call for adaptive reuse of sites and buildings was driven by examples of success.

The existence of many crowded, informal and unplanned commercial markets with historical roots and traditions in old districts such as Bulaq, combined with the influx of mixed

⁷¹ Mitchell, T. (1995) *The Objective of Development*. In: *Power of Development*, edited by Jonathan Crush. Routledge. p. 132.

⁷² See Abu Lughod for a descriptive account of mixed uses in old Cairo, p. 63.

⁷³ Huzayyin, A. (2008) *Evolution of Cairo Transport & Land Use and their Effects on Energy & Environment: Problems, Solutions and Potentials*. Codatu Seminar Regional Sur les desplacements urbains en Mediterranee, Morocco.

use, have been long-term problems in the capital. The Physical Planning Act of 1983 authorized the planning body to approve land use activities in any area on the basis of specific needs, in addition to prohibiting all alien or unauthorized activities [12.2.09]. From this point, the Muhafzah gained authority to control the land use in areas designated for improvement. The Muhafez of Cairo announced in 26 June 2010 that:

‘The city is currently going through a process of re-planning with the aim of fragmenting the tight tissue of its inner, overpopulated and dense areas. This could be achieved by producing legislation to control and prevent the establishment of new public buildings such as universities, or schools for example, that need large tracts of land’⁷⁴.

This authority was given in light of an increase in problems caused by overcrowding and pressures of the informal and popular markets. Although Bulaq was historically recognized as a place of light industry and second-hand workshops, and more importantly for fabric market of Wikalat al Balah, such a comprehensive proposal of change was seen by the local media as a radical change to the character of the districts whose sense of place was deeply affected by the problematic, unpleasant mix of land-use and associated overpopulation and unhealthy living conditions. In most of these markets and busy commercial centres there was the additional, unavoidable pressure of overcrowding caused by visitors and traders⁷⁵.

An additional solution was to relocate all problematic activities away from Cairo’s old districts⁷⁶. Suggestions included a set of criteria to prioritize such activity transfer; thereby priority would first be given to markets located in residential districts, then permanent markets, and finally markets which are held on certain days of the week. Recent such bold proposals have included *Athar al Nabby* market in old Cairo, and *al Tounsy* souk in *al khalifa*. These small scale relocations were followed by a larger process of transferring several wholesale markets to the new cities of Sixth of October, *al Oboor*, and more recently to 15th of May City, while others were approved for transition without even indicating the site of relocation⁷⁷.

9.5 Shortcomings and Limitations in Spatial Quality Legislation

‘The most problematic issue for planners in Egypt is the conflict in Acts and decrees. For example, while the court cancelled the Expropriation Act 555/1972, until the present day there is great conflict and confusion as to whether it is still active or not. I am saying that because areas allowed for expropriation during 2008 in Maspero were approved according to Act 555, while another Act was issued during the same year. Therefore, it is not wise to approve an expropriation decree for a certain area while there are still other active acts in the same field and both are concerned with the same case. The local

⁷⁴ Al Osboa Newspaper (2010) *Transferring al Tounsi Market in Two phases*, June 26.

⁷⁵ A report conducted by an economic team in Egypt stated that around 9 million people visit this place every year. See <http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=40&article=242461&issueno=9348>.

⁷⁶ Al Osboa Newspaper, *Transferring al Tounsi Market in Two phases*.

⁷⁷ Al Masry Al Youm (2006) *Fish merchants refuse to transfer the market and offer to renew*, March 1, ed.626.

planning authority must not issue any new Acts or decrees unless preceding Acts are cancelled or amended' [I2.2.09].

Such confusion as to which law is active and which is not can be considered one of the main symptoms of planning problems in Egypt. Planning and building regulations were widely criticized for their impact in misrepresenting the visual and physical image of Egyptian cities. Noticeably, it was emphasized that Law 106 /1976, which had set a comprehensive structure for planning and building regulation in Cairo since the mid seventies, had profoundly lacked the appropriate framework for design guidance and control. The law was criticized for its lack of consideration of the spatial qualities of the city. This was perhaps the reason behind the subsequent lack of consistency in the planning system. On the administrative level, the law failed to adequately address the issue of local planning units supervising the implementation of building codes. In terms of spatial quality legislation, it was argued that shortcomings in this field had caused an increase in cramped and overpopulated buildings, which led to the rise of the floor area ratio and consequently to the high density population of the residential areas⁷⁸.

The application of these legislations in Egypt was criticized by the planning practitioners for the strict application of the same law, neglecting the micro context and complex urban and architectural issues such as the difference in natural conditions, climate and environmental aspects, socio-economical structure, and spatial distinctiveness of the district, city, and region. So, for example, street width regulations are applicable in all areas, even though the social conditions in major cities differ from those in small towns. Despite the fact that building codes in Egypt have been in place for nearly sixty years, there is still only one standard applicable law that regulates the construction work, and which is applied to all sites in Egyptian cities.

Legislation supplemented with multiple amendments has been the norm of the planning regulatory system in Egypt. It could be argued that the need for such amendments reflects either the lack of study of a law's consequences, or short-sighted policies that do not provide for changing situations; or the problem may even lie in the structure of the planning authority itself. These amendments have been a major source of confusion, which I argue could be one of the major foundations of informality in Egypt. Planning legislation had been amended four times from 1950 to 1976, followed by the introduction of the Physical Planning Act in 1983 and the recent building unification code of 2009. Moreover, over a period of thirty years, since 1976, law 106 was changed more than eleven times⁷⁹

There was inconsistency between Urban Planning Acts and the building regulations in the basic compulsory requirements for sites in terms of planning, building heights, and minimum street widths. These overlaps caused many conflicts over maximum height requirements and street widths. Exemption of a specific building from the application of

⁷⁸ Mohamed, *Building Regulations in Egypt*, p. 3.

⁷⁹ See Alam, p. 151-153 for a detailed list of the amendments.

certain provisions of the Physical Planning Act of 1983 for a national purpose or economic interest was evident in one its clauses and was seen as a source of confusion. An example of the consequence of this can be seen in the violation of height standards in the riverfront zone of Bulaq. Moreover, while the Physical Planning Act of 1983 stated that building heights 'must not exceed 1.25 the street width or 30 meters, the building code stated in article (20) item (1) that it must not exceed 1.5 the street width or 36 meters'⁸⁰.

Inconsistency could, moreover, be traced in the determination of the minimum street widths. The Physical Planning Act 3/1983, for example, listed that:

'The administrative local planning authority, competent in street alignment cases, is authorized to require specific minimum street width standards. Street widths should not be less than 10 meters, including the pavements and in cases of adding pedestrian corridors, they must not be less than three meters'⁸¹.

While this Act was applicable for twenty years, the ministerial decree no. 268 made some amendments during 1996, stating that:

'it is prohibited to construct any buildings facing a street less than 6 meters wide, otherwise, the building setbacks should be calculated as half the difference between the actual/ existing street width and the minimum approved standard width (which is 6 meters), while heights would be calculated in accordance to the minimum street standards'⁸².

Reading both statements it becomes obvious that while the Physical Planning Act allowed margins of authority to the planning body in determining the width of streets (not to be less than 10 meters), building regulations state otherwise. Therefore, this clear contradiction between the Act and the decree allowed further conflicts to develop during their application.

On the other hand, documents of the Muhafzah show that violation of the regulations and building legislation is a common practice. In most cases, after building licences were obtained, violations of the building codes, such as the permitted building heights or number of storeys, were evident. Most violators expect that one day they will be exempted through an amnesty decree, authorized under Law 106/1976, which allows the Muhafzah the authority to pardon violators in specific cases [12.2.09]. For example, the first legalisation on informal settlements located on agricultural land took place in 1956 and was followed by similar acts in 1966 whereby violators were able to build without proper licences or if these were difficult to obtain. This meant that the construction was either completed without the control authorities being aware of the activity, or even with the authorities turning a blind eye, whilst violators were taking the risk in anticipation that legislation would be issued to legalize their violations.

Nevertheless, the regularization of informal areas in Egypt, during 1981, was identified as an official policy beyond the periodic and highly controversial blanket of regularization of

⁸⁰ Acts of years 1983, and 106 1976.

⁸¹ The Physical Planning Act no. 3 for year 1983, The Amiri press.

⁸² Alam and Kashwa, *Laws of urban planning and building regulation*, p. 99.

past violations. Evidently, Law 135/1981 that pardoned violations was issued to legalize violations of the codes, and at the same time, grant the Muhafzah discretionary power to provide services and public utilities in these areas, while prohibiting further violations⁸³. Although such procedures have significantly increased the sense of security for the settlers, their other serious needs were not addressed. It was necessary to issue laws at regular intervals to legalize continuing breaches. Furthermore, these procedures were instituted as a relatively simple process, particularly if the building in question had been issued with a permit, even if this permit was violated. In the case of buildings without permits, the violation had to be corrected or pardoned, either by a decree or a not-guilty court sentence. Connecting buildings that lack licences with utility networks are dealt with through legislation that approves the provision of informal areas with utilities (Law 135/1981, which also requires relevant court decisions).

The previous discussion shows that deficiencies in the urban planning and building codes regulations can be diagnosed through the current contradiction in the set of Laws relevant to the quality of the built environment. For example, it was specifically argued that problems arise from the short time span of each individual planning legislation or building code and the frequent amendments to particular clauses of the applicable law. This means that when an area is subject to improvement or development prepositions, there is little possibility of unified implementation.

⁸³ Serageldin, M. (1991) *Regularizing the Informal Land Development Process*. Vol.1. Office of Housing and Urban Programmes, USAID, Washington D.C.

9.6 Conclusion: Could unification of the building codes provide a way out?

Searching for a way out of such confusion and contradictions represents the need for a redefinition of the working structure of the local planning authority and its tasks⁸⁴. There is an apparent need to justify, control, formalize and improve the city's urban quality in general and its spatial quality in particular. However, these processes require a discrete and clear legislative system that integrates, coordinates and elaborates on aspects of the urban space, both physically and socially. Legislations discussed in this chapter, therefore, should treat the case of spatial quality not in an individual plan or scheme, but as part of the broader practice of planning at the level of the urban context as a whole.

During 2008, a shift towards helping planning authorities and planning bodies to create an enhanced and structured framework for planning legislation in Egypt was made through the Unified Building Code no. 119/ 2008⁸⁵. It was regarded as an *extraordinary* legislative activity that included new laws, amendment of others and new decisions [15.1.09]. Its aim was to eliminate corruption in the construction and planning sector by reducing the number of regulations and entities involved in the construction process, while all previous laws were to be suspended, including the building code of 1976, except for clause 13 of the Physical Planning Act of 1983. The planning entity produced the new code for several reasons, summarized as to:

1. Limit the volume of guidance issues that planners and local authorities have to consider.
2. Demonstrate a practical approach to preparing plans, determining actual problems, and formulating a future vision for the city.
3. Demonstrate an integrated approach to sustainable development, enabling rural issues, the built and historic environment to become fully integrated into planning and design strategies.
4. Enable planning entities to make an effective, efficient, coordinated, and most importantly, a consistent input to strategies and plans
5. Enable the planning authority to achieve a new planning system that would work as effectively as possible.
6. Declare that planning entities are seizing the opportunity to influence the planning process at the earliest stages

Part of the introduction to the new code is devoted to definitions related to planning and urban development, such as areas of re-planning (*Mantek Eaadat al-takhteet*), areas of special values (*manatek that kema mumayaza*), and much more. However, the term quality,

⁸⁴ Soliman and De Soto, *A possible way out*.

⁸⁵ The Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), & General Organization for Government Printing Offices (GOGPO) (2009) Unified building law no. 119/2008 and its executive regulations. The Amiri Press.

surprisingly, does not feature clearly, except in a few phrases, such as *space characteristics*, which describes the visual configurations of a space, and *homogeneous space*, which describes an area developed during a particular period, which acquires a cumulative urban fabric through time, or has a unified architectural character, or a unique urban identity⁸⁶.

Also, the history of inconsistency in the processes of legislating in Egypt had once more become apparent. Four months after the activation of the code in January 2009, *Ahmed al Maghraby*, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development issued a decree to apply ten amendments, in addition to developing a new regulatory article⁸⁷. The most significant change was amending Article 19 that involved determining the maximum allowed density of the Floor Area Ratio. The amendment statement declared that:

‘in the absence of public plans or before the adoption of strategic plans of the cities and villages the Muhafzah must set provincial planning regulations for areas of construction to allow the Floor Area Ratio to become six times instead of 4 times in cities according to the existing street width’⁸⁸.

The increase meant that extra storeys were to be approved that would provide for an increase in height limits. Most striking was the Muhafzah’s intention that the new code would be applicable to all previously approved planning schemes and projects of improvement [I2.2.09]. This, as a result, meant that any plan already drafted and approved or in a process of implementation would fall into a state of great confusion. It seems certain that Bulaq’s latest scheme of 2005 would suffer implementation problems as a consequence, or even *be put on hold for a while* [I1.1.09]. For example, while previous Acts authorized the Prime Minister to approve exceptional cases, the unified act stated that building heights are to be approved by the Supreme Committee for Planning and Urban Development, which involves a group of specialized academies and planners headed by the Prime Minister [I5.1.09].

In this regard, the local council of the Muhafzah presented a series of workshops during the summer of 2009 specifically to clarify, explain and suggest effective methods for working out the proper legislation to establish good planning practice and set out a future vision for the city that fully embraces the quality of the built environment and the quality of life of its inhabitants.

⁸⁶ The Unified building Code no. 119 for year 2009, The Amiri press.

⁸⁷ Al Masry al Youm Newspaper (2010) Amending the Unified Construction Law decrees and allowing double the number of storeys in cities and villages, April 4.

⁸⁸ The unified building code amendments included changes in articles 26, 27, 57, 58, 130, 108115, 116 and 175.

CHAPTER TEN

REVEALING QUALITY IN THE CAIRENE CONTEXT

THE LOCAL VOICES

'To analyze space as an expression of the social structure amounts, therefore, to studying its shaping by elements of the economic system, the political system and the ideological system, and by their combinations and the social practices that derived from them'¹.

'Sorry for disappointing you, but it is not for me or my children. It is for them and only them (referring to the high class people who own the riverfront towers). If they are doing this for us and the people, why have they prohibited new building permits since 2005, why aren't they approving restoration permits anymore? Our houses are falling on our heads and when we go to the hay to complain and try to talk to the authorities in charge, they tell us we can do nothing, you have to rebuild your house. Can anybody believe this? [R12.1.09].

¹ Castells, M. (1977) *The urban question: Marxist approach*. London: Edward Arnold. p. 126.

10.0. Reconsidering quality in old districts of Cairo

The process of remaking Bulaq required, as highlighted earlier in the thesis, integration between several effective realms, namely; the social domain, the physical domain, and the political domain. The social domain in this process is represented by the dynamics of the social interaction of different stakeholders and their active roles and views of the intentions and outcomes of the process. Such social dynamics also illustrate the individuals' needs and willingness to change their urban fabric, settings and environment. In return, how would the anticipated change affect everyday practice that is rooted historically and to some extent defines the district's socio-cultural character in a practical sense? For a long time, local stakeholders have suffered at the hands of the state through its intentions and ambitions for remaking. In most cases, these ambitions had led to the dismantling of various buildings, banning of activities and the disappearance of several historically entrenched functions, affecting the overall ambiance of the local stakeholders' practice of living, working and social integration.

The physical domain is related to intangible spiritual elements of its old and historical urban fabric and monuments as well as activity patterns within specific places that emerged over time. In this sense, market spaces are defined by their spatial organization and patterns that developed over the course of a century. The political domain, on the other hand, was exemplified by the awkward way the state and its institutions dealt with local residents [neglect, demolition, relocation and random developments]. Apparently, the institutions struggled for a long time without either improving the spatial settings or achieving order in the districts' physical settings. Terms such as *ignorance*, *neglect*, *insufficient*, and *unsuitable* were often repeated throughout the interviews to describe the actual involvement of the state in the management of old districts in Cairo. The thesis had explained, in previous chapters, how deterioration had gradually spread in Bulaq to impact the quality of physical settings. The struggle to improve the spatial quality was chiefly hampered by the incoherent political visions and the need to maintain order during different stages of political shift.

In return, the above three domains had structured the specific conception of remaking practices, the spatial organization, and the political system in Bulaq. It would not be sufficient in this thesis to only consider these three points of view, but it is crucial to explain the politics of remaking spaces from the different perspectives of the stakeholders and the institution. The stakeholders' response to the idea of remaking Bulaq, for example, may enhance our understanding of local conflict of interest among players in the scene and among the above three domains: the physical, the social and the political. This chapter, hence, follows the accounts of local residents and traders regarding quality, planning practices and associated legislation that control their daily lives.

The term quality or *gawda*, in this context, emerged as a central concept that defines the architectural and urban implication of planning practices and the way local residents perceive them. This significance stems from the association between human feelings and

realization on one hand and the essence of quality on the other. In other words, we need to question what constitutes a good quality context in the eyes of the people. While this is probably a common feature among all communities, it is notable that there is a special perception of quality in such contexts. For example, one resident explained quality from a religious point of view stating that:

My understanding of quality comes from the declaration that Islam has laid the essential foundation for the principle of quality whereby Muslims are required to perform all their religious and secular duties with faith and devotion' [R5.1.09].

For many people living in old areas of Cairo, quality occasionally means something luxurious that they are unable to afford simply because it is not affordable. Quality spaces, hence, are believed to be part of the luxury afforded only by higher social classes or the social elites: 'we are born poor and will die poor, but the rich people always have the best of everything' [R5.1.09, R7.1.09]. Evidently, this idea could be linked to the broader domain of planning and design, and relates to the idea of moving the higher social classes into new planned districts simply because they always deserve the best [R16.2.08]. In this context, Bulaq could be further examined from the stakeholders' and planners' perspectives of quality as a manifestation of the idea of remaking places. The urban setting of the district provided suitable characteristics for understanding quality, its meaning, and making. Notably, while I used the term *gawda* during the interviews, my respondents were using alternative Arabic words such as *ahsan*, *andaf*, *agmal*, which mean better, cleaner and more beautiful. It seemed that while our focus as professional planners and architects is to employ quality or *gawda* in its abstract sense, the people living in Bulaq, who are non professionals, had materialized quality through their own channels and particular to their own context. The following interviews, meanwhile, explain how the Bulaqi residents constituted quality through a nuanced and complex/sophisticated interpretation which accorded with their daily needs. They were never concerned with having wider streets; rather they adopted a deeper perspective for their understanding of quality and how it could be implemented through the remaking procedures. For these poor people, as they stated during the interviews, quality was associated with the provision of dignity and a better life. The following discussion examines how the locals received the remaking intentions, and how the planners portrayed them. Each view presents a further dimension of understanding the politics of remaking in Egypt, hence, further understanding of the relationship between the locals and the institution.

10.1. The Stakeholders' conception for (re)making places

Me: Are you satisfied with the new plans for improving the quality of your living areas

The man: Quality, what quality? For us? Do you believe what they say?

Me: No, not at all. The new plans for re-planning the district are made to improve your living spaces in the first instance, your houses, streets, working places. It is for you and for your children and the coming generations.

The man: Sorry for disappointing you, but it [quality space] is not for me or my children. It is for them and only them [referring to the high class people who own the riverfront tower]. If they are doing this for us and the people, why have they prohibited new building permits since 2005, why aren't they approving restoration permits anymore? Our houses are falling on our heads and when we go to the hay to complain and try to talk to the authorities in charge, they tell us we can do nothing, you have to rebuild your house. Can anybody believe this?

Me: So what happens then? What will you do?

The man: Nothing. We are poor people and we cannot afford construction costs. The most we can do is to fix some pipe problems or maybe paint the facades, but rebuilding, no. The only people who can afford this are the wealthy rich traders living in Bulaq. But for us, in worst cases, people are still living in their houses and they know that they can collapse any moment. Is this fair, wallah haram alehom?

The man: You can read in the newspapers every month how many houses collapse in Bulaq. They knew that this was going to happen, but it seems that this is what they want at the end. They want us to die or leave [R5.01.08].

This conversation highlights a few issues that are worthy of discussion. It reveals that the general public in Bulaq perceive quality as an alternative term for luxury. It is not an essential need; rather it is an additional feature. So, for them, a clean, healthy, and proper space that can be used comes first, and then comes quality. Besides, for most of these people, spatial quality is determined by size. Large space is of good quality, small space is of limited quality. Due to their poor living conditions, any improvement to the urban space is unnecessary expenditure which could be used to feed people and produce more space for their living needs [R3.1.09, R1.1.09]. This also showed that their understanding of spatial quality varied from the institutions' perceptions, as quality for them meant living a decent and civilized life, no matter what else happened, and fulfilling their needs with respect, dignity and transparency. Hence, it is important to shed some light on the way residents understand and conceive quality in the urban space through specific points: streets and safety; eviction and relocation; economy and the use of public space; negotiating the living space.

10.1.1. Streets and Safety

If a city's streets are safe from barbarism and fear, the city is thereby tolerably safe from barbarism and fear.... The bedrock attribute of a successful city district is that a person must feel personally safe and secure on the street among all these strangers. It does not take many incidents of violence on a city street or in a city district to make people fear the streets. And as they fear them, they use them less, which make the streets still more unsafe².

'Streets in Bulaq have become dangerous and not safe anymore' [R5.1.09, R13.1.09].

One of the core elements to successful planning is the individuals' experience of their streets and shared open spaces. In this respect, safety is central. Dark and uninhabited spaces are perceived as dangerous while busy and active streets are considered secure. Hence, the street needs to be approached as an active public space rather than a space associated with a series of voids between buildings³. Adopting the concept of *inclusive design*, planners have aligned themselves to maximizing the accessibility of an area to ease traffic flow, and thereby facilitating the control of crime and making people's daily life more enjoyable⁴. The expression that 'there must be an eye on the street' can be attributed to Jane Jacobs' relationship between safety and urban design by means of natural surveillance through increasing the number of people keeping an eye on it⁵. Residents, street vendors and the active life of stores and public spaces could therefore contribute to the prevention of crime and undesirable behaviours⁶.

Evidently, this idea was not only applied to American cities, but was also historically prevalent in Middle Eastern cities of medieval urban structure. It is obvious that the patterns of narrow streets of the *harah* in traditional districts of Cairo perform a number of significant social functions. First, the high rates of pedestrian activity are thought to reinforce community bonds and promote a great sense of place⁷. Second, street spaces work as a round the clock, active domain for activities and social interaction of their residents. Despite the pervasive poverty and economic problems, the busy street life in traditional or *baladi* areas like Bulaq is an important feature that distinguishes them from other modern districts

² Jacobs, *The death and life of great American cities*, p. 36.

³ Calthorpe, P. (1993) *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

⁴ Theories and writings of Foucault, for example, had inspired planners on issues of criminality. See Foucault, M. (2003) The subject and power. In: *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault 1945-1984*. (ed.) Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose. 126 – 44, New York: The New Press.

⁵ Jacobs, *The death and life of great American cities*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ This factor was widely criticized in many relocation projects and especially the projects commenced in the Islamic city in old Cairo. For example, the transfer of the textile shops was seen as harmful to the visual characteristics of the Islamic urban life.

in Cairo. In most cases, such urban spaces are formed by a special built structure, characterized by mixed use, high residential population, and a dense urban environment⁸.

Undoubtedly, people in Egypt often prefer busy residential streets that are abundant with life and activities, as the main source of safety, whereas spaces that are not inhabited or used by people are believed to be unsafe. The phrase *street wanass*, meaning that the area is inhabited and full of activities, and therefore safe, is commonly used in such areas⁹. Streets in these areas accommodate many social activities, such as wedding ceremonies, socializing with neighbours, or the sale of various goods, which collectively create a sense of community. In addition, most residential buildings/houses have retail stores on their ground levels, with these commercial and industrial activities adding to the sense of security (Figure 10.1). One lady noted that 'since the construction of the World Trade Centre building (WTC), we fear to walk in this street at night [she means Shari al-Matbaa al-Ahlyya] because during the night time it becomes full of strangers' [R9.1.09]. Within this same street, in 2007, three attackers stole jewellery and money from a total of ten ladies at different times of the day. The victims reported to the police that they had been chased by three men on two motorcycles, who, when they came close to the victim, grabbed her bag and then escaped through the streets¹⁰. From the residents' view, such robberies had been very rare in the past, before the streets had been opened up, which allowed more cars and traffic to cut through the district [R16.2.09]. One noted that 'when the streets were unpaved and tight, thieves had to think really seriously before doing something like this' [R2.1.08]. In other words, the informants wanted to express that these incidents were linked to the new street developments in the district: as wide streets allowed extra through traffic in from outside [R2.1.08].

On the other hand, the street network hierarchy and settings in Bulaq form a complex spatial organization that defines the community's *lived spaces* as social space within a set of rules that regulate their everyday social life¹¹. These spaces are characterized by complex patterns of daily sociability which have always been governed by the proximity of the houses. This was, in addition, due to the limited street width and housing units, which brought adjacent families into close contact in everyday interaction (Figure 10.2). A common objection by the residents of Bulaq towards widening the streets was that, as a consequence, the district would become less safe or controlled. 'The new streets are designed for other people need, not for us, but for the rich ones who will come to take our houses and replace them with luxury buildings' [R10.1.09]. 'We can all see what happened in Shari al-Matbaa al-Ahlyya when it was renovated and paved; they prohibited access to the street except for

⁸ Acioly, C. (2000) Can urban management deliver the sustainable city? Guided Densification in Brazil Versus Informal Compactness in Egypt. In: J. M. & B. R. (eds). *Compact City: Sustainable Urban Forms for Developing Countries*. E&FN Spon. London.

⁹ Ghannam, F. (2002) *Remaking the modern*, p. 82.

¹⁰ Almasry alyoum Newspaper (2007) *Three bandits robbed 10 women in Bulaq Abul Ela*, Online newspaper, <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=80642&IssueID=839>.

¹¹ Ismail, *Political life in Cairo's new Quarters*, p. 13.

certain people, the rich ones who come to the Hilton Hotel, restaurants and coffee shops in the WTC mall' [R16.1.08].



Figure 10.1 Residential buildings/house occupied with retail stores on its ground levels and the limited street width between housing units in most sections of Bulaq.

Several commercial and industrial activities that had added further sense of security.



Figure 10.2 Street spaces are characterized by complex styles of daily sociability.
This could be constituted by the proximity of the houses.

The residents collectively had a great belief that all these plans for remaking the district were for the benefit of the rich, whose names were well known. During my visit to the Hay Bulaq, I asked the engineer about the idea of privatizing the street. He replied that the riverfront buildings' owners had complained several times about the behaviour of the local residents, and their noisy activities, especially among the iron workers. He told me that the plans had initially proposed to restrict part of the street to pedestrian traffic, by means of gates or fences [I4.1.09]. However, this idea had proved to be impractical, he said. So, it was decided to install some movable gates to control access through the street and 'protect the tourists' from any unpredictable behaviour from the local people [I4.1.09]. However, the engineer's words were not convincing nor were the real intentions behind privatizing the street clear; how, in any case, could the presence of the residents be harmful to tourists or buildings? However, it was apparent that officials in some way perceive the residents as threats to the development of their own district¹². Although the installation of some light barriers did not prevent pedestrians from walking through, the side entrance of the WTC, leading to the hotel wing, was completely blocked by security (Figure 10.3). A signboard was put up to announce that this was a private area, and security personnel were visible in many locations. As noted by an informant, 'what was until Nasser's days a beautiful accessible street for everyone to enjoy, has become now a private area and prohibited for us to use' [R2.2.08]. It was also clear that signs of power, such as the barriers, the security and police officers, and the traffic signs proclaiming the privatization also inhibited people from accessing the street unless going to their workplaces or stores.

¹² This idea had been rooted in the officials' thoughts since the days of Sadat and the clearance of al Tourguman area in Bulaq. Also see Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*.



Figure 10.3 Security barriers.

Access through Shari al-Matbaa al-Ahlyya behind the WTC towers is restricted to specific people, with the movable gates opened in certain cases only.

Right side: the entrance of the WTC leading to the hotel wing was completely blocked.

10.1.2. Forced Eviction and Relocation

'In the frame of the state's plan for developing the informal areas and other such projects, its various agents and bodies have violated the people's right to housing and congruent rights by using types of forced eviction that have resulted in the dispersal of many poor citizens. The state was not content with neglecting them and not providing housing for them, but attacked their poor homes and inhabitants. In many cases, the eviction was carried out without compensation or appropriate alternative shelter¹³.

The implementation of the eviction policies had long been considered a weakness in the planning system and practice in the Egypt. The above statement was published in a report by the Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights which acknowledged that a sort of criminality was attached to victims of forced eviction in Egypt¹⁴. Apparently, decisions to clear Ramlet Bulaq

¹³ The Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights (2005) Report to CESCR in response to the Egyptian Government report, regarding the right to housing (issues 27 & 32).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

since 2005 had come as a shock for some of the residents, and stirred memories of the most well known case of clearance and eviction: Ishash al-Tourguman relocation during 1979. This landmark eviction resulted in 5000 people being evacuated and relocated to al-Zawya al-Hamra on the outskirts of the city. One of the old residents said that 'we still remember that day when the police suddenly surrounded the area and forced the people to leave their houses; the men were fighting with the police officers, the women were screaming, but they forced them to leave at the end of the day' [R16.1.08].

While the clearance of the site was attributed to the implementation of a modern urban design scheme to replace the old Ishash during 1980s, it was not until 2001 that another project was implemented on that same site, after the Muhafzah had failed to commence its ambitious plan, as explained in chapter six. Local residents, moreover, noted that they were aware of other cases in which people were evicted without alternate housing or compensation [R11.1.09]. Alternative areas of the city were not spared such heavy handed official behaviour. During 1998, a house in *Ayn Hilwan*, the potters¹⁵ dwellings in old Cairo, and five houses in *al-Marg* area were evacuated and demolished, based on previous demolition orders for the public interest (to widen the street linking the area to the ring road). These examples were well known and widely covered by Cairene media and national newspapers. By all accounts, people never received previous warnings, while armed police forces would surround the site and implement the eviction procedures by force.

For many of the residents who witnessed these events, the empty land of al-Tourguman had indicated a landmark failure of the planning strategy for change, especially when the state failed to attend to its promises. The reliability and transparency of planning institutions have always been problematic, especially in terms of their communication with local residents. Some see the eviction merely as a means used by the institution to kick the residents out of the district, with no underlying plans to re-house them [R11.1.09]. It is also argued that the site was considered highly valuable and desirable by some businessmen and investors, who later discovered its unsuitability for the desired projects. In Ghannam's view, relocation is not only about moving the people from one place to another, it is about how it affects the lives and socio-spatial relationships within the local community¹⁶.

I would support the sentiments expressed in this last statement by adding that although relocation has been represented in the state's policies as motivated by public interest or for the purpose of development projects¹⁷, it also involves reshaping the urban settings and qualities of life for the relocated people. To a large extent, eviction associated with relocation has been configured in one particular economic and political model in which relocation represents the authority's attempts to exercise power and control on the urban space and to

¹⁵ This was the site of the potters' workshops for manufacturing ceramics.

¹⁶ Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*, p. 39.

¹⁷ Guggenheim, S, and Cernea, M, eds. (1993) *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice, and Theory*. Oxford: West View.

translate these powers into physical forms incorporating values of spatial quality devoid of local people.

Today, residents in Ramlet Bulaq are yet not sure what kind of action will follow; whether they will be relocated or compensated¹⁸. However, it seems that the authorities have forgotten that there are people still living in these areas who wish to escape from their difficult lives, but who do not have any alternative other than to wait [R8.1.09]. This belief was rooted in the residents' accounts when asked about their reactions towards decisions about clearance and how they will cope with it. An old lady living in Santo said that:

'I have been living here for a very long time and my three daughters got married and left me.... We are extremely poor people. They occasionally come to see us [she means officials from the muhafazah and the hay] and tell us that we will leave but nothing happens. We want to move from here... we are living here like the dead... we have no electricity or water, only a public water pump near the rail station at the edge of Bulaq, and I am too old to fetch it every day... people here bring me clean water' [R14.1.09].

On the contrary, other residents acknowledged that they would never think of abandoning their living spaces. We were born here and will die here, said a resident from Bulaq who had been living in Bulaq for thirty-five years.

'We can't live in any other place... we are like the fish, if we move from here ... we die. Although we were offered 500 EP/ m, we will still not leave. I know that we are very poor and this money would help to support us, [el kersh beyfrek ma'ana], but we will never leave our homes' [R15.1.09].

'My two kids were born here, and they must be raised here. If they really want to improve the district, our lives and living spaces, as they always say, they ought to help us to rebuild our houses ... not to move us away... we are not leaving at any cost, [khorooq men hena mesh khargeen]' [R4.1.09].

Throughout these accounts and others, expropriation and eviction policies in Cairo are criticized on a number of counts. First, for the absence of public consultation, especially with those people affected by eviction decisions, and for not conducting proper negotiations regarding the amount of compensation: which in most cases is not sufficient for people to obtain a suitable alternative. Second, the Muhafzah deliberately delivers vague information on such matters as how exactly the loss of houses or shops will be compensated, or when and how they will be provided with the funds; it is always by word of mouth [R3.1.09].

Some people from the hay came to us and said that we will be moved from here and they recorded our names but nothing happened since then. The last time they visited us was three months ago, when a group of engineers from the hay assigned six houses for clearance; these houses are directly facing the hotel [she means the five star Conrad Hotel]. Yes, I want to move from here, any other place, wherever it is, will be much better than here' [R15.1.09].

¹⁸ According to the Muhafzah records, a reasonable number of families living in Ramlet Bulaq are targeted for relocation; Santo area accommodates 262 families, al-Kabsh area accommodates 160 families, Fayed area accommodates 12 families, and Ezbet al-Kafrawy accommodates 178 families.

Local people perceive this strategy of withholding information as a predictable tactic by the authoritative political system to prevent them from taking collective action against the eviction decree, or negotiating the appropriate compensation [R16.2.08, R3.1.09]. From the locals' point of view, the only effective way to achieve spatial quality is to work with the natives, not imported inhabitants, and allow them to contribute to its development. In their opinion, imported inhabitants will not appreciate the embedded values and inherited qualities of this particular urban fabric. There is considerable consensus among the locals that Bulaq and its spaces are their living spaces, which hold their memories and achievements, and which, therefore, they would never abandon under any circumstances: even if it meant living for the rest of their lives in the same conditions.

10.1.3. Economy and the use of public space

'If they move us from here [Bulaq], it is over for our business' [R14.2.08].

'The charm of these places does not come uniquely from the venerable historical monuments or buildings, but derives also and above from the activities of the merchants and the life which surrounds them'¹⁹.

Mixed use in Bulaq is an additional attribute of the traditional character of Cairo that was historically constructed through time and space. The extensive distribution of commercial activities along main streets is a common aspect, structured within two main patterns: commercial /trade-based zones and on-street retail shops. They have apparently been developed as a spontaneous response to a series of long-term social arrangements for the good of the local community²⁰. Bulaq has long been popular for its well-known market of Wikalat al-Balah, the heart of the fabric and textile trade in Cairo, whose name is used interchangeably to identify Bulaq. The Wikala adds to the authenticity of the district and the history of the place. It is extremely crowded and active, selling clothes, fabrics, curtains, textiles, and even car parts at low prices. This market was a further development of the commercial and trade activities that were once associated with the historical port of Bulaq, the busy trade hub that served Cairo for a millennium. With such a long commercial and trading history, Bulaq is yet to lose its distinctive character and still attracts the middle and low-income Cairenes.

On-street shops, on the other hand, are central spaces which accommodate many social activities through the sale of various food products, such as fresh vegetables and fish. These

¹⁹ Samir, Amira cited in William, Caroline (2006) *Reconstructing Islamic Cairo*. In: Singerman, D. and Amar, P.(eds.) *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture and Urban Space in the new globalized Middle East*. Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press. p. 286.

²⁰ Ibrahim, A.A. (2008) *Using compact urban form for the sustainability of the new settlements in developing countries*. The 48 Congress of the European Regional Science Association. Liverpool.

trade activities, however, provide the main source of income for many families living in the area. This is similar to the case of many home-based industries, such as sewing, cooking traditional food, or roasting corn, which allow local people to gain reasonable profit at a minimum cost. In most cases, these peddlers and on street sellers gather in a particularly popular and busy area, such as Shari suq al Asr. Vendors believe that the spacious street space allows them room to display their goods to a larger number of people, through small kiosks or use of a matt for spreading the goods on the sidewalk [R2. 2.09]. Over time, street junctions and crossings become very busy and vendors compete and sometimes fight to gain a better place to display their goods. However, the main problem is that all such vendors are illegal. They are supposed to get permission to use such busy pedestrian traffic pathways and approval for the type of sold goods, which is almost impossible [R17.1.09]. This unclear and unresolved situation is behind the frequent raids by the local authorities and the police to clear pedestrian routes from vendors and arrest those without permits, which, effectively, means everyone. All displayed goods and products are seized, and the vendor is placed in custody. Therefore, at the moment the authorities arrive, most illegal sellers' frantically start packing their goods away, trying to save whatever they can [R13.1.09] (Figure 10.4).

Such unresolved situations explain how the residents came to associate their living spaces and daily activity with their work, trade and domestic economy. An old vendor in Bulaq noted that 'the stability of the local trade activities leads to the stability of the residents and their financial security' [R6.1.09]. An 85 year old man explained that his shop is run by his family, who live in the same building. The liveability of the district's public spaces is constituted by the people's social interaction and mixed activity [R16.01.08], whilst most resident-run businesses are usually locally oriented and based on local customers' needs. Other businesses, that tend to be reasonably stable, are usually run by non-resident owners who can change their business location according to financial viability. Here, economy is separated from living; hence there is more flexibility to change or to relocate.

For the government officials, these local businesses are the main obstacles to development and they slow down the improvement of the district, particularly in the commercial area of Wikalat al-Balah. To secure public support for its projects of relocation and remaking, the state media portrays the local residents' activities and behaviour as a representation of an ugliness and disorder²¹. Since 2006, and as a preparation for the new developments anticipated for the area, the Hay prohibited all mobile and outdoor trade activities, including vendors and peddlers and checked particular areas on a daily basis. The only commercial activities permitted were those taking place indoors, in a shop or a proper space. There was informal approval for certain people who maintained good connections with the officials, who sequentially turned a blind eye to their violations [R16.01.08, R2.2.09]. However, current restrictions on vendors and their activities have proved effective in bringing

²¹ Hanna, M. (1996) *Housing and politics*, Cairo: *Al-Hai'a al-Amma III Kitab*, Egypt.

about the eradication of many undesirable economic patterns. The Wikala, the main traditional outlet, however, is on the waiting list for relocation to one of the city outskirts sites. This could, in effect, cause radical change to the local economic patterns, and subsequently to access and traffic and the social class of the residents.



Figure 10.4 Some of the disordered economic activities in Bulaq.
Above: the traditional coffee houses in baladi areas always spill out onto the sidewalks.
Bottom: The cloth market of Bulaq.

10.1.4. Negotiating the urban fabric

In Bulaq, informal expansion of a house or a shop into the public space is a common practice. In the absence of effective laws or police powers to implement such laws, and in light of the extremely limited spaces for trade or for living, these illegal extensions are to be expected. Residents used to make modifications, extensions or additions to their houses, or even in front of their workshops, to gain extra space to display their goods on the sidewalk. However, such informal activities and their disputed legal position sustained the sense of insecurity and made any contact with the local authority political and frustrating. A lady who constructed a one meter square addition to her ground floor house explained how she was terrified when engineers from the Hay approached her to inspect the additions she had made [R6.1.09]. She was, initially, ordered to remove all the unpermitted additions. Hence, after negotiations, she made a case that these additions were in the backyard of the house, not visible, and had consumed all her life savings. At the end, she won the case and they imposed a fine and allowed the additions to stay. This situation is, however, the norm in Bulaq and almost all the residents who make any extensions end up paying a fine, or negotiate an informal payment to have the addition ignored [R6.1.09].

Apparently, local authorities are aware of these strategies and tactics, which largely contributed to the formation of the current shanty town-like settlements in some parts of Bulaq. It seems that the residents have always been able to manipulate the Hay decisions and the power of law to keep their living spaces. Such experience, however, allowed them to negotiate their living spaces through approaching certain individuals and establishing parallel / informal systems for resolving unresolved situations. These strategies are informed by the residents' daily interaction with the Hay engineers, 'who are well known to the residents' [R4.1.09, R3.1.09]. Such strategies would never have been necessary, or successful, if, according to the residents, the state had been concerned with their problems and followed up these situations. To the state they are poor people, and their problems are not a priority [R7.1.09]. They are also aware that the government employees have margins that allow them to benefit from their working positions and personal connections to maintain extra income. This in return gives more room for negotiation and tactics such as violating building codes and resolving the dispute with minor fines, as explained in the previous chapter.

However, not only are the residents adopting strategies and tactics in their living spaces, but there are also other players: investors and businessmen, who, on their part, negotiate with the authorities for informal permission to negotiate with helpless people, and press for policies of relocation or eviction in order to take over their spaces. A key informant explained that after the failure of al-Tourguman project in 1979, the state abandoned the policy of negotiating relocation with the residents before selling the land to the investors. Instead, the

state gave the 'green light' to investors interested in new construction projects in Bulaq to negotiate fair deals with the occupiers of the lands.

There was a case, my informant says, where a group of expert lawyers representing a highly influential businessman arranged regular meetings with residents and owners of properties adjacent to the site of his new project. Most people refused to give up their houses, workshops and lands and some mentioned that the offers were far too low [R3.1.09]. According to a member of the local council, land prices in the Bulaq are estimated at 12,000 Egyptian pounds/ m², while the lawyers offered only LE 3,000 per dwelling²². A female shop owner stated that 'if they want to turn our homes and workshops into gardens for the people up there (meaning the rich) and kick us out, they have to give us the money we deserve' [R17.1.09]. While the housing law has prohibited the governorate from dealing directly with private investors, its formal employees are not in a position to negotiate on behalf of the investors. Instead, only Egyptian government stock companies, such as Maspero Co., have been authorized to manage development projects, and therefore, have the capacity and power to negotiate the terms of compensation.

As would be expected, prices of land can change dramatically, based on their importance to the buyers and the time of the negotiations; and sellers have, over time, become frustrated at how cheaply they sold their land: 'they were left feeling that they had been robbed'²³. At first people were happy, a government official said. But afterwards, they heard that the value of the land may have, in some cases, risen 10 times because it had become part of a larger investment plot; it was tough, a game of negotiations' [R3.1.09]. Others complained that they were not all offered the same rates of compensation [R.7.1.09, R17.1.09]. Accordingly, planning new *tactics* has become part of the continuous struggle between the buyers and the residents, and become part of their daily tasks and practices²⁴. 'Tricking the powerful' was their only way to gain the best out of this deal²⁵. For one negotiator, 'it is a game of time, and those people must understand that we also have other ways to force them to leave, but we are going through fair channels first' [R3.1.09]. Therefore, negotiation the living space was seen as a game of power. It is obviously an unbalanced situation between the poor and powerless residents and the negotiators with their money, protection, influence, and connections with the Muhafzah (figure 10.5.).

²² Al-Badeel Newspaper (2008) *Cairo denies its poor*, online newspaper, August 3.

²³ Al-Ahram Newspaper (2009) Bulaq residents are screaming... Help us, September 23.

²⁴ De Certeau, M. (1988) *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 26.

²⁵ Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*, p. 175.



Figure 10.5 Spaces in Bulaq under negotiation.
Location: Ramlet Bulaq section, 2009.

10.2. The planners' conception

'The abstract space is a space of quantification and growing homogeneity, a merchandised space where all the elements are exchangeable and thus interchangeable; a police space in which the state tolerates no resistance and no obstacles.... thus coverage towards an elimination of all differences'²⁶

Drawing on Marx's distinction between abstract labour which creates exchange values, and concert labour, which create use values, Lefebvre's account is that the '*space of architects*' had created in return what he described as '*abstract spaces*', a social bureaucratized space which has been rendered by capitalism. Its basic quality is to separate the *abstract* from the *concert*²⁷; the mental space from the lived space; a space from which its preceding histories has been eliminated²⁸. For Lefebvre, the abstract space is not designed in its simple format of geometry, but it had been already produced to reflect meticulous visions, strategies, and tactics; it is a space that reflects the domination of power; a space of capitalism; it is a space that has been created in the mental mind of the planner, the local authority, and state, before being visualised in the physical reality²⁹. Therefore, the confinement of an abstract space is tangled by the elimination of the space's previous histories which became a central practice driven by the power of state to reshape physical spaces within the city³⁰. In this sense, it could be argued that similar ideals to Lefebvre's philosophy has been relevant to the state's planning strategy in Egypt that focused on the continuous practice of re-planning Bulaq between 1960s until today. Defiantly, this does not imply that planners and the planning institution as a whole are following Lefebvre's ideas while practicing remaking. But it notably emphasizes that the capital and the state have collaboratively secured uncompromised power of decision making expressed in creating abstract spaces that visualize capitalism through the media of modern building images and spaces. The consciousness of the space, as a result, occurs not through lived experience, but via its desired representation of power, always reduced to the image of capitalism³¹.

On the other hand, the consecutive planning schemes for re-planning Bulaq have been continuously criticized for their lack of aesthetic quality; in other words, the quality of its image. This is in line with the local perception of planning practice in Cairo which is constituted as a form of a visual configuration of socio-cultural space³². The focus of this perspective is on the visual quality, rather than a comprehensive strategy towards upgrading the urban environment. The motivation behind Bulaq schemes, and other districts such as Roud al Farag which is attached to Bulaq, was in large part due to the global trend that does

²⁶ Lefebvre, H. (1979) Space: Social Product and Use Value. In J.W. Freiburg (Ed.) *Critical Sociology; European Perspectives*. New York: Irvington. p. 293.

²⁷ Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

³⁰ Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, p. 366.

³¹ Forty, *Words and buildings*, p. 274.

³² Lefebvre, *The production of space*.

not only intend to eliminate poverty and inequality in urban landscape, but to impose fashionable designs to develop accessible routes to such congested districts (Figure 10.6). In this regard, the river frontage zone was a priority as it works as an effective showcase for the state's policy on planning and its ability to upgrade its urban context. The drive to improve the image was overwhelming to the extent that other issues were overlooked, such as struggles to relocate or compensate people for their properties and living patterns; how the local economy was to develop; how local social patterns and interaction models were expected to change.

This focus on the frontage was somehow disappointing and frustrating to the local population. They realized that the whole issue of remaking Bulaq has been confined to one particular zone or to the image of a row of luxury buildings, without paying attention to the inner parts and their problems. This priority was explicit in several interviews I conducted with the planners and local authorities in Bulaq. One planner for example, spoke at length about new building heights, regulations and the intention to unify the heights of buildings located on Shari al- Cornich, hardly mentioning any problems in the inner parts [I9.1.09]. A senior planner from the GOPP, in addition, related Bulaq planning schemes to the redevelopment of al- Cornich frontage [I10.1.09]. It was apparent that no planners were aware of or were reluctant to speak about the devastating consequences these plans could have on the residents of the inner parts of the quarter³³. The purpose of these accounts, however, is not to highlight flaws in the planners' perspectives; rather, they are intended to reveal the overwhelming focus on the image of the river frontage; the uncompromising display of the state's modernity and power (Figure 10.7).

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to generalize this perspective as an overarching conception of planning practices in Egypt and Cairo. Parallel to such an excessive focus on the image in remaking Bulaq, more comprehensive and complex projects are taking place in other parts of the city. Examples include the rehabilitation project of al Darb al Ahmar district, which is run by both the Agha Khan Trust for Culture and the local authority, and the Historic Cairo Restoration Project (HCRD) for the remaking of Islamic Cairo and the restoration of its monuments that has been in progress since 1998³⁴. Transforming the physical configurations of a complex context such as Bulaq, however, deserves a structured approach that builds on responsive practice: benefiting from previous experiences and problems to develop more effective proposals with informed implementation strategies [I6.1.09]. Therefore, many critics highlighted the huge gap in regulations that prevents such proposals from being implemented [I11.1.09, I13.1.09]. To take an optimistic standpoint, it could be claimed that the lack of a clear planning policy, specifically developed to fit the agenda of remaking old districts in Cairo, might be an advantage in that the area has many

³³ I want to note that the official planner from the GOPP is one of the former official planners of Isash al-Tourguman scheme drafted in 1978.

³⁴ Williams, C. (2006) *Reconstructing Islamic Cairo: Forces at work*. In: Singerman, D. and Amar, P. (eds.) *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture and Urban Space in the new globalized Middle East*. Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press. p. 275.

deep rooted problems that need to be handled with flexibility and manipulation rather than specificity and a rigid legal framework.

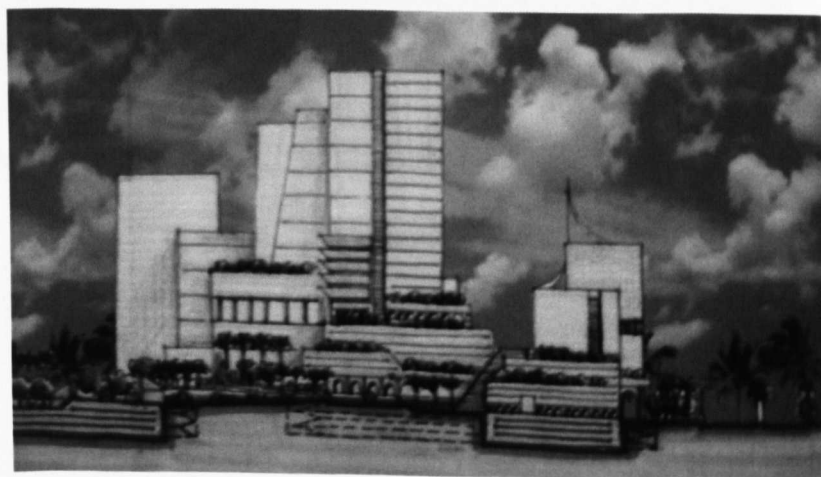


Figure 10.6 The proposed urban planning composition of *Roud al Farag* district neighbouring Bulaq.

An example of imposing fashionable designs and accessible routes to such congested districts.

Source: Roud al Farag district re-planning report, The Muhafzah.



Figure 10.7 Compromise of the visual quality in Bulaq.

Above image: Buildings located in *al-Matbaa al-Ahlyya* Street, facing the towers of the riverfront, have been all painted in a unified colour. The project of remaking Bulaq was generally perceived from an aesthetic perspective in that buildings had to look neat and ordered because this area particularly was visible to the tourists.

Bottom image: Buildings located in the inner sections of Bulaq have not undergone such actions, and present a poor visual image.

10.2.1. The Practice of Planning

A progressive framework for the successful remaking of spatial qualities suggests establishing a connection between actual capabilities in terms of the city's urban challenges, and the discourse of planning education. While planners, in general, need to be equipped with professional skills acquired through university education, planning practice, significantly, provides understanding of the process of developing a diversified framework for the required spatial quality in each context, and thereby, planning also becomes of a great importance in shaping the everyday life practices of the inhabitants [I13.1.09]. As explained by the majority of planners interviewed, the lack of adequate professional skills for the specific practice of remaking represents a gap in planners' education [I13.1.09, I6.1.09, I2.1.09]. Thus, planners and urban designers aspiring to improve any areas of old Cairo should be required to obtain the technical skills for making in-depth analyses of socio-cultural situations. This, accordingly, requires programs of training within the university planning courses in Egypt to be more integrated. Specific knowledge and skills are essential in enabling the planners to establish the close relationships necessary for dealing with and revealing local people's needs in the long term. If these relationships do not work, this kind of practice will not succeed [I2.1.09].

In this respect, a significant level of concern was recorded in relation to the gap between the theoretical education programs in Egyptian Universities and the real practice of planning, which in turn has become increasingly isolated from the local inhabitants' practices and understanding [I2.1.09, I1.1.09]. This gap was moreover associated with a lack of communication between academic staff and the society in general, which was acknowledged as problematic. There is an apparent sense of superiority in the mentality of senior planners in planning institutions: who consider themselves the experts because they understand perfectly what the people actually need [I6.1.09]. Local planners, academics or private professionals, approach areas like Bulaq preoccupied with their passionate imagination of an ideal world where remaking is practised according to a few simple principles of replacing old patterns with desirable and globally verified examples of good contemporary planning practice. Despite their awareness of the vitality of people's needs, they are restricted by the lack of economic resources which severely limit their options, and the result is a non-realistic production of space.

This lack of comprehensive knowledge and practice impacts the quality of planning schemes in terms of implementation, which is subsequently reduced to physical changes in space proportions. Hence, remaking has become a practice that fulfils the users', or perhaps the owners', needs to the minimum achievable standards [I11.1.09]. Also, the practice of making places becomes split between two isolated worlds: the world of academic planning, mostly run by private consultants, and the world of official planning run by groups of planners, safely employed in a government job for the rest of their careers. However, the joint drafting of a scheme or re-planning of an existing area by an official planning institution

and a private consultant ends up being unsatisfactory from both points of view. From one side, local planners look at official planning employees of the planning institutions as unqualified and uncreative, and regard planning tasks as being completed within minimum effort [16.1.09, 17.1.09]. When I met an official from the company involved in designing the new houses of al-Zawya al-Hamra for relocating the Bulaqi residents in 1979, his first comment was: 'how can a task like this [meaning re-planning Bulaq] be handled by the Muhafzah only without any partnership with other firms; they are not capable of drafting a project this big individually' [16.1.09]. On the other hand, official planners had other views. A senior planner from the Muhafzah stated that:

'Working with private consultancies turns planning into a pure academic exercise [shoghl academy baht]. When (re) planning an area, the academic planner works as if there is no status quo; he does not consider any existing problems; it is as if he is designing inside his own imagination [shoghl loh shatahat kebera]; he does not deal with the ground and actual situation. For example, when (re)planning an area, the only concern is to achieve the maximum building heights; therefore, he designs identical streets with the same width without even thinking about its original condition or situation or even how the people use the space. On the contrary, when we are assigned to design a plan or scheme in the Muhafazah, we carefully and fully study the existing situation of these streets and consider which ones can be widened and which cannot, and we propose the new street alignments and setbacks according to the existing facts' [16.1.09].

However, in both worlds of planning, the planners are also faced by other difficulties; first, is lack of interest from the public, who look at problems from very personal perspectives. Although interaction between local academic planners or the planning institutions and the inhabitants is not frequent, outcomes of crucial decisions depend on personal connections and also on the reflection of common interests. This shortcoming was evident during the initial phases when the latest scheme of Bulaq was presented to the local people's council.

'This was a huge problem and it is so difficult to communicate with these people. Each of the Bulaqi representatives had his own personal request [kol wahed menhom leh gharad fe nafso]. The problem is that instead of taking forward steps to improve the plans as part of collective community decision making, it turns into a clash of personal interests, which leads to greater conflicts. For example, when we (the scheme planning committee) propose to widen a particular street, if it turns out that this proposal would individually harm the interest of one of the representatives, he will immediately declare his objection to approval. Once, one said to me: why do you want to propose a new street line that will pass through my house, you can easily change it. And because he is a powerful man, we receive orders to propose that the street will be widened to 20 meters instead of 30 meters. The problem is that we, as planners, must consider issues such as the street hierarchy in a professional manner, but in most cases we are unable to do anything and then we get blamed for not being professional enough' [16.1.09].

Second, is the lack of a unified regulatory framework for planning, or the ambiguity of planning regulation, meaning that planners become confused about the applicable building regulations due to incessant amendments and changes, as explained in detail in the previous chapter. Such uncertainty in most cases extends the period of drafting a plan, possibly by years, and no scheme can be approved without the proper application of

regulations. Evidently, the most significant problem during the stages of drafting the Bulaq scheme was the conflict of laws and decrees [15.1.09].

'When a Prime Minister's decree is issued for expropriation, it incidentally comes into conflict with valid court rulings involved with the abolition of decree 555, in the Maspero area, for example, and the same for Bulaq. In some cases the law is valid, but not valid in other situations. So if it's valid, why do they issue new laws? The higher planning authority is not supposed to issue other decrees within another valid comprehensive law because it ends up in disruption' [15.1.09].

The third issue is that local planners rely on general perceptions and do not apply innovation or creativity in working with public spaces of old districts. The institution may show confidence in carrying out tasks such as dealing with illegal situations of houses and slums, and the complicated issue of stakeholders' ownership [11.1.09, 17.2.09]. However, in the case of their own contribution, planners adopt different approaches, that focus more on the production of the space as a social context, not as a group of physical characteristics. Some perceive urban design and architectural discourse as an interactive process which involves the local community³⁵. These approaches appreciate community participation as part of the design process; however, in a different version from the participation theories of the 1960s and 1970s³⁶. For example, in the project of the Children's Cultural Park, the architect Abdel halim Ibrahim involved the local community in the making process, using them as informative instruments in order to gather as much information as possible regarding how his thoughts could be valuable to the community as users³⁷.

An additional example of community participation is presented by the *National Project for Preparing the Strategic Development Plans for Egyptian Villages*, which was motivated by the actual needs of the residents³⁸. The approach was based on a comprehensive study of local people and their problems through individual group meetings, rather than collective meetings, to gather various perceptions on problems related to their living environment. The settings provided a positive example of how planners can generate a good, inclusive atmosphere, and at the same time facilitate selection of participants whose individual concerns do not conflict with the public interest³⁹.

³⁵ Abdel halim, I. (1978) *The building ceremony*, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of California. Berkely.

³⁶ Adham, K. (1997) *The building border: A hermeneutical study in the cultural politics of space in Egypt, the case of el-Houd el-Marsoud park in Cairo*. Unpublished PhD thesis Texas: Texas A&M University. p. 223.

³⁷ Nabil, Y. (1994) *Reconciliations and continued polarities*, p. 77, as quoted in Adham, *The Building border*, p. 223.

³⁸ Connelly, S. (2010) *Participation in a Hostile State: How do Planners Act to Shape Public Engagement in Politically Difficult Environments?* *Planning Practice and Research*, 25: 3, 333 – 351. p. 343. According to Connelly, This was a program of the GOPP with financial support and advice from the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), and was implemented by consultants drawn principally from Egypt's academic planning community. Its intention was to engage representatives of stakeholder groups from the public, private and third sectors, and 'ordinary' (i.e. not organized) members of the public, in drawing up lists of development priorities in each of Egypt's 4, 060 villages.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

10.2.2. Creating quality; abolishing Aashwa'i

The government-run media is the principal source of information in Egypt, and, in effect, serves to project certain desirable images of planning discourse: problems, needs and targets. In other words, the state media serves and supports the government's objectives. Bulaq and similar old districts were always projected as negative representations of the urban space and, therefore, requiring fundamental change. This representation was framed within a wider picture of the discourse of urban planning practices which was intended to bring about order and socio-cultural development. While the urban pattern of the narrow and hierarchal street network of old Cairo was originally produced and framed around themes of order and control of the time, these settings seem out of date today. Streets could be better designed according to grid patterns, as wide and straight as possible [I11.2.09, I3.1.09]. Dismantling the old street settings is possibly viewed as a way of making any activities more observable, and achieving better monitoring and surveillance. So, any places that oppose creation of this order will definitely be considered as negative representations of space: described in the media as areas of degradation, decline, crime and drugs.

One of the most problematic issues, which drove the 1978 and 2005 schemes, was how to end problems of security in the district. From the authorities' point of view, old districts were dens of potential terrorist activity that endangered the national security system. The need to secure, control and apply order in these areas was the primary driving force that stimulated the government to clear such areas forever. Stories, endlessly retold by the residents, concerning such a common attitude definitely support this argument. A member of the planning committee from the Muhafzah mentioned that in Bulaq 'there are lots of security problems in the district, the social attitudes of the residents cause unavoidable hassles, and it's probably too late for police members to interfere' [I5.1.09].

During 1978, proposals and plans for the re-planning of Bulaq were a subject of confusion for a number of planners and Egyptian intellectuals. Ahmed Amer, a notable Egyptian writer, wrote in al-Ahram that 'we are pleased to know that people would be offered a better life, but what we are still not sure of is why Bulaq, and why Ishash al-Tourguman were first in row?'⁴⁰ (Figure 10.8). Approval for the demolition of Ishash al-Tourguman was mainly brought about by the involvement of its inhabitants in the riots, especially as three communists set fire to the paper storage depot of two daily newspapers, Al-Akhbar and al-Ahram, and were able to escape to *Ishash al-Tourguman*, while the police cars in pursuit were not able to enter this area due to the extremely narrowness of the streets⁴¹. Mostafa al-

⁴⁰ Origins of these riots dated back to late 1976 when Sadat, in an effort to solve the country's economic problems, asked the World Bank for loans. During 18th and 19th January 1977, the government announced that it was ending subsidies on basic food supplies and cancelling additional benefits and pay increases. Rioters against the government took to the streets of many cities in Egypt to demonstrate their disappointment with *Infitah* and the untruths it spread. The rioting ended when the government cancelled the price increases, whilst retaining 10 percent wage increases and other benefits for public sector employees. The rioters shouted slogans like, "Hero of the crossing, where is our breakfast?" and "Thieves of the *Infitah*, the people are famished." There were also shouts of "Nasser, Nasser." In the clashes between demonstrators and police, 800 persons were killed, and several thousand were wounded, according to unofficial estimates.

⁴¹ Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*

Hifnawy, the Housing Minister at that time, declared that *the state had to do something*⁴². Hence, the community and its residents were characterized as problematic and representing negative images opposed to Cairo's modernity and liberalization policies⁴³. For the state and especially the planning authority, it was a problem of security which showed disorder, lack of governmentality⁴⁴ or control of space⁴⁵. Old sections of Cairo, not only Bulaq, but *al-Darassa* and *al-Batenyya* areas also signified a type of community that the government could not control or regulate; thus the only way was to impose order and *dig deep in these areas to clean them*. In political terms, remaking is widely driven by the state's intentions to end Islamist activities which have been considered as a security threat to the state. 'The state's indifference and tolerance to informal settlements was replaced by hostility, as a number of these areas – meaning informal and slum parts – became sites of Islamist oppositional activities and confrontation with the government'⁴⁶.

Another incident, regarding *masaken zeinhom area* in Cairo, which was renovated in 2008/9, was described by a senior official from the Muhafzah⁴⁷. People living in Zeinhom were relocated to al-Nahda area, on the outskirts of the city, with a promise of being able to return to their homes once the renovation was complete. However, following the completion, to the surprise of the residents, first phase contracts were given to some residents, but not all, by the first Lady, Mrs. Suzan Mubarak. The Muhafez announced a set of new rules to determine which residents could return. To be specific, 1834 families had been relocated to al-Nahda, while the actual number of new housing units was only 1136⁴⁸. Therefore, not all the relocated residents were meant to be re-housed back in Zeinhom, their original living spaces. One of the ladies said that:

'They told us that if any member of the family had previously been in prison, or was actually in prison, then they could not return to zeinhom' [R18.1.09].

'This is not fair and they cheated us, dah thulm whoma khadaona .We were all promised we could return to our lives and homes and now they are saying no..... and we will say no as well' [R19.1.09].

The official further explained that these people would not be allowed to return to the renovated buildings as they, according to the formal perceptions, are not culturally capable

⁴² Al-Akbar Newspaper (1977) August 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Foucault, M. (1991) Governmentality. In: *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller; Hemel Hempstead; Harvester Wheatsheaf. 87-104.

⁴⁵ Ismail, *Political life in Cairo's new Quarters*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ It was also one of the cases I personally witnessed during one of my visits to the Muhafzah to complete my research work in 2009. A large group of demonstrators gathered in front of the main gate. Their angry cheering led me to ask one of the security guards what was happening and who they were, and shortly after I was able to move towards the crowds and ask them about the reasons for their demonstrations. A lady sadly explained that *we are all original residents of Masaken Zeinhom who were relocated to al-Nahda area on the city outskirts of Cairo, as the Muhafzah offered us substitute houses and promised that we would come back after the full implementation of the remaking project. Now, the project is finished, but the Muhafez announced that not all the residents will return, rather, residents will be selected according to a set of criteria.*

⁴⁸ Al- Masry al- youm Newspaper (2009) *The Cairo Governor: re- housing Zeinhom citizens to their new homes according to specific rules and controls*. August 5. Online resource.

of living in such a modern area: *How can we allow people, who live with their chickens and animals in the same space to come back, this is impossible* [18.2.09].

'Today, Zeinoh, after development, is targeted to be inhabited by a different social group of people, different from the groups who lived there before' [18.2.09].

'Masaken zeinoh has become identical to Europe, how can we allow these people to come back? The Muhafzah spent a huge amount of money to transform Zeinoh, and the area now deserves to be accommodated by people who can value this change and positively contribute to its success' [18.2.09].

However, it should be mentioned that the problem of delivering vague and incorrect information was not only on the institution's side, but on the residents' side as well in many cases, as the official stated that:

'The people have a great ability to circumvent the state and laws. For example, when the residents knew that the Muhafazah would conduct a survey to count the exact number of families living in zeinoh, to build the new units at al-Nahda, many of them went to build light constructs, similar to the Ishash and called some of their relatives living in the countryside to prove that larger numbers of people were living in the same house, or Isha in this case. For that, they could be allocated a larger housing unit when relocated' [18.2.09].

The problem, from the institutions' perspective, derived from the residents' inappropriate management of their living spaces. Their traditional social, cultural habits and attitudes of living were considered as a threat to the properties they lived in. *'If they come back, they will destroy the place once again'* [18.2.09]. What was really happening behind the scene between advocates and opponents of the Bulaq project, and in other remaking projects like Masaken Zeinoh, was an attempt to understand and realize the true intentions towards re-planning such places. It is interesting to note that articles published in national and local newspapers and journals during and after relocation of the residents reveal that remaking the spatial qualities of Bulaq meant for the state and residents *'a further move towards civilization and fewer problems of the past'* [11.2.09] (Figure 10.9).

However, it could be argued that the broader discourse of space representation could be linked to the state's efforts to improve the Egyptians' quality of life. For the state, quality of life is a term that lies at the core of planning objectives and programs (Figure 10.10). It has become an important concern, linked to the discourse of modernity and structuring social policies. It is generally determined by social, cultural, personal and religious values to measure the liveability of a context. Determining quality of life is partially associated with the individuals' aptitude to shape, form, and manage their contexts. A good quality place, accordingly, is linked to the ability to be safe and actively encourage a positive sense of belonging and subsequently good living conditions. Ensuring a good quality of life in the long term incorporates safety, sufficient resources, essential infrastructure, and public as well as local support and social integration. It reflects the users' satisfaction towards features such as traffic, housing affordability, and liveable areas. Therefore, it encourages the planners to involve a wider range audience for negotiating a possible compromise of the planning outcomes (Figure 10.10).

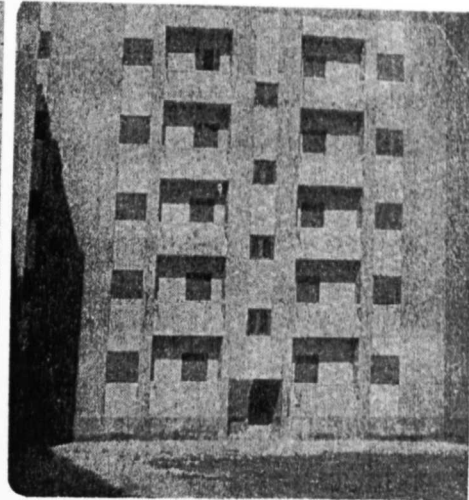
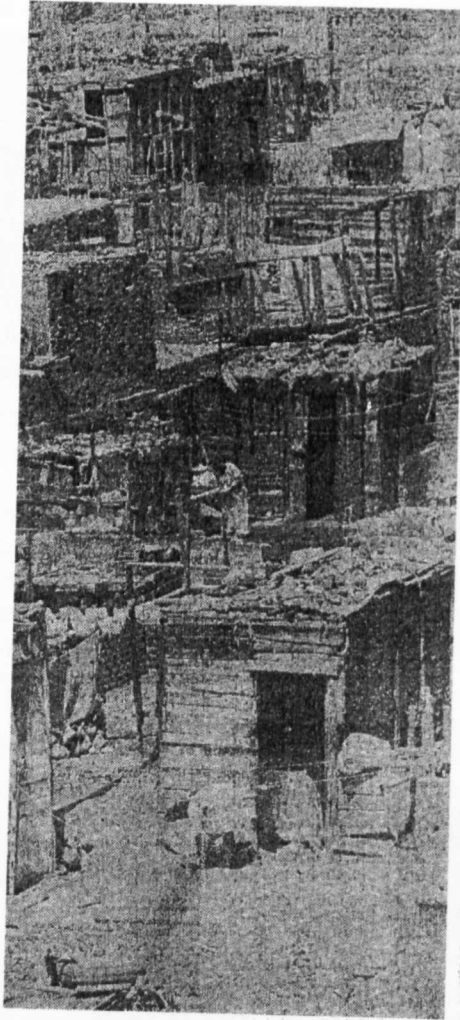
دقيقة بدقيقة مع السادات في لقائه مع سكان الترجمان والمحمدي داخل مجتمعهم الجديد



Figure 10.8 President Sadat meeting the Bulaqi residents. This was after the residents were relocated from al-Tourguman to al Zawya al Hamra in their new houses. Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1979) December 30.



Figure 10.9 Former residents of Masaken Zeinhom protesting. This was In front of the main gate of the Muhafzah in August 2009.



مش الترجمان وعرب المحمدى .. (تصوير : رضا مصطفى)

كذلك طالب ٧٠٪ من السكان بوجود مرافق مستقل بكل وحدة سكنية .. وطلب ٦٩٪ ضرورة تواجد بلكونات في المساكن الجديدة أيضا اهتم البحث باستطلاع رأى السكان في تحديد القيمة كإيجار للمساكن الجديدة ..

نسبة الإيجار
فتبين أن ٣٩٪ يستطيعون دفع مبلغ من ٥ الى ٧ جنيهات كإيجار شهري للمساكن .. و ٢٩٪ من مجموع السكان يستطيعون دفع مبلغ من ٢ الى ٤ جنيهات شهريا .. وأدى ٢٠٪ من السكان استعدادهم لدفع مبالغ من ٧ جنيهات فاكثر كإيجار شهري للمساكن ..

وقد أوضحت ٥٤٪ من الأسر بأنه ليس من الضروري أن يكون المسكن الجديد قريبا من مكان العمل .. وأوضحت ٨٦٪ من الأسر أيضا بعدم ضرورة قرب السكن من أصحاب المحلات والبورس فقد أبدى ٧٥٪ منهم بموافقتهم على نقل نشاطه الى مناطق أخرى .. وفي النهاية ..

أما بنائى الأسر وتمثل ٢١٪ فيتراوح عدد أفرادها بين ٧ أفراد وأكثر من ٩ أفراد .. وهي مجموعة الأسر كبيرة الحجم ..

كله قطاع خاصين

أيضا أظهر البحث أن النشاط الاقتصادي لقائمية السكان هو الساعات الحولية .. وبلغ عدد الأفراد العاملين في هذا القطاع ٢٣٥٧ فردا بنسبة ٢١٪ من أفراد القوى العاملة بالمنطقة .. وهذه النسبة تؤكد أن القائية العظمى من السكان تعمل في الحرف والصناعات ..

إلى ذلك المسألون في قطاع التجارة وعددهم ٢٠٦٢ فردا بنسبة ٢٨٪ ..

أما من يعملون بقطاع التشييد والبناء فعددهم ١٠٠٠ عامل بنسبة ١٣٪ .. ويمثلهم أيضا في قطاع الخدمات ..

وقد استطلع البحث رغبات السكان في مواصفات المساكن الجديدة في مناطق الإحلال .. وتبين أن أغلب الأسر تطلب وحدات سكنية مكونة ما بين غرفتين و ثلاث غرف .. ويعددهم ٥٢١١ أسرة يعنى

Figure 10.01 Images of the new housing blocks in al Zawya al Hamra.

Left: Ishash al-Tourguman.

Right: al Zawya al Hamra

This image was published in Al-Ahram Newspaper to show how relocating the Bulaqi people would offer them a better quality of life from the planning institution's perspective.

Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1979) December 30.

10.3 Modernity and the discourse of quality in remaking Bulaq

One of the major actions of the modern movement and new urbanism was to regenerate ideas related to social and cultural behaviours by rebuilding cities according to new design principles⁴⁹. This axiom, for planners and the institution, means that improved designs will lead to improved behaviour. It was thought that an enhanced sense of community could be incorporated in two aspects; by integrating the private residential spaces with the surrounding public space, and by re-planning the public space itself.

The reproduction of modern neighbourhoods in a city like Cairo is theorized and practised under the pretext of creating liveable and socially interactive spaces in the new urban context of modern Egypt. Remaking the urban environment and quality is in fact a

⁴⁹ Katz, P. (1994) *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community*. New York: McGraw Hill.

practice of redefining an entire structure of the comprehensive social domain, including social interaction, communication and behaviour within a certain urban context. This meant reviewing existing models, their problems and setting new targets and priorities. Modern theorists associated the discourse to the mobility and advancement of transportation and information technology for creating a *Fluid Modernity*⁵⁰. The search for modernity, when linked to the discourse of remaking (Bulaq in our case), seems to become problematic for its apparent ideological and spatial conflict; the need for better accessibility versus the traditional sense of enclosure, modern lifestyle versus old practices, the sense of a modern domain versus the historical sense.

Such conflicts, nevertheless, do not exclude the inhabitants from carving out a practice of modern life, but according to social studies research, it is practised through their own methods of adaptability in a form whereby modernity does not conflict with their indigenous values⁵¹. Farha Ghannam researched a range of ways for identifying modernity in Cairo and its traditional old districts⁵². Her study showed that images of modernity are displayed more in everyday life practices of the traditional areas than in the self-proclaimed modernity of the state⁵³. She claims that Bulaq can present a modern image which could be represented in the city's physical remodelling and spaces of flow. Although this logically means that new parts of the city could better participate in making this image, however, old districts like Bulaq, Maspero and Roud al farag were viewed as possible channels for structuring such a global system⁵⁴. A flow of daily movement in and out the traditional context is predicted and it is expected thereby to become enhanced and improved.

The above sections of this chapter investigated the politics of remaking in Cairo by considering the accounts of each of the involved parties and players. The state and its institutions, whose authority was unchecked, used to manipulate the residents of Bulaq and other areas subject to development in order to implement unclear, hidden agenda. The residents, on the other hand, were helpless and devised their own forms of manipulation of state rules and laws to get their needs attended to. There is huge lack of transparency on both sides, which is due, as I argue, to the lack of a clear and unambiguous legal framework and the power to monitor and implement the relevant laws. Egyptian authorities, in fact, paid little attention to the people's voices and complaints, while they claimed to formally adopt participatory approaches in planning policies. The state is vociferous in its proclamations that a successful agenda for remaking spatial qualities of old districts necessitates the involvement of local residents⁵⁵. The first step in achieving spatial quality, accordingly, is to allow the people further control of their living spaces. However, in practice, this agenda limits any involvement of local residents in the decision making process.

⁵⁰ Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, p.2.

⁵¹ Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*.

⁵² *ibid.*, p 19-20.

⁵³ Cole, D. (2002) *People, the state, and the Global in Cairo*. *Anthropological Quarterly*. 75:4. 793 - 800. p. 794.

⁵⁴ Ghannam, *Remaking the modern*, p. 18.

⁵⁵ William, *Reconstructing Islamic Cairo*.

Problems of remaking Bulaq as a locality are widely seen as a sign of the state's struggle with modernity as a concept and practice throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Bulaq is a frontage of old urban fabric overloaded with traditions and historically-informed social patterns and organization. Hence, it is central to the modern discourse that reflects on and contributes to the construction of modernity in Egypt. Cultures and individuals are conceptualized as separate entities of localities in imposing an artificial order on a disordered local context which is separate and distinct from the global world⁵⁶. On the contrary, in Giddens' view, the individuals 'contribute to and promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications', no matter how local or traditional are their particular contexts of everyday life actions⁵⁷. Thus, the positions of individuals as active players in the modernity discourse lead to a changing standpoint for understanding their behaviour: from being subjected to external influences of modernity they become creators and initiators of this modernity.

While the planning institution had mostly adopted upgrading and eviction options, senior officials admitted that this was not always the best way [I6.2.09]. In Bulaq, like Zeinohm, upgrading was expensive and it seemed easier to evict in order to remove slums, unwanted workshops, and the people as well [I6.2.09]. In reality, the state can commence any action it wants under the umbrella of caring about the people and nothing else but the people [R16.1.08]. However, the experience of the relocated people of Zeinohm suggested otherwise, as their complaints have been ignored [R18.1.09]. As with the state's conservation projects in other areas of the historical city, there are two inconsistencies in the higher authority's attitudes to remaking the spatial quality in Bulaq; the first is lack of a coherent process for improving a place that builds its main outcomes on the nonmaterial authenticity of the everyday life. The second is the failure to consider the negative consequences the process might have on the socio-economic activities which form the character of the district.

Evidently, while the Muhafzah, the main planning institution, drafts and produces planning schemes, local residents and professional planners just see the outcomes, in which they have no say. In the latest scheme, of 2005, the Local's People Committee (community representatives) participated in completing the plans and in negotiating the people's needs. It is assumed, therefore, that active community involvement in remaking the district had actually taken place, in line with the basic framework of democratic institutions and processes. However, locals and planners interviewed expressed concerns regarding the lack of communication among the different players in the project throughout the process of negotiation and decision making. The main driver of the project, as explained earlier, was the desire to develop economic viability, commercial value and to improve spatial quality. The real objective was to develop a sound visual quality that promoted a global image for

⁵⁶ Hastrup, K. & Otwig, K. (1997) *Siting culture: the shifting anthropological object*. Routledge. p. 2.

⁵⁷ Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford University Press. p. 33 - 35.

the city. The locals, on the other hand, are involved in complex negotiations with the Muhafzah, struggling to retain their lifetime investments and their living and work spaces. In other words, both the authorities and the residents are moving in opposite directions. While the institution intends to improve the spatial quality in the city, the locals are resisting this practice and, in most cases, are developing their own terms for understanding quality.

10.4. The future of urban planning and design Education in Egypt.

10.4.1. Remaking Spaces: the Creative practice

Remaking urban spaces marks the reproduction and the rebirth of old existing places. Active living spaces such as streets, squares, and public areas are reproduced to improve and enhance the previous conditions, but with better quality and more hygienic public spheres. For the people, what matters most is the flow of active life and activities, personal safety, while hygienic environments are lower in priority. Professional planners in Cairo see such prioritisation as allowing no creativity in such a tight and problematic context [I3.1.09]. Therefore, the critical analysis of the remaking outcomes remains problematic in terms of what resembles creativity or successful solutions and what criteria for evaluation should be adopted⁵⁸.

Evaluation of the success of improvements in the built environment, therefore, should be based on how effectively the people's activities and needs were maintained in the urban space. This only can be traced in the long term and through periodic observation and recording of people's behaviour and interaction in the produced spaces. For example, the alley shops developed in Abdel Halim's children park in al Sayyda Zainab turned out to be hotbeds of drug dealing and other crime, due to the lack of vehicle traffic, and were hardly able to function (Figure 10.11). Thus, successful spatial quality of our living spaces can only be detected when the social practice functions in a sustainable and active context to allow a proper reading of the place⁵⁹. In addition, when the users are ordinary people, their daily activities and living patterns are of greater importance than the form of the physical landscape and buildings produced.

Therefore, creativity is represented by the spatial engineering of the previously blurred urban spaces in old districts of Cairo, which the people value so highly. Thus, successful making and remaking must take the form of contextual enhancement and improvement in the quality of the collective scenery, rather than changing it. The quality of the new-old space, hence, could be seen through the integrity of new reproduced spaces based on existing living patterns and daily activities and recognition and acceptance of their cultural or social

⁵⁸ Several projects in Cairo implemented in the twentieth century which gained immediate international recognition and appreciation turned out to be deserted places that lacked the potential for integrity with their extended contexts. This was the case with the children's park designed by Abdel Halim Ibrahim, in Cairo, as the initial judgement and celebration of creativity did not reflect similar success in reality for actual users. Hence, in those projects, excellence and creative designs were not guarantees of success in the particular contexts.

⁵⁹ Abdelwahab, M. (2009) *Reading place: the Cultural Park for Children*. FORUM. Ejournal 9. 1 - 12. p. 3.

ideals. It follows that to evaluate this practice in contexts such as old Cairo, two methods could be instrumental; the first relies on the residents' immediate perceptions, activities and interactions within the new spaces. This is traced through the spatial uses taking place in these areas. The second requires independent and professional assessment of the space performance, through professionals, according to predefined criteria. Nevertheless, utilizing a combination of both interviews and critical observation over a certain period of time could be helpful in this regard.

As was revealed during the interviews, planners working on the Bulaq project defended the validity of their socio-spatial planning practices. On the other hand, literature has yet to provide us with critical and independent analysis of old Cairo projects in terms of their suitability and influence they have on local people's daily lives⁶⁰. However, we still have to consider that the application of creativity in such lived experience is entirely different from adding a new object to a vacant plot in modern urban quarters, and that the principal design strategy, endorsed by local planners, should be to produce positive modifications or improvements to the built fabric of urban spaces in old districts of Cairo in terms of suitability, harmony and utility in the daily lives of their inhabitants⁶¹.

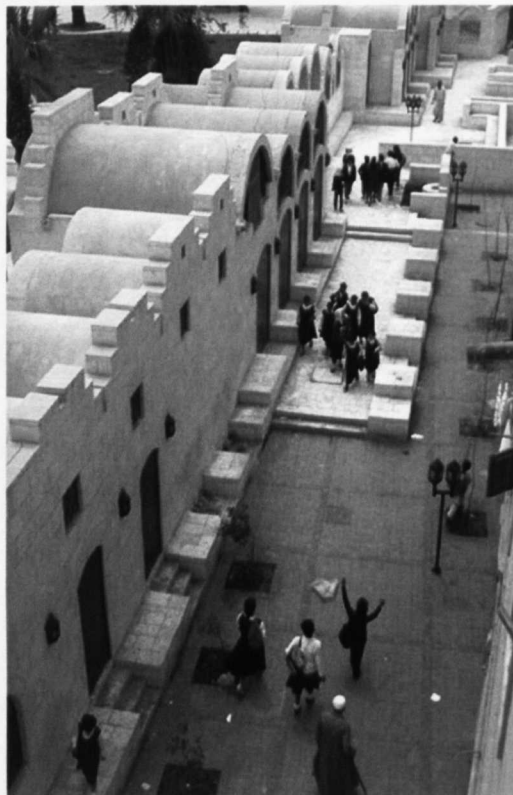


Figure 10.11 Abdel Halim's Cultural Park for Children, Cairo, Egypt.
The closed and unusable shops located at the park borders with residential neighbourhood.
Source : http://archnet.org/library/images/one-image-large.jsp?location_id=2413&image_id=14025.

⁶⁰ Relevant writings include scholarly research by the AKTC teams and newspaper articles that mainly praise the project, its objectives and contribution to the revival of the old city. Reference is made to many articles in al-Ahram, al-Ahram Weekly newspapers, praising the work in old Cairo districts such as al-Gamaliyya area, e.g.; El-Aref, N. (2000) *Old Cairo's new look*. Al-Ahram Weekly. Issue 478. ; (2005) *Crafting the Past*, issue 754. ; (2009) *Decline is not Inevitable*, issue 969. ; (2007) *Thoroughfare*, issue 865.

⁶¹ See Adham, *The Building Border*.

10.4.2. Educating future planners

'The house, in dreams, most often means the self or person of the dreamer. A town of disconnected buildings, in a dream, would be a picture of society, made up of disconnected, isolated selves. And in real towns which have this form, like dreams, embody just this meaning: they perpetuate the arrogant assumption that people stand alone exist independently of one another⁶².

My interest in issues of studying the formation of new spatial qualities in Cairo stems from my experience as both an academic and a practicing architect in Cairo and the Middle East. This experience constitutes my pre-understanding and my position which are the basis of dialogues and questioning. In the following brief discussion, I tend to focus my understanding on a main significant issue, the future of urban planning practice in Egypt. Alexander's statement raises in our minds Cairo's image of outstanding individual images of buildings revealing *in between* spaces of unknown social interactions⁶³. While this chapter informed us of the significant connection between the people living in Bulaq and their living and everyday life spaces in the district, the new projects designed in the river frontage zone shows us a sheer fact that these buildings are isolated from their surroundings which leads me to question: is there a relationship between planning and designing urban spaces and the people in Egypt? For this, I find it useful to illustrate on the following statement wrote by *Mustafa Madbouly*, the Head of the GOPP in Cairo.

'Planning education is something said to be theoretical, with too much attention to producing plans as documents, or as a space in the urban design traditions, and too little to the actual outcomes in practice⁶⁴.

While urban planners need to be equipped by a formal education, the call for a more expanded practice which integrates issues of how to make attractive built environment filled with a vibrant life of its rooted activities is not a less essential requirement. In the above statement, Madbouly argues that although the practice of planning in Egypt became influential in shaping its future cities; yet there are other various issues which impacted its practical progress and outcomes. First that planning education in Egypt is becoming more isolated from its social needs⁶⁵. Obviously, a lack of positive interaction between three significant poles in the planning practice is missing; the academic discipline, the real outside life, and the planning institution. Second that planning is not turned into reality whereas planning approaches applied to complex contexts are mostly theoretical solutions forming extensive difficulties for its implementation. This problem is informed by the nature of

⁶² Alexander, C. (1978) *A Pattern Language*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 534.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Madbouly, M. (2009) *Revisiting Urban Planning in the Middle East North Africa Region*. Global Report on Human Settlements. Un-Habitat. p. 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,p. 103.

planning education in Egyptian universities. While planning theories of the past such as the garden city movement are the major cases taught in most planning programmes in Egypt, especially in the student's early years, they turned to become mental models for creativity through finding a suitable way to fit all planning outcomes. Apparently, because of their ideal quality at their time, such rich examples become the students' only references for inspiration to achieve the desired quality of urban spaces only on paper, but the problem turns that they are less informative in terms of how people responded to such models and how these plans achieved their targeted aims. This is what exactly the practice of remaking is lacking. It is lacking a profession which is in a position in opening channels of communication with the outer world situation, and based on the needs of each individual context.

On the other hand, not only planning education suffered from the past fixed models and references, but the adoption of western ideals, thinking, and new trends in planning brought back scholars educated in the west creating what Salama called a *universal knowledge* which is an additional side of the story of planning education in Egypt⁶⁶. Salama wrote that:

This has paved the road for an enlightened educational process... Arab academics felt the need to introduce issues of concern to the international community to cope with the international standards. Thus, while considerable emphasis was placed upon the local context characterized by cultural, behavioral, and socio economic aspects in different countries, most courses were taught with the developed technology of the Western world in mind⁶⁷.

It turns that Egyptian and British planners for example, have received similar planning educations through similar modules and curriculums. While the chief purpose of planning education is to produce talented planners who are capable of creating meaningful built environments, achieving this purpose requires considering other crucial approaches. These not only necessitate developing the students' skills and basic knowledge particularly during early years of planning education⁶⁸, but it involves developing an entire understanding of 'values, attitudes, cultural and philosophical positions' of the unique contexts⁶⁹. However, such basic knowledge and skills need to be contextually situated to tackle not only the planning ideas, but also to tackle other political and socio- cultural agendas. For example, under the theme *Cairo: A City to the River*, the *Maspero* section attached to Bulaq was the site for a planning competition between Students of Stuttgart University and Ain Shams University in Cairo. The competition was part of the students graduation projects during 2005-06 for the rehabilitation and displacement of 9000 people located in this area. Apparently, the students provided great themes and ideas for re-planning Maspero. Each project had its unique and individual approach varying between re-thinking Maspero, or

⁶⁶ Salama, A (2007) *An Exploratory Investigation into the Impact of International Paradigmatic Trends on Arab Architectural Education*. GBER. 6:1. 31 – 43. p. 32.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ Mahgoub, Y. (2007) *Design Studio Pedagogy: From Core to Capstone*. In: Salama, A. and Wilkinson, N. (eds.) *Design Studio Pedagogy: Horizons for the future*. Gateshead, UK: The Urban International Press. 193 - 200. p. 193.

⁶⁹ Salama, *An Exploratory Investigation*.

making a new downtown, joining the old and new, or integrating the site with public green spaces to lower its densities, and even isolating the old part of *Maspero* to change its physical position and reduce its disordered activities (figure 10.12). By looking at students projects from both universities, one could easily realize the projects isolation from the real life situation in Maspero. While the final report of the competition shows a variety of images that could explain that the students had limited insights about the social conditions of the site and its attached areas, yet contrast between the imagery of virtual production of urban spaces in the design studios and the real life problems of old Cairo was evident⁷⁰. Apparently, the projects were of extremely intellectual, artistic or professional direction with emphasis on replacing the old fabric with high rise administrative buildings, museums, and commercial complexes: which are scarce in the urban context⁷¹. In fact, old Cairo sites are notably limited to projects in the early years of study (Figure 10.13).

Let me illustrate another instance for addressing issues of the built environment urban quality which could also originate from experiential conviction, a principle that develops from individual practice of teaching. During spring 2007, I was one of two tutors teaching the design 4 studio at UAE University. The topic of our projects was '*Ras Al-Khor development*' as Students were required to design layouts to develop this old traditional area located in Dubai's waterfront. It was extensively hypothesized that the success of the studio depends on the way students can simultaneously develop their individual and public spaces. The project program included designing an exhibition hall, theater, and a memory museum. Each student was required to develop individual ideas to be presented in group discussions and in-class presentations of each project for the development of the design concepts. Ras al-Khor is an old part of the city defined by a mix of buildings, and mostly trading activities. The students suggested to split into two opposing approaches of thoughts; one group proposed that the site must be cleared to emphasize the visual appearance of the new projects, while the other group argued that the site needs to be preserved and to promote a physical integration between the new projects and the existing physical patterns to prevent any difference in feeling when moving from one part to the other in this areas. For the students, developing the site and imposing new patterns created a dilemma by the assumption that each group made about the world which reveals an artistic and intellectual confusion. This confusion is also affected by questioning the significant role of socio-cultural aspects in defining the people's urban spaces and making their lives. Thus, my main query is how can remaking practices aiming to making sustainable built environments that responds to its people's needs benefit from such universal education? And how does the Egyptian planning practice contribute to the production or reproduction of spatial quality in old districts of Cairo within such a complex situation

⁷⁰ See final report (2006) *Cairo: A City to the River*. The Students Designs of Stuttgart University and Ain Shams University Cairo.

⁷¹ While the completion only required the students to design layouts to express their ideas, the graduation project for last year students in the department of architecture at the faculty of fine Arts in Egypt during 2010 was to design a high rise building in Maspero with its surrounding Landscape.

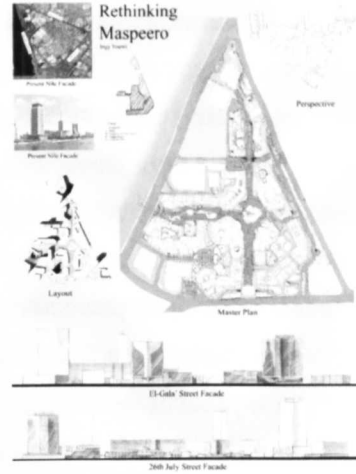
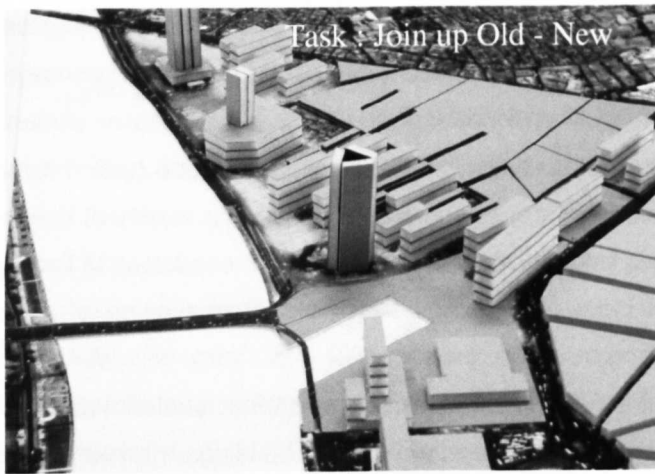


Figure 10.12 Cairo: A City to the River.

Students projects of Stuttgart University and Ain Shams University in Cairo.
Source: Final report (2006).

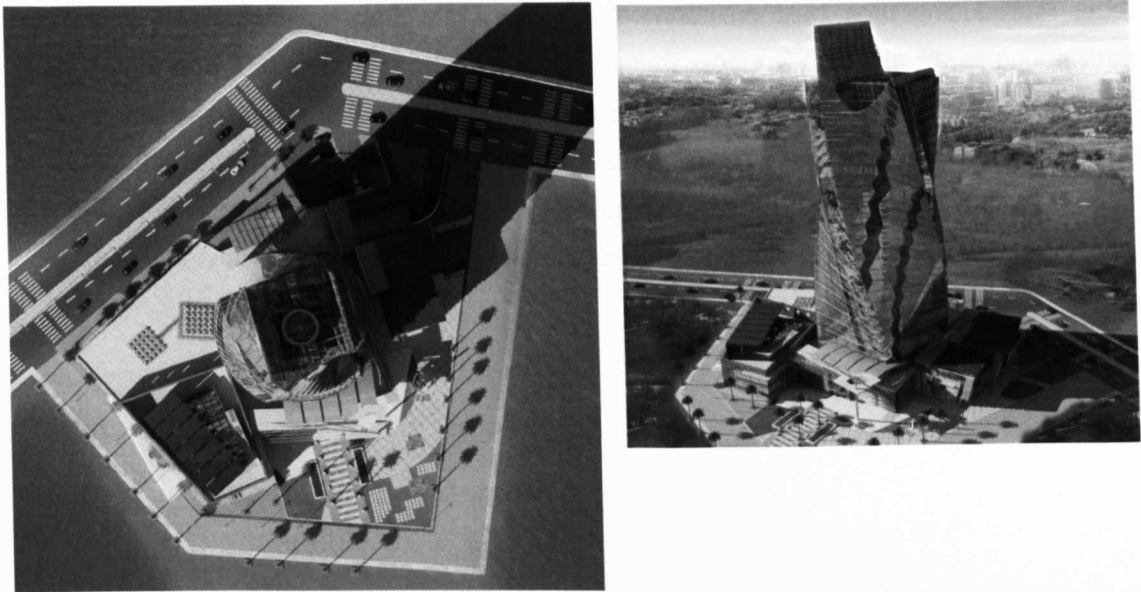


Figure 10.13 One of the graduation projects completed in 2010 for designing an office building in Maspero. The project reflects an intellectual, artistic or professional direction with emphasis on replacing the old fabric with contesting images of space.
Source: Faculty of Fine Arts, Department of Architecture, Cairo.

Present teaching approaches in most schools of planning and architecture around the world do not support learning contexts for interactive learning methods. Apparently, each school adopts its own individual agenda, which in most cases, as in Cairo, do not support local needs in informal communities but promote an exclusive approach to making new living spaces. Research on the mechanism of design studios reveals an association between preferences within each school and a particular approach, which indicates significant problems with the studio concept of design education⁷² in the sense that students are 'taught what to like'⁷³. This means that planners are educated to reproduce their educators' views, leading to a dominant tutor-centred teaching strategy. Instead, planning education should aim at supporting students' dynamic mentality and enabling them to adopt a flexible approach to problem solving, especially for problems that are contextually situated.

Remaking urban spaces requires a radical change in this process of education which will transfer influence from the context of the design studio to the context of the people. Surprisingly, this approach was appreciated by architects and academic staff of local schools interviewed. The importance of social skills was also emphasized by an academic from the school of urban planning in Cairo who acknowledged that planners require significant skills, including social skills, to be able to confidently contribute to improving the local built environment in old Cairo [14.1.09]. In addition, current political and economical conditions reinforce the importance of the participation of the local people in taking decisions

⁷² Lawson, B. (2006) *How designers think: the design process demystified*. London: El-Sevier. p. 8.

⁷³ Wilson, M.A. (1996) *The socialization of Architectural Preferences*. Journal of Environmental Psychology. Vol.16, no.1. p. 33 - 44.

about reproducing their built environments⁷⁴. Albeit the Cairene experience of positive participation is still at an early stage, there are signs of the emergence of new situations in the near future where the planner will have to engage directly with wider representatives of the local community, and listen to their ideas as well as relating the institutions' thoughts and concepts to the people. This, moreover, implies that planners will need to develop the skills to create strong connections with the local people and gain their confidence in this process.

⁷⁴ While this stand is formally announced and supported by legislation that allows people to withhold any projects, in reality other laws allow the minister of housing to disregard any complaints or objections for the public benefit. For more details on such superficial policies and laws see, Sedky, *The Politics of area conservation in Cairo*.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION:

THE POLITICS OF REMAKING SPATIAL QUALITY

11.0. The future for remaking urban spaces Cairo

In his article *Getting over Architecture*, Tony Fry prompted his readers to think about what is left 'un-thought, or what is thought of in another way'¹. While planning and design is distinguished as a practice which plays a significant role in 'sustaining the unsustainable', it still challenges all the differences that generally exist in our total unawareness of future actions and related expectations. By looking at the ontological design of things and its complexity, Fry's thoughts guide us to look at what he termed a 'redirective practice': a practice that allows planners and designers to re-conceptualize their understanding and which does not stop at the moment their schemes are completed, but should culminate in their successful materialization².

It is becoming clear that remaking old districts in Cairo is gearing up to become a major challenge for commencing radical transformations in the coming decades. Although diverse types of interventions are necessary to extend the physical lifespan of these areas, it seems that their clearance and replacement became a prominent strategy in the Egyptian urban remaking programs. While this strategy's intention is to strengthen the spatial qualities of old districts, giving some consideration to appropriateness, it is as yet difficult to ascertain whether and how such strategies contribute to a sustainable remaking in the Egyptian context. Through the re-planning schemes, the account of remaking Bulaq Abul-Bulaq showed the negative implications of clearance and replacement decisions in comparison to other strategies adopted in other old districts in Egypt, such as the rehabilitation project of al-Darb al Ahmar in old Cairo undertaken by the Agha Khan Trust. Therefore, I intend in this conclusion to reflect on the previous chapters in order to achieve an answer to the research question raised at the beginning of the thesis.

Throughout the preceding chapters, analyses were made in recognition of the complexity of remaking the spatial qualities in Bulaq, how it is being perceived and what kind of concepts and processes are involved. Efforts to remake Bulaq were thus explained through three planning schemes drafted between 1966 and 2005. Notably, the hawari of old Bulaq suffered from the persistent preconception that their spatial qualities were a mere physical manifestation of the principles of Islamic planning traditions which formed its compact and irregular street pattern. These patterns, from the planners' perspective, had ceased to be relevant in contemporary discourses of urban planning practices. Furthermore, their contemporary extensions, which collectively form the whole district, suffered from problems of decline such as the deteriorated image of the historical sites, and the uncontrolled land – uses, which were among the most commonly cited reasons for drafting the schemes. The thesis, therefore, sketched out the process of remaking spatial qualities of Bulaq under four

¹ Fry, T. (2011) *Getting over Architecture: Thinking, Surmounting and Redirecting*. In: Doucet, I. and Janssens, N. (eds.) *Transdisciplinary Knowledge Production in Architecture and Urbanism, Towards Hybrid Modes of Inquiry*. Urban and Landscape Perspectives. 11. 15 - 32.

² *Ibid.*

main headings: the mechanism of remaking urban spaces in Cairo, the assortment of complex ambitions and visions which drive the remaking, the reliability of the planning institution and effective regulatory framework involved in this process, and finally the recognition of the residents' and planners' voices, in support of the argument for the validity of remaking in Cairo. This study maintains that the efforts to remake Bulaq have been blamed for the break-up of its people's values, practices, and consumption of the urban space, which are still considered influential factors behind the satisfactory achievement of remaking. Therefore, the scope of this research was defined as a response to the lack of current research concerning the failure or success of the planning institution to remake Bulaq whilst, during that process, ignoring the people's actual needs and everyday life practices.

Moreover, the previous discussion and the experience gathered from the investigation of the three schemes focused on the main reasons that drove improving the spatial qualities of Bulaq and explained how the district was perceived as a threat to the city's visual quality. My intention was to investigate the hidden politics behind the drafting of each scheme in terms of the political or economic state vision, and how these visions impacted the proposed schemes and modified spatial qualities at each period of time. Although the investigation showed a lack of effective implementation, the third scheme had some positive echoes, recorded through the residents and planners.

Throughout the thesis, I intended to provide an in-depth explanation of the remaking process in terms of describing the physical decline of Bulaq and the planning institution's reaction towards this decline. Also, the schemes' preparation and drafting was documented and analyzed step-by-step, underlining findings that led to the next stage of inquiry. These findings confirmed that attempts to remake Bulaq, as an inclusive practice in spatial and social terms, failed to tackle the real problems of the complex physical structure of the district, and neither did they satisfy the people. While the main priority of each scheme was purported to be improvement of the residents' quality of life, the changes made to spatial qualities revealed movement in other directions, whereby the people were ignored and relocated, while sweeping alterations were approved and wide areas were subject to demolition.

The thesis also emphasizes that old districts of Cairo materialized a comprehensive and historical construct of spatial qualities which were recreated and represented in the people's everyday socio-spatial associations. Thus, to create a positive atmosphere for remaking, planners and planning institutions need to understand the complex patterns of such cumulative qualities and how they evolved. Certainly, it is true that most of the area suffered from severe decay, but any attempt at remaking must respond to the context's needs. It is important to note that abilities of the professionals to work effectively in such contexts are restricted by legislation which, in most cases, is designed under a theme of one fits all which

proved inappropriate to such complicated contexts. Remaking the spatial qualities, thus, should embrace a collaborative social-spatial practice and knowledge, in which planning systems respond to the dynamics of local contexts and work with others to provide effective responses to daily needs.

This chapter intends to tie up the loose ends of Bulaq's remaking narrative by focusing on certain principles. Through the course of this study it became clear that the Bulaq project offered a diversity of cases and narratives that informs us about the hidden political agenda, as revealed, for example, in the transformation of the spatial settings of the river frontage zone during the end of 1970s, privatizing Ishash al-Tourguman section for high profit projects, and the people's resistance to amendments to several streets in Bulaq and abandoning their living spaces. While my investigation tended to be critical in terms of trying to unfold the untold accounts, yet there is little doubt that Bulaq is a vibrant and interesting place to explore in terms of its people's real struggle to survive in living environments in the face of the projects. Therefore, in this chapter, I intend to unravel these tangled ends. To this end, the conclusion is organized to interchange between three channels: the project, the institution, and the people.

The 'project' of remaking spatial qualities in Cairo

Amos Rapoport distinguished between a *designed* and *non-designed* space. In his view, all designed spaces are basically human-made, and design means making order based on a set of rules to reflect some ideal environment³. The rules which guide the production and reproduction of space are also constituted by factors of time, meaning and communication that support its intended regularity due to their inherited links to the people's culture. In general, while remaking contributes to a sustainable transformation in the built environment, and improving the spatial quality tends to improve the lived experience, in Egypt it belies a hidden belief that an entire transformation of the space must accrue. This ideology contrasts with Christopher Alexander's acknowledgement that transforming a space is explicated as the process of restructuring the defects of the city to make a complete and sufficient structure of its spaces which attends to its needs⁴. In this respect, while remaking sits better with the idea of repairing spaces: which assumes their restoration to their original undamaged condition, a different perspective is revealed in the efforts to remake Cairo's old urban spaces.

In most cases, remaking arguments that support the clearing of decayed districts follow two directions (or lines of thoughts); the first is that old districts have become problematic in terms of the obvious social problems and lack of basic living standards, which cannot be addressed unless the area is totally cleared. The second line acknowledges that the spatial

³ Rapoport, *Human Aspects of urban form*, p. 12.

⁴ Alexander, *The timeless way of building*, p. 485.

settings no longer support the city's global image. However, these arguments could only explain one side of the remaking in Egypt: which has become tangled with other political circumstances. Remaking as a process of modifying the physical defects of the living space is seen as re-planning the entire spatial framework, and includes the specific interventions that are required to keep pace with the changing situation of these areas, and enabling them to cope with current economic and social demands⁵. Notably, the failure to implement the two first schemes of Bulaq showed that the original functional structure and the spatial position of the district are essential basic elements of the problem's definition. Determining the quality of an existing urban structure could definitely provide the key to a proper social and economic performance, and this concept could be extended to consideration of the quality of its surrounding spaces, as exemplified by the case of remaking Roud al farag and Maspero. Therefore, the reproduction of urban space qualities involves restructuring the spatial and functional qualities rather than making limited amendments to the district's spatial qualities, although remaking goes beyond these aspects.

As remaking is intended to implement order, there needs to be adaptation of the rules which guide the organization of the space through both channels. While the 'project' tends to follow certain regulatory rules, the people, who share certain values and needs, have the right to apply their rules too. Obviously, different social groups vary in their spatial quality needs, and therefore remaking can be evaluated differently. In this context, it is worth noting that intentions of the 'project' could be discussed through the following aspects: first is that visions to improve the spatial quality of old districts have shifted through time. Ambitions to remake Bulaq have shifted from one scheme to the other although the problems were defined as pertaining to extreme deterioration and inhuman living conditions in its old sections. Visions of Bulaq's demolition varied from offering the poor people a healthy and clean living space, to creation of an economic base that supports the industrial reform, to the call to end Islamic activism, to expropriating the lands and properties for private investors to developing the district. All these visions are still far short of meeting the needs to improve the district or even the people's living conditions, and they mostly exclude the residents from any future chance to benefit from the remaking.

Second, the planning authority needs to recognize that remaking the district tends to destroy social and economic connections which have been constructed through time. The residents' interviews while showed how they materialize a particular understanding of quality, it also showed how their lives are linked to the district socially and economically and also how they managed to establish a satisfactory quality of life, even though the district suffered physical decline. Simply, they see the quality or the gawda of their living spaces as part of their social and economic accumulation in the form of an immediate consumable life asset. However, they are allowed limited access to better resources which already existed in

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 485- 486

the district, but a clean, healthy, and neat living area are sufficient needs for their survival. While different groups have different perceptions and preferences in terms of urban quality, its value not only depends on people's experiences, needs, and expectations, but it moves further to acknowledge how to materialize and practise such quality within our built environments to reach the desired gawda. It has been demonstrated that quality is a multi relational notion, and its achievement definitely is not only subject to the people's culture and behaviours, but is constituted by the planning authority's understanding of how to incorporate a new definition of quality within a space like Bulaq which already possesses its own unique deeply integrated qualities. Thus, the previous sections of this thesis explained that in Egypt there are two different realms for materializing, or 'making' a living space; one identified by the people, their activities, behaviour, and everyday life experience; and one identified by the re-makers of these urban spaces and their perceptions of how to achieve a good spatial quality. This trend was also associated with a sort of disorder which had occurred within the living standards since the limited implementation during the 1970s, for example. In traditional districts, living standards are defined to ensure safety, economy, and the efficient use of space. It was revealed that improving the qualities of Bulaq was accused of destroying these standards and forcing the people to depart without any proper compensation or housing alternatives [R12.1.09].

The Institution

Given the significance of the planning institution in driving the mechanism of planning and remaking projects, the role of the state and its planning institutions is to regulate the city; to stabilize its physical order; and to stand against its destruction. Lefebvre's call for the *right to the city* is about its appropriateness, and its capacity to produce new forms of meaning through its daily actions⁶, to defend what Kim Dovey called the *flows of desire*⁷. Such desires are formed as public or private interests which become a common base of interests that shape the future of any place. However, it is important to establish common ground that supports this machinery in providing an appropriate atmosphere in general for remaking. The ongoing decline of Bulaq, Maspero and similar places reveals elements of unreliability on the part of the planning institution in carrying out remaking projects. It reveals the failure in the planning institution's capacity and financial resources and a lack of investment in maintaining the basic infrastructure network and providing the basic services through the state and its local government units. There was a failure to promote effective participation of the local people in the decision making, which thereby denied them the right to determine their living spaces by assessing the impact of Bulaq projects on their everyday living activities. Such participation could play a crucial role in increasing the authorities' awareness of how to maintain the district in the long term, or could even support the remaking project in

⁶ Lefebvre, *The production of space*.

⁷ Dovey, *Fluid city*.

the short term through use of the knowledge gained to fully address the residents' needs. Gaining the residents' trust would have allowed a better interaction and co-operation environment for improving the district's spatial qualities. The obvious outcomes of these collective malfunctions are the evident rise of poverty and unemployment and, most relevant to this study, the increasing decline of the built environment's spatial qualities, as a result of which the physical patterns of the city have deteriorated and the survival of its ancient quarters has been threatened. On all levels, the institution has become overwhelmed by the severity of the problems and frustrated by their inability to cope with the undesirable physical symptoms of an increasing decline. At the same time, the planning legislative framework has been characterized by its rigidity and conflict, which led in many cases to violations.

For these reasons, the planning institution in Egypt seemed to abandon the idea of undertaking the remaking projects alone. Obviously, the institution cannot cope unaided with the increasing decline, due to its limited capital and resources, especially after a major disaster occurred in Cairo during 2010⁸. On the other hand, the complex bureaucratic regulatory planning system in Egypt set up by the government and professional planning authorities had become a great obstacle in the remaking process. The more urban planning regulations are approved, the more conflict situations appear for planners, and the less remaking implementation is achieved. While solving the problems of deterioration in Cairo and other major cities is considered a higher priority for the government and planning authority, the limited response has impeded the achievement of a rapid solution.

On the other hand, confusion in Egyptian planning legislation was apparent. The search for a possible way out revealed the need for a redefinition of the working structure of the institution and its tasks⁹. There is an apparent need to justify, control and formalize and improve the city's urban quality in general and its spatial quality in particular. However, these processes require a discrete and clear, unified legislative system to integrate coordinate and elaborate on aspects of the urban space, both physically and socially. One of the main threads that winds through the thesis is that certain visions of future spatial improvements remain unfulfilled desires, and bringing these to fruition needs to become a public and private area of interest. For Kim Dovey, *an opportunity often involves a breaking of rules; it is a new flow that creates exception to urban regulations*¹⁰, and in the language of planning and design, *exceptions do not prove the rule, rather it becomes a precedent for a new rule*. In that sense, private interest in transforming the spatial qualities of Bulaq, as in the river frontage and *al-Tourguman*, showed a broader desire for design quality, outside the remit of the strict regulatory laws. The circulars made a case for achieving spatial quality by applying

⁸ In *al-Douaykah*, one of Cairo popular slum areas faced a huge disaster when huge rocks fell over the entire area from *al-Muqatam* Mountain. While the higher authority was urged on various occasions to clear this area due to the expected risk and danger to the houses directly beneath the mountain, no positive actions were taken until after more than 500 people had died in this incident.

⁹ Soliman, A and De Soto, H. (2004) *A possible way out: formalizing housing informality in Egyptian cities*. University Press of America.

¹⁰ Dovey, *Fluid city*, p. 245

exceptional measurements for several buildings and structures. We started to see buildings with heights much more than the standard of 1.5 m of the street widths or the 36 meters meter level, and therefore, 'exceptional quality becomes the excuse for exceptional quantity'¹¹.

The People

Henri Lefebvre's central argument in *the Production of Space* was that space is not produced by architects, but that space is a social product. It is an outcome of a social process of interaction and therefore, it becomes shaped by the people not the architects¹². He claims that architecture and design become confused between three realms of perception; the lived, the perceived, and the conceived realm¹³. Certainly, for planners, remaking becomes a confusing task in terms of manipulating their mental ideas: which sometimes results in quality as it is perceived but not as it needs to be. Thus, spatial qualities are perceived by the experience of people and the use of space through the three realms. This space represents the needs of the social group for whom it is built and to whom it belongs. On the contrary, the *space of architects* illustrates the exclusive quality of planning which is limited to visual production of spaces¹⁴. This dilemma is evident in Bulaq's remaking project whereby implementing spatial order was based on what the state and the planning authority believed people would perceive in their living spaces or, as could be said, what they thought profitable for their desires and interests. Therefore, it becomes clear that a chance for creative planning in Bulaq becomes locked in the hands of a planning system that practises remaking through a system involving too much paper work and limited interaction with the real problem.

Although remaking aims to improve physical settings, it has crucial connections with the people's social conditions; however, it is not yet certain that in Bulaq both the project and the people would benefit from remaking simultaneously. Indeed, the media headlines contested the social renovation in these areas, but there was a lack of consideration as to how improving spatial qualities or even relocating the people would improve their poor circumstances or even improve their everyday living practices. In this sense, remaking procedures, whether planned for short or long-terms actions, tended to look at the social aspect in two ways: to re-house the people in other areas, claiming that they will be provided with a better quality of life and, at the same time, aiming to attract higher social classes. The other way is to move on with remaking projects under the umbrella of providing compensation, and to neglect that there are still people living in these areas. Thus, tackling the social problems in conjunction with the physical problems could add new dimensions of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 247

¹² Till, J. (1996) Architecture in space, time. In: Melhuish, C. (ed.) *Architecture and anthropology*. Academy Editions. London. 12 – 16. p. 12.

¹³ Lefebvre, *The production of space*, p. 38

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107

success to the project¹⁵. Therefore, improving the quality the built environment needs to move hand in hand with critical social analysis and surveys, along with the reinforcement of the remaking process through listening to the people.

In Bulaq, it was recognized that the residents, away from the Muhafzah's intervention, were able to create their own patterns and forms of spatial settings that suited their real needs. For this, they add new spaces and convert existing ones, in some cases, to meet the needs of an extended family. The quality of the living space is then in the hands of its users who are the main actors in public participation. The need for peoples' participation in shaping the spatial quality of their living spaces is shown to follow two lines; the first is the people's use of space, given that they provided with limited support for its maintenance. The governmental social housing constructed in Bulaq during the time of Nasser in the 1960s was of an inferior physical and visual standard. The residents relocated in these houses acknowledged that their social needs were violated by the proximity of the straight rows of houses, which led them to neglect their maintenance for years.

Second is the problem that the people's cultural habits led them to construct their living environment according to their original rural habits, for example, closing a balcony, or extending a living space....etc to obtain privacy. Similar to the rural pattern in their original villages, the outcome was a disordered physical mix of street widths, building heights, uncontrolled land use activity, and limited access to space. Saying that, it is clear that the residents are capable of achieving flexible spatial qualities in their built environment; however, this flexibility did not meet the planning institution's standards.

11.1. Synopsis

Investigating the history of making Cairo between 1800 -1930 in chapter two revealed that its establishment constituted making an urban quality of space evident since the *khedives* attempts to modernize the city. This review emphasized that until the early 20th century, planning relied heavily on two approaches for improving the spatial quality: regulating the traditional hawari and reorganizing the land uses. The core argument was that planning practices in Cairo used to be limited on theoretical grounds and tended to follow prescriptive solutions for other urban contexts. It was clear that the Public Works failed to define the necessary conditions and guidelines for planning practices to achieve the proper quality in Bulaq's urban spaces. Such conditions and guidelines should present a clear vision of what spatial quality means and how it could be defined in the context of old historical districts, such as Bulaq in particular.

¹⁵ On this point I am not saying that this lack is found in all remaking projects around the world, but at least in most cases found in Cairo. See Ghannam, *Remaking The Modern*.

On the other hand, understanding of quality was confused by the influence of the ideology of people in power. It would be misleading to consider that this situation was only applicable to nineteenth or early twentieth century modernists. Most planning institutions which had been established from the mid twentieth century echoed a sort of confusion between modernity and quality. Urban quality, as perceived by Egyptian planners and decision makers, has always been puzzling in terms of what constitutes a modern city, and making modern images of spaces. In that respect, all regulatory attempts remained individual initiatives that aimed to achieve quality in its spatial aspects without defining the best desired quality in itself or what constitutes quality.

Chapter three provided an in-depth look at the notion of spatial quality, which was described in Amos Rapoport's *Study of Spatial Quality* as incorporating a variety of meanings, which confuse more than they reveal. For this purpose, I intended to add practicality to this approach to spatial quality through two crucial disciplines: design and anthropology. Kevin Lynch's notion of *a city with a good fit* was found insufficient to determine the multidimensional nature of spatial quality as described by Rapoport. On the other hand, Pierre Bourdieu's perception that spatial quality is constituted within the habitus of the inhabitants had closed the loop: consideration of people's everyday practice which constituted the structure of the spatial and temporal settings of their living spaces. This multi-disciplinary understanding becomes grounded in the socio-cultural practice of the users, the physical attributes of outdoor environments, and the mix of land use and associated distribution of activities and economies within certain urban areas.

Chapter four explained the value of reviewing historical attempts at remaking wherein the significance lies in a structural individuality generally uncommon in Egypt. While the issue of spatial quality in Bulaq continues to form the real context of representing the identity of the city, it is revealed that between the projected lines of the Bulaq schemes, there is a meaning of disorder, fragmentation, and disintegration. The benefit derived from this history was not a case of repetition; rather, it constituted a framework for the understating of a comprehensive historical paradigm that allows the present attitudes to be positioned within the scope of the remaking framework.

A critical investigation was held in chapters' five to seven of the account of remaking Bulaq during 1966, 1978, and 2005. It is worth noting that it is the first time a diversity of resources and information has been used to explain the remaking aspects and their consequences for spatial organization. Basically, it is a unique insider's view of the planning process and system in Egypt, which takes into account detailed meetings minutes, correspondence, and conflicts as well as agreements between different departments (chapter 7). To this end, recent historians' accounts, newspapers and archival documents from the Cairo Archive Centre and the Muhafzah, provided precious information and diverse visual materials. This also supported the researcher in reading between the lines, to unravel

the account of remaking in Cairo, its untold intentions and strategic visions, whilst it was invaluable in filling in narrative gaps. Reviewing the newspapers, for example, showed how each scheme was publicized to the public, and helped to disclose the rationale behind each scheme's spatial order.

It was explained in chapter five how the political instability and the call for establishing an economical development base in Egypt put the city's planning improvements at the back of the line. Thus, the street alignment scheme drafted for Bulaq offered inconvenient solutions, mainly offering radical solutions for problems of industrialization. However it failed to show clear visions of its feasibility. Chapter six used the same method and a diverse range of resources to investigate the remaking procedures. It explained how Bulaq, in terms of its location and poor spatial qualities, was perceived by the state and the planning institution, which augmented our knowledge about the intended organization of the district's spaces. It explained that the government was officially attempting to destroy Bulaq's history as none of the official documents considered, or even referred to its predictable survival. Chapter seven, however, investigated the contemporary scheme of 2005 within its theoretical and architectural context. Further investigative tools were used, such as personal interviews, visual observation, discussions and surveys. It was obvious that the contemporary scheme aroused frustration among the residents with regard to the gap between the contents of plan and the city realities and the failure to address their needs or to involve them in decision making.

Chapter eight discussed the importance of the planning institution's role in achieving good spatial quality for places. This not only requires the institution's commitment to carry out schemes to create liveable environments, but also it calls for stabilizing, reliable planning institutions as main planning bodies in any locality, city or region. I argued that although crucial progress towards the establishment of an appropriate planning institution in Egypt was achieved, there was still a lack of full ideological understanding of its role regarding remaking the city's spatial qualities. I intend to explain how the planning institutions, in responding to problems of urban deterioration and lack of services, were driven by the desire to beautify the city. Despite the changing institutional structures, shifting visions, policies and attitudes towards the spatial remaking, the institution's consistent ideology of remaking based on its ambitions of applying spatial order was noted. The institution's attempts to carry out top-down planning, and to regularize the deteriorated patterns of districts such as Bulaq reflected a wider view of making physical order in isolation from any social or cultural concerns. There was a persistent reshaping of the image, with minimum effort to tackle daily problems. It showed that dealing with existing problems of deterioration was carried out according to political and economical priorities rather than the deep needs of the people; and the subsequent conflict of goals between the bureaucracy and the citizens had never ended.

In Chapter nine, I argued that the failure or success to implement locally-determined spatial quality in Bulaq was determined by the effective implementation of the legislative framework and its stability. Discussions were developed to explore the aspects of planning control of different planning laws, their application, and their deficiencies; supported by evidence from Bulaq and other Cairene districts. This discussion supported the thesis in gaining broader understanding of the implications of relevant planning legislation. It was detected that shortcomings of the urban planning and building code regulations have become apparent through the current contradiction with the set of Laws that contribute to the spatial quality of the built environment. For example, it was specifically argued that over time the relationship between the actual existence of an urban street and the various pieces of planning legislation or Building code is lost. This means that when an area is subject to improvement or development prepositions, unified implementation is very difficult to achieve. So, due to the slow implementation of improvements combined with the frequent amendments to particular clauses of the applicable law, it turned out that each individual section, or set of sections, of the same area or district had become subject to different applications of the same law.

Chapter ten's deeper investigation of remaking Bulaq entailed looking at the process from an additional angle that integrates three effective realms; the physical domain (Chapters four to seven), the political domain (Chapter eight and nine), and the social domain (Chapter ten). In Egypt, these domains had structured the specific conception of remaking practices, the spatial organization, and the political system in Bulaq. Thus, it was seen to be advisable to explain the politics of remaking spaces from different perspectives: the stakeholders' and the planners' voices. The stakeholders' response to the idea of remaking Bulaq enhanced our understanding of local conflict of interest among players in the scene and among the above three domains which were associated by legislation that controlled their daily lives. The chapter's significance lies in the different views of each group. Interviews showed that the new proposed spatial order had broken up, and that social relationships and daily practices, which had always been situated and defined with reference to certain spaces, had fallen away from De Certeau's perceptions of spaces for daily life activities. Planners, on the other hand, tend to look at Bulaq as a precious place, in which remaking should be in terms of its potential as a site for future investment projects, with power politics and economic viability at the centre of the planning perception.

The chapter investigated the politics of remaking Bulaq by considering the accounts of each of the actors. Evidently, the people's accounts explained how the state and its institutions used to manipulate the residents of Bulaq in order to get its unclear, hidden agenda implemented. The residents, on the other hand, were helpless and devised their own manipulation of state laws to get their needs addressed. The Egyptian authority, in fact, paid little attention to the people's voices and complaints, while they claimed the formal adoption of participatory approaches in planning policies. The state is vociferous in stating

the need for the involvement of local residents in any agenda for remaking spatial qualities of old districts. On this basis, the first step in achieving spatial quality is to allow the people further control of their living spaces. However, in practice, there is limited if any involvement of local residents in the decision making process.

11.2 Contribution and future research

11.2.1 Revealing remaking in Cairo

The account of remaking Bulaq's spatial qualities tends to be an investigation linking multi disciplines and discourse under one subject. In many aspects, it is linked to the discourse of urban history in Cairo in terms of exploring the district's historical establishment. The only comprehensive investigations have been the critical discussions by Nelly Hanna in her seminal book *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*, which traced the district's foundation and development between the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the very few scholars to subsequently attempt critical analysis was Jean-Luc Arnaud in his book *Le Caire: Mies en place d'une ville modern 1867-1907*, which comprehensively looked at the condition of the spatial quality in Cairo during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Although Hanna and others have done progressive work in this context, there has been little study of Bulaq's urban character and problematic issues in the recent literature since the beginning of Muhammad Ali's rule, despite its centrality to the planning practices in Cairo.¹⁶ A single attempt was recorded by M. Volait to document the liberal attempts at town planning in Cairo by Egyptian planners¹⁷. It is important to note that a significant publication by Sabry Mahboub, published in the Journal of the Town Planning Institute in 1934/35, had offered a historical account of remaking Bulaq: a significant insight into this early project of modern planning in Egypt, which has not yet been published or discussed in any other writings¹⁸.

The thesis's main focus was to investigate the recent history and contemporary situation of Bulaq from Nasser's rule through to recent days. Study of the recent urban transformation of Bulaq seems to be lacking in the discourse of urban literature. Sahar Fahmy examined the possible role of the newly constructed projects (towers) in the river frontage zone as a catalyst for development by highlighting physical and non physical considerations and consequences before and after completion of a new project. However, her investigation did not contribute to the subject of urban morphology and did not consider the comprehensive consequences of development plans or the urban environment remaking, especially to the

¹⁶ Other scholars focused on particular historical monuments in the district. Concepcion Anorve-Tschirgi studied *Sinan Pasha and Mustafa Shurbagy Mirza* mosques throughout the reflection of these buildings on Bulaq's socio-economic aspects between 1571 and 1698. Also, the study of Khaled Asfour, *The Domestication of Knowledge: Cairo at the Turn of the Century*, which provided detailed case study relevant to the investigation of remaking some aspects of spatial quality in *al- Helmiyya* district which went through a process of redefining its street spaces.

¹⁷ Volait, *Town planning schemes in Cairo*.

¹⁸ It is important to note that Volait's article referred to the scheme in general terms, but she did not explain the scheme in detail.

more challenging inner areas. Khaled Adham's work studied space transformation as a wider cultural critique of modernity in al-Sayyida Zeinab, another old district in Cairo. His study focused on the politics of making modern spaces in Egypt through cultural and social implications, and away from either the planning practices or the planners' control. While the work of both Fahmy and Adham added new knowledge in their fields, it remain limited in terms of explaining the broader and comprehensive planning visions in urban contexts, either in history or in the contemporary time. This thesis, however, looks at the overarching policies, institutions and attitudes involved in the remaking of Bulaq, their problems and consequences, their strengths and weaknesses, and achievements in remaking the spatial quality. Overall, none provided critical accounts of what constitute a satisfactory spatial quality in old districts of Cairo, how they deteriorated, how their physical quality was represented, and whether there were any remaking intentions or not.

Any responses to the above questions will be ineffective, unless they are explained through a critical reading of the conditions, actions and real circumstances that shaped and formed the remaking discourse to introduce a *life story* that supplies important justifications of mysterious subjects¹⁹. For this, the thesis intended to deliver an inclusive interpretation and analysis of the story of space in Cairo. While the history of Bulaq in itself had been a rich subject for scholars and many writers, contemporary accounts have been very limited. Although other studies have covered the subjects of renewal, rehabilitation, and upgrading the built environment, in most cases they tend to be less critical, more descriptive, and wider in scope. Therefore, the originality of this thesis lies in the in-depth and detailed account which relied on original resources and investigation of materials such as meeting minutes, newspaper articles, interviews, and original documents to inform the remaking narrative.

Relying on such vivid resources has supported the thesis in offering a different approach to describing remaking in Egypt; they revealed the complexity, ambiguity, and unanswered questions that could not be simply found in a book, or an article, or could not be revealed in a map. Throughout Chapters five to seven, in most aspects, these resources helped to justify the state's hidden visions for remaking Bulaq, and consequently these visions were linked to the approved decisions that drove the drafting of the plans. It was also revealed that most aspects of transforming Bulaq's spatial qualities were driven by such visions. In fact, the differences that distinguished each scheme from the other were impacted by the changing ambitions behind each scheme. For example, widening some streets to 50 meters was differently justified in each scheme based on the political regime's strategies for improving the district's qualities. Also, the driving forces behind approval or prohibition of certain land use activities in the district were explained. Therefore, the investigation reveals that there were two different agendas to remake Bulaq: one acknowledged by the state and planning authority, which listed amending certain qualities for streets, building heights and

¹⁹ Kostof, S. and Castillo, G. (1995) *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

land uses, and another one for the residents which listed other qualities such as safety, security, and economy, as they explained in the interviews. Therefore, the district's spatial qualities were remade to fulfil a political not a social agenda.

The study paid further attention to issues that impact the planning process in general, and specifically the remaking, in terms of the reliability of the planning institution and the effectiveness of the legislative planning system in Egypt. Chapter eight reported that the planning institution's involvement in clearance, upgrading and renewal projects involved overlapping tasks and responsibilities in an extremely complex bureaucratic conflict which led to a lack of effective spatial quality implementation. Indeed, planning policies in Egypt were designed at the central level of authority without considering the people's priorities. Therefore, practice was bound to be inappropriate in terms of management and guidance. Building permits to construct a chain of projects in the riverfront zone were aimed to encourage touristic investment, regardless of the context, conditions or land-uses. Surprisingly, *Ishash al-Tourguman* scheme was the only trial by the planning institution to draft an urban design scheme; the project drawings of sections and elevations confirm how far the planning institution's ambitions went to remake Bulaq and the image of spatial quality it imitated. In this sense, the connection between remaking and an effective design control and regulatory framework cannot be missed. It was important to know how the planning institution justified these schemes in terms of their legal implementation, and following the planning laws and legislations. In this regard, several studies, such as Hisham Khairy's and Tarek el Sheikh's investigations, were considered to be restricted to a limited period of time or to link the laws with some projects but in broader terms. To support the thesis' main argument, it was crucial to investigate the planning laws' implication in their specific contexts to understand how the planning laws themselves, which are meant to be constructive in terms of appropriateness for application, had lacked effectiveness, and threw the practice into deep confusion [15.1.09].

This research provides an example of an integrated research methodology which could be used to tie up the fragments of the remaking account through employing complementary research disciplines which consider people's interactions. While research involved in planning certainly relied on using visual materials such as maps and supplementary drawings to verify the quality of the built environment, the words of the residents and creators could not be dismissed. In this respect, qualitative methods play a role in filling the gap, mostly relying on original accounts to reveal other sides of the story²⁰. In Egypt, positive responses to the valuable role of community participation and integrated up-to-date social investigations are attempted. The role of an interdisciplinary, relevant approach is crucial. The research, thus, conducted various unstructured interviews with residents, planners and

²⁰ See for example: Mona Abaza's *Changing consumer cultures of modern Egypt*; Diane Singerman's *Avenues of participation*; and Homa Hoodfar's *Between marriage and the market*; Farha Ghannam's *Remaking the Modern*

officials during the summer of 2008-09 which were preciously significant to the current investigation. These sources, on the other hand, helped to reveal the rationale behind the actual desires for implementing spatial order. Accounts of the people's daily struggle to accommodate their everyday life practices from one side, and their struggle to save their living spaces from the other side, allowed for inside and live insights into the remaking procedures. This was also evident when I witnessed and recorded al-Nahda residents' demonstrations in front of the Muhafzah, and was able to gain some stories about the remaking intentions, which allowed me to tackle and verify these issues with some officials during interviews. Chapter seven, for example, reported that the announcement of 2005 scheme was disappointing to residents in Bulaq as their reactions implied that they were not, contrary to the government's propaganda, in favour of the current deteriorating conditions, rather, they held high expectations that the new plan would improve their living conditions, while others appreciated the temporary freeze on issuing building permits as it would avoid the immediate evacuation of poor citizens. It is strongly believed that this style of investigation would be of value in other contexts where real and well-documented accounts are lacking: in different parts of Egypt.

11.2.2 Recommendations for future research

While the current study has focused on one particular old district, namely Bulaq, other studies could pursue investigations in alternative districts in Cairo such as al-Gamaliyya, Shubra. Apparently, the rich context of urban spaces in old districts of Cairo offers many topics, as yet unstudied, that would benefit from thorough exploration, and provide a fruitful area for future research. For example, some research, such as the study carried out by Yasser Elsheshtawy on the social significance of the space of al-Sultan Hassan mosque, has already attempted to explain the social construct of urban spaces in Cairo. Notably, no other study has followed the spatial or morphological transformation from medieval through to contemporary forms²¹. Other related investigations could potentially be undertaken on the development of surrounding streets, activities or physical transformation.

Similar investigations of the production and reproduction of urban spaces could be extended to include downtown Cairo (west al-Balad) which is one of the city's rich contexts, and which experienced similar transformation and development. Such studies would serve to inform policymakers' decisions and future regulations for regularizing urban spaces, not only in Cairo, but across Egypt as a whole. Also, ancient urban areas located in old Arab cities such as Baghdad and Damascus could provide equally rich contexts and processes for investigation and analysis. Despite the differences in theoretical, social, and cultural

²¹ Elsheshtawy, Y. (2006) Urban transformations: Social control at al Rifa'l mosque and al Sultan Hassan square. In: Singerman, D. and Amar, P. (eds.) *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

contexts, similar investigations of historic cities in Europe, such as Paris and London, should not be precluded.

In addition, the researcher recommends an alternative route of investigation through considering the environmental impacts of such planning schemes on the inner/ outer urban spaces of old districts of Cairo with their narrow and tight alleys as this could be an important field of study in gaining greater knowledge of the environmental consequences on the local people.

11. 3. Moving Forward: The practice and the profession

The clear conflicts embedded in defining good quality for planners and architects to achieve a proper practice excellence expressed that there is no exact style or quality for all practices, but there is a reactionary reigning *taste*. This language contributes to generating a *dialogic space* for the project, the institution and the people to engage in the decision making process, thereby it becomes the steam engine for spatial quality. This space is the context in which hopes, fears, ideas, and frustration about a place and the people who live there are discussed through knowledge and insights into needs. The withdrawal of a single actor from this dialogue would signal the failure of what should be a fair and democratic process²².

Therefore, the role of the planning profession in the production of a *transformative Participation* and the construction of desires becomes crucial. Visions to eliminate the entire street network of Bulaq, the special amendments made for Cairo plaza, changing the deep rooted land uses turned out to be obstacles to the creation of a *dialogic space* for this participation. While the physical and social outcomes are different in each case, it shows that planning does not stop at the line of designing or drafting plans, but its influence infuses the newly created space and its users. In order for this to happen, planners need to accept changes, and in particular to acknowledge that issues raised by the users are not a *threat but an opportunity, leading to a more empowering form of architecture*²³.

The challenge of remaking the city arises from shifting our perceptions about the city. In this sense, the vitality of the city and its urban life should be anticipated. Alexander's insight in *A city is not a tree* is that if the city is thought of as a *tree-like* structure, then vitality will vanish. Similar lessons, parallel to those of Jacobs, Alexander, and Rapport, anticipate that rethinking the city will require a careful shift in planning and design thinking from the focus on the formal qualities of the object to a focus on field relations, which consist of strategies, forces, vision, and action patterns, to create flexible relations and fluid boundaries to respond to higher levels of urban quality complexity. In chapter three, I attempted to set a

²²Sedky, A. (2005) *The politics of area conservation in Cairo*. International Journal of Heritage Studies. 11:2. p. 113 -130.

²³Till, J., et al (2005) *The Negotiation of Hope*. In: *Architecture and Participation*. Taylor & Francis.

framework for consideration of spatial quality. I acknowledged that spatial quality is only revealed through our visual and physical perception of our living spaces; the set of everyday life actions; and our desires that shape the new narratives and meanings to these spaces.

While spatial quality is infinite, and some may claim it is not sufficient to only consider these aspects, I argue that each element holds more scope of achieving a positive urban environment if considered as an overall tool for rethinking the city and its complex diversity: or a way to divert our attention to a better quality of the built environment. These frameworks were not meant to exclude others, and they could individually fit particular contexts. But remaking Bulaq called for integration of all of them and it was shown that these ingredients fitted well in this context. While theoretical writings call for more principles for making successful urban environments: density, amenity, variety, safety and others, which seem to have become embedded in the practice, it would be unfeasible to utilize them all. But informed selection of aspects which really respond to the context's needs could prove to be helpful in turning plan images into reality.

However, appropriate selection of spatial qualities does not hold any guarantees of success. For example, while *accessibility* is defined as an ingredient of spatial quality, Bulaq's river frontage transformation turned out to have restricted access whereby people and traffic were prohibited. Amendment of the bordering streets created spatially closed and privatized spaces, with higher levels of *surplus capital*²⁴, and *consumer oriented projects*²⁵. Thus, the three investigated schemes were intended to explain that new meanings, images, stories, and places are on the way to replacing the district's previous history, whereas accounts of the proposed diagonal street in plan '2020', the river frontage special amendments, al-Tourguman clearance, the political instability and Infitah implications, and the Local's People Committee involvement had all added crucial aspects to this action. Therefore, the significance of this study lies in discovering how the city can achieve the proper remaking of its spatial qualities. Although remaking Bulaq is shown to be something of a special case due to its authenticity, and complex problems, I would suggest several crucial lines of responding to this question.

First, any response to the actual objectives of remaking the city needs to integrate the physical and social aspects of urban space: as people need room to determine, participate, and act upon making their built environments, a participation which satisfies the socio-cultural and economic needs of users. Thus, changes in the attitudes and values of all the remaking actors should take place, in order to allow their proper involvement in realistic reform of the institutions attitudes and planning legislation. This is not to say that participation is absent in Egypt, but it is a fact that this subject is neglected when remaking is

²⁴ Harvey, D. (2007) The Freedom of the city. In: Swenarton, M. (ed), *The Politics of Place Making*. Routledge.

²⁵ Abaza, M (2001) *Shopping Malls, Consumer culture and the Reshaping of Public space in Egypt*. Theory Culture & Society. 18:5. 97 – 122.

in the hands of the state planning institutions²⁶. Second is learning from the past. This could be handled by focusing on valuable elements of the past that emphasize the provision of historical and contextual attributes, social, economic, and cultural imperatives. In this sense, remaking places needs to move out of its fixed and repetitive templates, to become *all that is solid melts into air*. The research showed that the visions, the schemes, the planning institution, the planning legislations, and the people need to be changed; and need flexibility to adapt to this change. However, while our imaginings tend to be ideal, our authenticity needs to be real. Third is that that planning ambitions are endless visions which necessitate becoming more open to alternative approaches in planning and design. This openness also requires understanding and adopting other meanings and ideologies of remaking spaces away from the traditional fixed conceptions of demolition and replacement, and also away from imitating closed or private spaces.

Finally, without commitment and goodwill of the institution and the people, any action taken would be ineffective in improving the built environment. There is a huge lack of transparency from both sides, which is due, I argue, to the lack of a clear and unambiguous legal framework or the power to monitor and implement the relevant laws. There must also be a willingness to restructure the relationships between all participants in the remaking process. The planning institutions' role is usually meant to be one of coordination and facilitation rather than forcing and intervening. Also, the professionals' contribution is seen as essential in development of a proper mechanism in terms of a better understanding of the people's needs, their values, and the culture, wishes and requirements. Therefore, planning and design remains a profession that is full of urban problems, driven by the hope of creating superior products. Today, the profession is becoming embroiled in highly sophisticated situations which add further tasks to its already burdensome mission. Therefore, good remaking of spatial qualities challenges the community to generate new expectations in future remaking projects. In this respect, it could be said that urban planning and design create new spatial meanings and values in terms of generating new spatial qualities and new spaces for their users.

²⁶ In Egypt, NGO's and community based organizations play a crucial role in mediating between people and the state, since state institutions are the only planning institution capable of handling such large scale projects.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

University Research Ethics Application Form

University Research Ethics Application Form For Staff and Postgraduate Researchers

This form has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee ('U-REC')

Complete this form if you are a member of staff or a postgraduate research student who plans to undertake a research project which will not involve the NHS but which will involve people participating in research either directly (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and/or indirectly (e.g. people permitting access to data and/or tissue).

or

Complete this form if you plan to submit a 'generic' research ethics application (i.e. an application that will cover several sufficiently similar research projects). Information on the 'generic' route is at: www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/gov_ethics_grp/ethics/er/ers.html

Documents to enclose with this form, where appropriate:

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by an Information Sheet/Covering Letter/Written Script which informs the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form.

Further guidance on how to apply is at:
www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/gov_ethics_grp/ethics/form.html

Guidance on the three ethics review procedures that together comprise the University's Ethics Review System (i.e. on the University's procedure, the NHS procedure, the Alternative procedure) is at: www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/gov_ethics_grp/ethics/er/ers.html

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate, check that your name, the title of your research project and the date is contained in the footer of each page and email it to the Ethics Administrator of your academic department. Please note that the original signed and dated version of 'Part B' of the application form should also be provided to the Ethics Administrator in hard copy.

University Research Ethics Application Form

Cover Sheet

<p>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a method to inform prospective participants about the project (e.g. 'Information Sheet' / 'Covering Letter' / 'Pre-Written Script'):</p>	
<p>Is relevant: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>Is <u>not</u> relevant:</p>
<p>(if relevant then this should be enclosed)</p>	

<p>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a 'Consent Form':</p>	
<p>Is relevant: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>Is <u>not</u> relevant:</p>
<p>(if relevant then this should be enclosed)</p>	

<p>Is this is a 'generic' application (i.e. does it cover more than project that is sufficiently similar)?</p>	
<p>Yes:</p>	<p>No: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>
<p></p>	

Date: 19-05-2009
Name of applicant: Gehan Selim
Research project title: The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo: Bulaq Abul Ela Planning Schemes and Implementation

University Research Ethics Application Form

Part A

A1. Title of Research Project:

The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo
Bulaq Abul Ela Planning Schemes and Implementation

A2. Contact person (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised-postgraduate researcher projects):

Title: Mrs First Name/Initials: Gehan Last Name: Selim
Post: Postgraduate student Department: School of Architecture
Email: g.selim@sheffield.ac.uk Telephone: 01142220335

A2.1. Is this a postgraduate researcher project? Yes

If yes, please provide the Supervisor's contact details:

Dr. Renata Tyszczyk, Floor 14, Tel: 0114 2220313
Prof. Peter Blundell Jones, Floor 14, Tel: 0114 2220302

A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

A3. Proposed Project Duration:

Start date:

End date:

A4. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

<input type="checkbox"/>	involves testing a medicinal product *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves investigating a medical device *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves additional radiation above that required for clinical care *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves taking new samples of human biological material (e.g. blood, tissue) *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves children or young people aged under 18 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves using samples of human biological material collected before for another purpose
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	involves only anonymised or aggregated data
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
<input type="checkbox"/>	has the primary aim of being educational (e.g. student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, other than an MD or PhD)

* If you have marked boxes marked * then you also need to obtain confirmation that appropriate University insurance is in place. The procedure for doing so is entirely by email. Please send an email addressed to insurance@shef.ac.uk and request a copy of the 'Clinical Trial Insurance Application Form'.

University Research Ethics Application Form

- A5. Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?**
(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person)

The research traces the politics of remaking urban places in Cairo. Its aim is to examine the process of approving and implementing the state's physical planning visions for reshaping the built-scape of Cairo. In particular, it intends to provide a narrative of reshaping a historical industrial district, namely, Bulaq Abul Ela. Stories and narratives of the Bulaqi people will offer the study a unique account. Interviews will support the study to extract unknown stories of the re-planning procedures and the people's everyday struggle which had been disrupted by private developers and policymakers' actions. They critically tackled their relations with higher authorities of the state regarding their ownership of the properties and compensation actions. The interviews will have a non structured format which will offer more flexibility and dialogic layout to allow both the researcher and respondent to explore other areas which could support the study wherever suitable (Political, social, economical...). However, such dialogues are biased with personal opinions and one-sided accounts. However, they rather represent a level of knowledge which cannot be offered by documents and or maps.

- A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?**

Nothing harmful, however, participants will be free to consider what type of information they want to provide and they are offered to end the interview whenever they ask.

- A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed? (especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises)**

The traditional nature of the district and its residents, this requires the researcher to ask a male assistant to assist me and to commence the interview with a couple of questions followed by the researcher intervention in the conversation. This approach will provide the interview context a better trusted and comfortable atmosphere and more safety for the researcher. To maintain safety, I will arrange some precautions such as confirming my interviews timings and locations with my assistant, and assuring that I have a reasonable communication tool in case of emergency such a mobile or pager.

- A8. How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?**

Interviews will be held with two groups:

- a. Planners in the Bulaq Municipal section are crucial participants to understand the fundamentals and perception of the remaking, particularly in relation to broader actions of implementing physical modernity in Cairo.
- b. Residents of Bulaq will offer the study a realistic picture of the reshaping process and its implementation to represent individual voices of the Bulaqi people and reactions towards and against the re-making project, and how are they currently forced to negotiate with the developers to sell their lands and homes in order to evacuate the district.

To avoid any confusion with the residents, I have to explain at the beginning that I am a researcher, not a lawyer or governmental representative in order to offer the interviews more flexibility and openness. Once this point is clarified, they can start expressing their individual and collective accounts about the district. Planners will be approached at their workplaces with prior approval to participate in the interviews. The criteria used in electing the sample will be the direct involvement in drafting or approving policies for re-making the district, to enable them to provide useful contribution to support the collected data.

- A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?**

YES NO

If informed consent or consent is not to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at: www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/gov_ethics_grp/ethics/er/guidance.html

**A9.1. This question is only applicable if you are planning to obtain informed consent:
How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):**

The researcher will illustrate the Consent form to all participants prior to the interview. For the local residents, the content of the form will be verbally explained in order to get approved and signed (an Arabic translated copy will be provided)

Residents' forms: The form will be filled and coded by the researcher on site of the interview. Governmental officials and planners forms: written and signed consents will be obtained by state officials and local planners, in addition, interviews will be coded.

All interviewee identities will be kept anonymous except if the interviewee permits and agrees to be known through his/ her personal signature on the consent form. They will all be asked to read the interview scripts, in case they were used in thesis, before the submission date.

A10. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

The forms will be coded and kept at the researcher's personal office. No Subject interviewee will be identified unless the researcher gets his/ her personal signature on this consent form. All written notes/tapes or Videos and tapes will be destroyed one year after the thesis submission

A11. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided)

YES NO

A12. Will the research involve the production of recorded media such as audio and/or video recordings?

YES NO

**A12.1. This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded media:
How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?**

Interviewees will be asked before recording for their signature for allowing recorded media. It will be clearly mentioned that these records are restricted to the academic use only and will not be used for public media, official newspapers or illegal actions.

Guidance fact-sheets on 'Safety and Well-Being', on 'Consent' and on 'Anonymity, Confidentiality and Data Protection' are at:
www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/gov_ethics_grp/ethics/factsheets.html

These three fact-sheets have been updated in the light of new findings from three Social Research Association-funded research projects, which were published in 2008, that focused on the perspective of participants regarding their experience as participants.

University Research Ethics Application Form

Part B – The Signed Declaration

Title of Research Project: The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo
Bulaq Abul Ela Planning Schemes and Implementation

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good Research Practice Standards*' and the '*Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue*' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In signing this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:

- The form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.
- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.
- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
- Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
- I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my academic department's Ethics Administrator in the first instance).
- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).
- I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
- If this is an application for a 'generic' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.

Name of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a postgraduate researcher project):

Dr. Renata Tyszczyk

If this is a postgraduate researcher project insert the student's name here:

Gehan Selim

Signature of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):

Date: 19-05-2009

Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to the Ethics Administrator (also enclose, if relevant, other documents).

Consent Information Sheet

Residents Information Sheet

Research Project Title: The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo: Bulaq Abul Ela

You are being invited to take part in a research project at the University of Sheffield. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Aim of the Interviews

Contemporary urban conditions had reached high rates of informality, poverty and depressed housing conditions forming uniquely separate parts and witnessed the rise of slum areas in many old quarters in Cairo. Stories of local witnesses on these changes are essential to this study. It is important to record how residents have been affected by the clearing and relocating them in order to redevelop the district, how the state negotiated the resident's lives and workplaces, and what is the impact on their daily lives. It is also important to know whether the residents are with or against such practices and how. The aim of these interviews is to gather information from local residents by recording their personal stories and how they have been affected by the remaking process. The discussion will be targeted to know the hidden accounts of individuals, how they acted towards the implementation of the new schemes and why they didn't accept the state's offers to clear their houses.

This interview is part of a PhD study I am undertaking at the University of Sheffield. The interview seeks to gather information about the state practices towards renewing the district of Bulaq and attitudes of the local residents towards implementing these policies. The project has received University ethical approval and its duration time is three years (to be completed July 2010).

Interview Methods

All Interviews will be recorded, by tape/video recording / or written notes depending on the obtained consent. The recorded materials/ transcripts will be stored securely at the research supervisor's office. Participants will be anonymous unless approved verbally. In case of the participant approves this, he/ she can read the researcher's version of the interview before submitting it the Graduate research office at the University of Sheffield.

Contact Information

Participants are welcomed to contact the researcher for any questions at the following contact details
Telephone: 00(44)-2220335
e-mail: g.selim@sheffield.ac.uk.

Consent Information Sheet

Officials and Planners Information Sheet

Research Project Title: The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo: Bulaq Abul Ela

You are being invited to take part in a research project at the University of Sheffield, School of Architecture. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading

Aim of the Interviews

Historical and traditional old quarters shaped the urban heart of old Islamic Cairo and served as principal shapers of its traditional urban patterns. Such areas have grown and changed over the centuries, and so have their urban patterns. The interviews are targeted to traces the process of remaking urban places in Cairo and the process of approving and implementing the state's physical planning visions for reshaping the builtscapes of Cairo. Bulaq Abul Ela, In particular, is a suitable evidence of such practises. The state's tendency to redevelop the district through approving several planning schemes will definitely hold its visions and strategies for implementing this development. I tend to understand the Governorate's policies which have guided the visions to renew and modernize this district.

This interview is part of a PhD study I am undertaking at the University of Sheffield. The interview seeks to gather information about the spatial planning practices towards renewing the district of Bulaq and attitudes of the local residents towards implementing these policies. The project has received University ethical approval and its duration time is three years (to be completed July 2010).

Interview Methods

All Interviews will be recorded, by tape/video recording / or written notes depending on the obtained consent. The recorded materials/ transcripts will be stored securely at the research supervisor's office. Participants will be anonymous unless approved verbally. In case of the participant approves this , he/ she can read the researcher's version of the interview before submitting it the Graduate research office at the University of Sheffield.

Contact Information

Participants are welcomed to contact the researcher for any questions at the following contact details
Telephone: 00(44)0114 2220335
e-mail: g.selim@sheffield.ac.uk.

Participant Consent Form

Officials and planners form

Title of Research Project: The Shifting Politics of Re-making Places in Cairo: Bulaq Abul Ela

Name of Researcher: Gehan Selim

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research academic publications by the researcher.
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.
7. I agree to appear in voice and/or video recorded by the researcher for educational purposes.

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(if different from lead researcher)
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Date

Signature

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Date: 19-05-2009

Name of Applicant: Gehan Selim

Cat.	Ref.	Name/ position	Location	Year of interview		Notes
				2008	2009	
Residents						
R	1	Resident	Inner Bulaq		•	
R	2	Resident	Inner Bulaq	••	••	
R	3	Resident/Trader	Al-Matba al-Ahlya st.		•	
R	4	Resident/ Worker	Al-Matba al-Ahlya st.		•	
R	5	Resident	Al-Matba al-Ahlya st.	•	•	
R	6	Trader	Bulaq/ WB		•	
R	7	Resident	Inner Bulaq	••	•	
R	8	Resident	Ramlet Bulaq		•	
R	9	Resident	Shanna St.		•	
R	10	Resident	Inner Bulaq		•	
R	11	Resident	Ramlet Bulaq		•	
R	12	Resident	Inner Bulaq	•		
R	13	Resident	Inner Bulaq		•	
R	14	Resident/worker	Inner Bulaq	••	•	
R	15	Resident	Ramlet Bulaq		•	
R	16	Resident	Inner Bulaq	•	••	
R	17	Resident/Trader	Bulaq		•	
R	18	Resident from Zeinhom area			•	Interviewed during demonstrations at the Muhafzah
R	19	Resident from Zeinhom area			•	
Intellectual/ planners/ officials						
Cat.	Ref.	Name/ position	Institution	Year of interview		Notes
				2008	2009	
I	1	Staff member	FUP		•	
I	2	Senior planner	Muhafzah	•	•••	
I	3	Senior planner	Muhafzah	•	••	
I	4	Engineer	Hay Bulaq/Planning Dep.		•	
I	5	Senior planner	Muhafzah		•	
I	6	Senior planner	Muhafzah		•	
I	7	professional	Private		••	
I	8	Official	Muhafzah		••	
I	9	Staff member	FUP		•	
I	10	senior planner	GOPP	•	•	
I	11	planner	GOPP		••	
I	12	Official	GOPP		•	
I	13	Planner	Muhafzah		•	

List of Interviews conducted in Cairo during February/ March 2008 and July /August 2009.

Appendix - B

Documents of the Tanzim Department
The National Archive centre in Cairo

كشف "ب"

المسور لوكيزي باشكاتب عمدة . ودر المختلطة .
 المسترقف . ل . شيرد ناظر قدم المساحة التفصيلية .
 المسور والثوب ناظر مدرسة الحقوق السلطانية .
 ويكون عنوانها "لجنة السجلات العقارية" وتعرض نتيجة أعمالها على
 مجلس الوزراء .
 ويجوز تعديل تأليف اللجنة بقرار يصدر من وزير المالية بالاتفاق
 مع وزير المالية .
 القاهرة في ١٢ شبان سنة ١٣٣٨ (أول مايو سنة ١٩٢٠)
 رئيس مجلس الوزراء
 يوسف وهبة

رسم رقم ٥٣ - تعديل جزء من خطوط عطفة حمام بشتك حسب الخطوط
 الزرقاء والسوداء الميمنة على الرسم (١٢ مايو سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١١٤ - تعديل جزء من خطوط عطفة الليمون حسب الخطوط
 الزرقاء بلعله يعرض ثمانية أمتار بدلا من أربعة أمتار (١٢ ما
 سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١١٥ - تعديل خطوط جزئين من حارة أحمد باشا يكن ملوك
 عليها بحرق od و ab حسب الخطوط الزرقاء بلعله يعرض ثمانية أمتار
 بدلا من أربعة أمتار وإلغاء خطوط التنظيم المحصورة بين الخزين العذبان
 (١٢ مايو سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٢٤ - تعديل خطوط عطفة عبد الله بك حسب الخطوط الزرقاء
 بلعله يعرض ستة أمتار بدلا من أربعة أمتار (١٢ مايو سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٥٨ - تعديل جزء من خطوط عطفة المتبري حسب الخطوط
 الزرقاء بلعله يعرض ستة أمتار بدلا من أربعة أمتار (١٢ مايو سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٣٣ - تعديل خطوط جزء من عطفة القرن بدرب شغلنا عند
 الخط الأزرق ab (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٦٨ - تعديل خطوط جزء من حارة درب النقشات حسب
 الخطوط الزرقاء والسوداء abc (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ٣٦٢ و ٣٠٩ - تعديل خطوط جزئين من عطفة النخلة ودرب
 حسب الخططين الأزرقين be و ab (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ٥٥٥ - تعديل خطوط جزء من عطفة الحياض عطفة الجلسن حسب
 الخط الأزرق abc (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ٦٣٤ - تعديل خطوط عطفة ملاح شارع قصبه رضوانه
 الخطوط السوداء والزرقاء abcdefghij لإنشاء ميدان على أطرافها
 التقديم بمحور مسجد الصالح ملاح (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٠٢١ و ١٠٢١ و ١٢٣٥ - تعديل خط تنظيم ملاح شارع الخ
 المصري بشوارع البرموني والحساوي حسب الخط الأزرق ab
 (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١١٨٧ - تعديل خطوط تنظيم جزء من شارع الملكة صفينوط
 بواية الترازين حسب الخط الأزرق والأسود abcde (٢٣ ديب
 سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٢٧١ و ١٢٥٢ - تعديل خطوط تنظيم شارع العادل أبو بكر وبنا
 العادل وجزء من شارع البحر الأعمى وشارع ابن النبيه حسب الخطوط
 الزرقاء abc و de و mlk و jz و ef و no و ih و op و xyz ولا
 مع تحسير الخطوط الزرقاء q و r و at و uv القابلة لأرقام الشوارع
 التي يتسبب هذا التعديل (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

مرسوم

بخصوص خطوط تنظيم لشوارع بمدينة القاهرة

بمصر

بعد الاطلاع على المادة العاشرة من لائحة التنظيم المؤرخة في ٨ سبتمبر
 سنة ١٨٨٩ :
 وبناء على ما عرضه عليا وزير الأشغال العمومية وموافقة رأي مجلس الوزراء
 رسمنا بما هو آت :
 مادة ١ - تلحق خطوط التنظيم الموضوعه للطرق العمومية وأجزاء الطرق
 العمومية المذكورة أعلاها في الكشف "ب" الملحق بهذا المرسوم .
 ٢ - تعتمد التعديلات التي أدخلت على خطوط التنظيم في رسوم الطرق
 العمومية المبينة بالكشف "ب" الملحق عليه .
 ٣ - تعتبر من المنافع العمومية الطرق الواردة بالكشف "ج"
 ضمن المنقحات .
 ٤ - على وزير الأشغال العمومية تنفيذ مرسومنا هذا .
 صدر في ١٨ شبان سنة ١٣٣٨ (١٧ أبريل سنة ١٩٢٠)

فؤاد

بأمر الحضرة السلطانية

ورئيس مجلس الوزراء

يوسف وهبة

وزير الأشغال العمومية

محمد شفيق

كشف "١"

الشوارع وأجزاء الشوارع التي ألغيت خطوط تنظيمها بمدينة القاهرة ،
 كاعتقاد الوزارة في التواريخ الموضحة بعد الموضوعه بين قوسين
 رسم رقم ١١٨ - إلغاء خطوط جزء من حارة عبد الله بك مدلول عليه
 بحرق ab لوقوعه في حارة أحمد باشا يكن التي صار توسيعها يعرض ثمانية
 أمتار (١٢ مايو سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ٣٥٠ - إلغاء الرسم المذكور المراد عن خطوط حارة الخبينة بقسم
 الوابل نظرا لتحريم رسم آخر عن خطوط تنظيم الحارة المذكورة وصادقت
 عليه وزارة الأشغال العمومية تحت رقم ١٥١٨ (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ٨٥٢ - إلغاء خطوط جزء من حارة الخبينة مرسومه على الرسم
 بحرق ab لورويده بالرسم المعتمد رقم ١٥١٨ (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

رسم رقم ١٤٦٩ - إلغاء جزء من خطوط ميدان الامام اللبث لمصادفته
 رقم تكملة شارع العفاري الممتدة بالرسم رقم ١٥١٩ (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩) .

المادة الثانية

تطوّر شارعاً تصب في ميدان باب الشرق وشارع المسافري الصنعة بالرسمين رقم ١٢٢٢
١٢٢٢ للمصنفين الأربعة العائدين المأذونين في ٢٤ مارس سنة ١٨٨٦ وفي ٨ ديسمبر
سنة ١٨٨٦ وبمقتضى طلبها بالاعتماد على رسم التذمة رقم ١٥٤٩ الصادر من
وزارة الأشغال العمومية بتاريخ ١٧ أكتوبر سنة ١٨٨٣ والمذكور أيضاً على طريق توصيل
بين شارع المسافري الجديد وشارع كبرى قصر النيل مع جسر جامع المسافري بحيث
يكون مكافئاً لما كان عليه قبل إنشاء شارع المسافري الجديد وتقع ملكية ما يحتاج إليه
من العقارات والمنكحة المذمومة المذكورين من الجزء الذي يشمل في شارع المسافري وتكون
شقة العميد وتقع الملكية على وزارة الأشغال

المادة الثالثة

على طالبه والأعمال العمومية تنفيذ مرسومها هذا

سنة ١٩٢٢

سنة ١٣٤٢

في

مصدره سواي

١٤٤
٥٨/٨

٥/٣/٦٦

0075-036184

امريعات

نمن خديو مسمر

بسمه الله الرحمن الرحيم
في شأن الماده العاشرة من لائحة التنظيم المرفقة ٨ سبتمبر ١٩٤٩ وهذا نصه
١- مجرد الاقتران بين سيم فقط التنظيم من ناظر الاقتران المرفق وصدر امر على باعتماده يسوغ ان يكون انما
شيءاً فشيئاً وبما طريق الاقتران بين الطرفين بالرسالة لولا انشاء الشواحي المعروضة على الرسم المذكور ومن
تاريخ صدور الامر السابق المشار اليه لا يجوز اقامة أي بناء على الارض اللزوم نزع ملكيتها

وهي على الاقتران على المرفق الوزاري الصادر في ١٥ ديسمبر ١٩٤٩
وحيث ان على ما عرفت علينا ناظر الاقتران وموافقاً لرأي مجلس النظر

امراً بما هو است

المادة الاولى

تتمتع خطوط التنظيم عن الطرق واجزاء الطرق العمومية المبيته سواء كان الكنف الموزون بحرف (أ)،

الموقوف بامرنا هذا

المادة الثانية

تتمتع تعديلات خطوط التنظيم المرفقة في سومات الطرق العمومية المبيته في الكنف الموزون بحرف (ب)،

الموافق بامرنا هذا

المادة الثالثة

تتمتع ايضا خطوط التنظيم الجديدة المرفقة في سومات الطرق العمومية المبيته في الكنف الموزون بحرف (ج)،

الموافق بامرنا هذا

المادة الرابعة

تتمتع من النافع العمومية الطرق العمومية المبيته في الكنف الموزون بحرف (د)، الخلق بامرنا هذا بحسب الرسوم المرفقة

على كونه لشقارة التنظيم

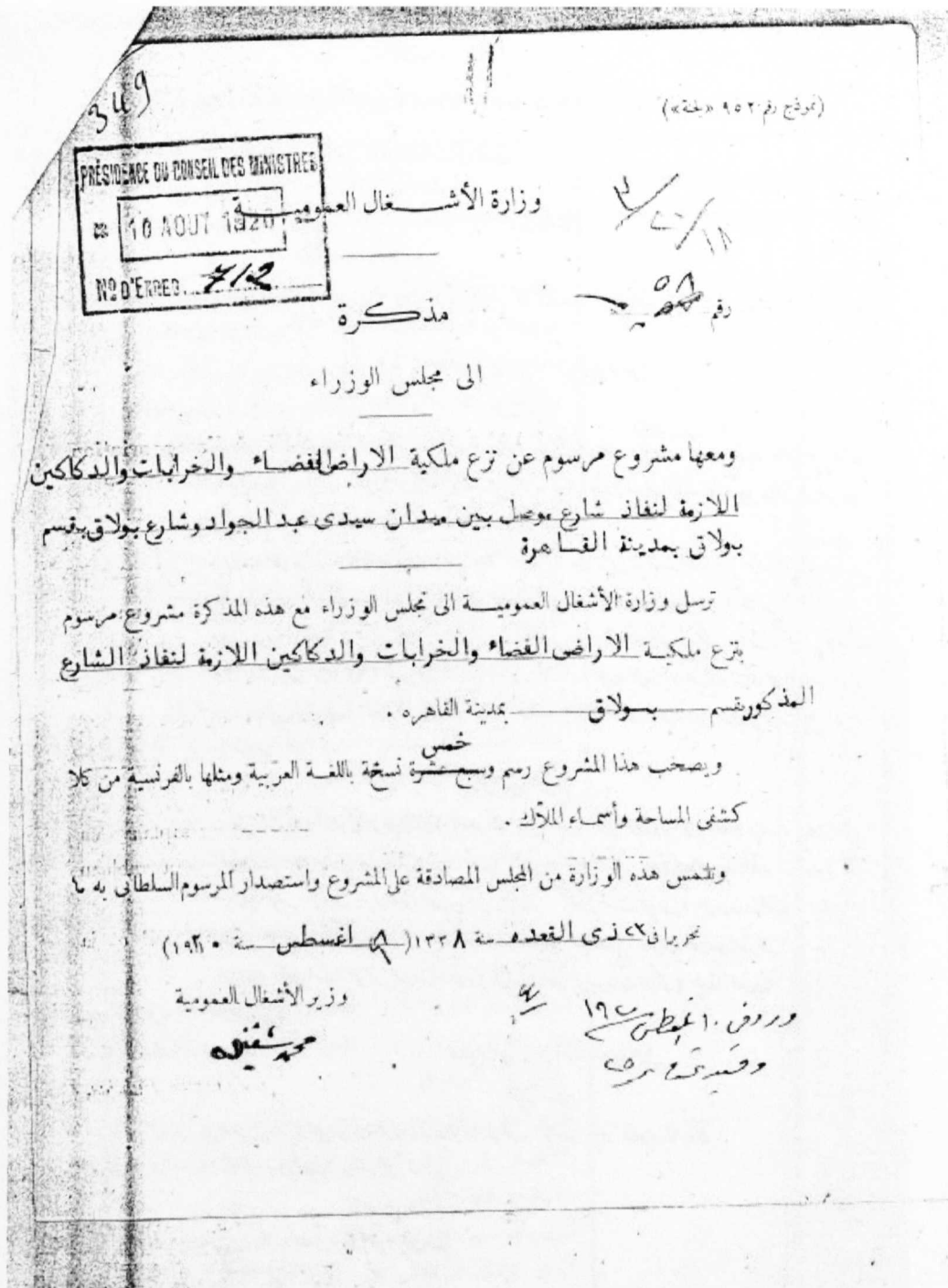
المادة الخامسة

على ناظر الاقتران تنظيم امرنا هذا

كيفية صرف (1)

الشوارع والمباني والشوارع التي بقيت خطوطها غير مذكورة في كتابه شهر سبتمبر 1911

اسماء الشوارع	تاريخ وصفاة التفتيش	رقم الرسم
مدينة القاهرة		
القنا جزء منه خطوط شارع سيدى البر العلاء وهو المحصور بين مسجد سيدى البر العلاء وشارع سبله القنول ونظرا لوروده بالرسم رقم ١٤١٨ المقتصد سنة ١٩١٦ في الشان المحصور بتاريخ ١٦ مايو ١٩١٦	١٤ مايو ١٩١٦	١٥٤
القنا جزء منه خطوط شارع جيبه شلبي مدلول عليه بجزء ما كما في المصادقة رقم ١٩١٦ كالمشار إليه في شارع الجليل والقنا جزء منه خطوط شارع الجليل مدلول عليه بما بالحروف AB و CD والمصادقة رقم ١٩١٦ كالمشار إليه في شارع الجليل وكالمشار إليه في شارع الجليل	١٨ يونيو ١٩١٦	١٥٤ ١٥٥
القنا خطوط الشرقاى E C D H بسبب اعتماد كالمشار إليه في شارع الحكيم بالرسم رقم ١٤٤٠ حسب المخطط الرسومي A B و C و E	٢١ يوليو ١٩١٦	١١٥
القنا خطوط الشوارع والجزء المشوار المحصور في المنطقة بينه بخرطه تقاسيم ارضه حجرة عدى بى منتم قطاوى بجهة مصر القديم ومدلول عليه بالحروف A B C D و خطوط الشارع المدلول عليه بالحروف E C D اعتمادا على الشوارع برسومات اخرى من رقم ١٤٤١ الى رقم ١٤٤٤	" "	١٤٥٦
مدينة بورسعيد		
القنا خطوط الشوارع المحصورة بين المربعات رقم ١٤ و ١٥ و ١٦ و ١٧ و ١٨ و ١٩ بجهة القنا القديم وسد الخواطر حسب المخطط الشرقاى	١٠ يوليو ١٩١٦	خطوطها



مشروع

مرسوم

باعتبار شارع وابور النور العوام انشاؤه بين ميدان سيدى عبد الجواد
وشوارع الشرطة البيلائية بقسم بولاق بمدينة القاهرة من المنافع العمومية

نصن سلطان مصر

بعد الاطلاع على المسادة المباشرة من لائحة التنظيم الموضحة في ١١ سبتمبر

سنة ١٨٨٩

وبناء على ما عرضه علينا وزير الأشغال العمومية وموافقاً رأى مجلس الوزراء

رسمنا بما هو آت

المادة الأولى

يعتبر من المنافع العمومية شارع وابور النور المقتض انشاؤه بين ميدان سيدى
عبد الجواد وشوارع الشرطة البيلائية بقسم بولاق بمدينة القاهرة حسب الرسم رقم
١٥١٤ المصادق عليه من وزارة الأشغال العمومية بتاريخ ١١ أغسطس سنة ١٩٢٠

المادة الثانية

على وزير الأشغال العمومية تنفيذ مرسومنا هذا

صدر بمصر

(٩)

Appendix C
Archival Documents of the Muhafzah

Illustration of parts from Bulaq street alignment scheme in 1966

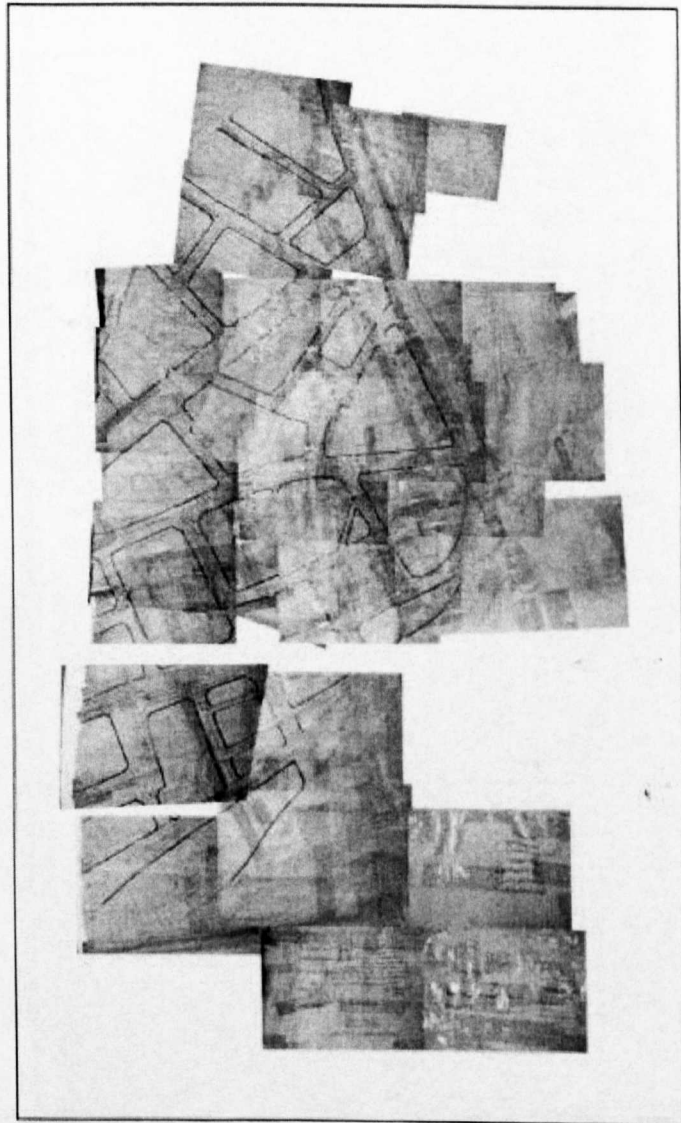
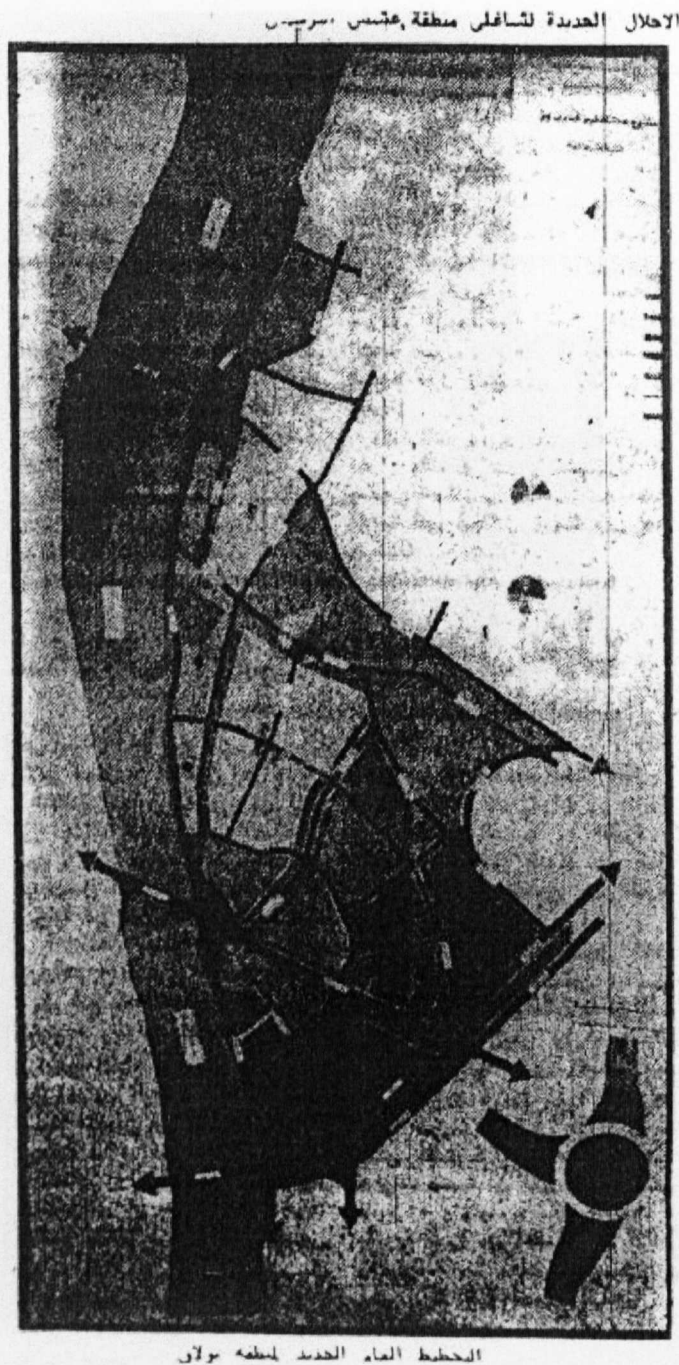


Illustration of parts from Bulaq street alignment scheme in 1966.
Source: the section of Certified projects, The Muhafzah, Cairo.
Accessed: August 2009.

The only original version of Bulaq 42 plan of 1978 scheme published in al-Ahram Newspaper



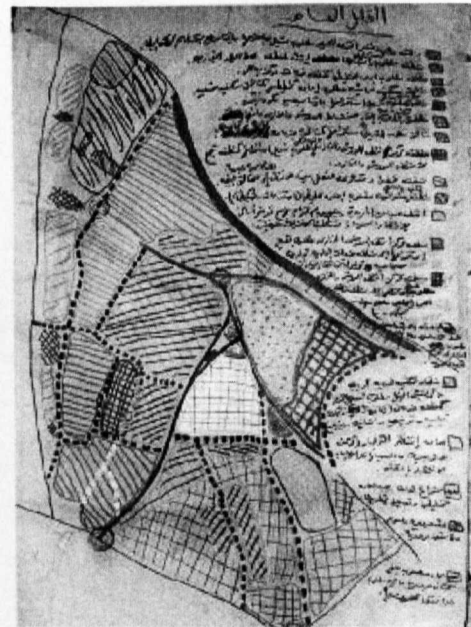
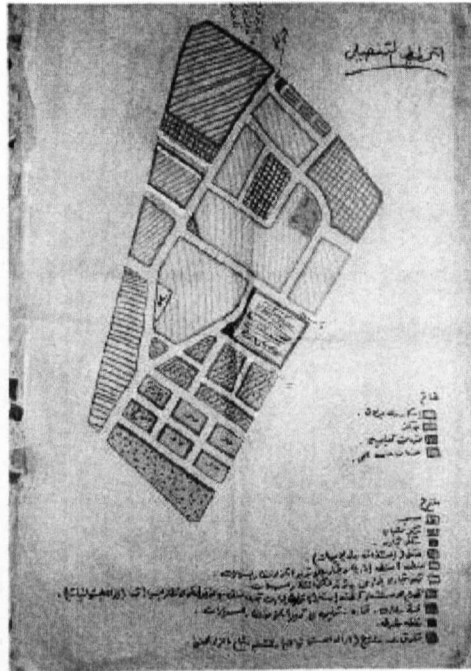
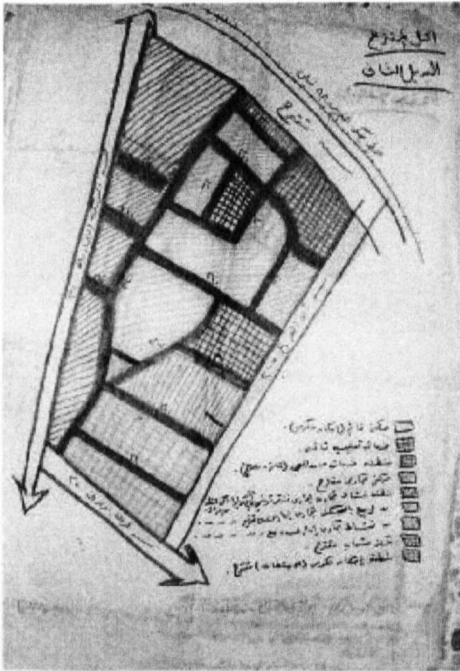
The only original version of Bulaq 42 plan of 1978 scheme published in al-Ahram Newspaper.
Source: Al-Ahram Newspaper (1979).
Accessed: March 2008.

Bulaq Abul Ela planning scheme of 2005, Plan 3133



Bulaq Abul Ela planning scheme of 2005, Plan 3133.
Source: Documents of the planning department, The Muhafzah.
Accessed: August 2009.

The original hand-drawings of Land surveys in Bulaq and the initial proposals for re-planning the street network in Ramlet Bulaq



The original hand-drawings of Land surveys in Bulaq and the initial proposals for re-planning the street network in Ramlet Bulaq. Accessed: August 2009.

A sample of original photographed documents of the planning department of the Muhafzah

السيد المهندس / مدير جمهورية الإسكندرية والشرق
الإدارة العامة للتخطيط العمراني (إدارة المشروعات التخطيطية)
تحية طيبة وبعد
إسعاداً في كتابي سيدي رقم ٥٧٣ بتاريخ ٢٠٠١/٩/٢ بخصوص موافقة سيديكم بالرسم
الخاص بكوبري ١٥ مايو في منطقة بولاق
لتشرف بسنن ترفاق سيديكم صورة من المشروع موضح عليها مخطط ومتردد كوبري ١٥
مايو عند شارع الكورنيش
وتفضلوا سيديكم بقبول فائق الاحترام

السيد المهندس / مدير جمهورية الإسكندرية والشرق
الإدارة العامة للتخطيط العمراني (إدارة المشروعات التخطيطية)
تحية طيبة وبعد
إسعاداً في كتابي سيدي رقم ٥٧٣ بتاريخ ٢٠٠١/٩/٢ بخصوص موافقة سيديكم بالرسم
الخاص بكوبري ١٥ مايو في منطقة بولاق
لتشرف بسنن ترفاق سيديكم صورة من المشروع موضح عليها مخطط ومتردد كوبري ١٥
مايو عند شارع الكورنيش
وتفضلوا سيديكم بقبول فائق الاحترام

السيد المهندس / مدير الإسكندرية
مدير جمهورية الإسكندرية والشرق
تحية طيبة وبعد
بالإشارة إلى توجيهات السيد الدكتور الوزير المحافظ في اجتماع
لجنة الإدارة المدنية المنعقد بتاريخ ٢٠٠١/٧/٢٥ بخصوص تخطيط
منطقة خلف فندق الكورنيش بولاق
وبرجسي مرفعة سوانتسا بتوجيه الرئاسة التي تتم تخطيطها
رطة بولاق بالإدارة العامة للتخطيط العمراني بالمحافظة
وبرفق طيبة صورة كتاب من قرب في هذا الشأن
وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام

تحية طيبة
إياداً إلى تأخير سيديكم على الكتاب المرسل من السيد مدير
المحافظة والماءر لمن قرب برقم ١٢٤ بتاريخ ٢٠٠١/٦/١٦ بخصوص توجيهات
السيد الدكتور المحافظ في اجتماع لجنة الإدارة المدنية المنعقد بتاريخ
٢٠٠١/٦/٢٥ بخصوص تخطيط منطقة خلف فندق الكورنيش بولاق
وتشرف بالآلافة
منطقة خلف فندق الكورنيش من قسم المناطق العشوائية بجاري وأستيا مفسر
منطقة رطة بولاق بالإدارة العامة للتخطيط العمراني محافظة الإسكندرية
وقد تم حل المسائل العمرانية - تحليل المشاكل العمرانية - تحديد المشاكل
وغيري حالياً تصديده الأرقام وأعداد النجل المخرج
مرفق كرفق بالبولاق
وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام

A sample of original photographed documents of the planning department of the Muhafzah.
Accessed: August 2009.

Appendix - D
Decrees Published in the Egyptian Gazette

Decree 4 for year 1967 for re-planning the urban area bounded by Shari al-Sabtiyya, al-Galaa, Yuliya and Shari al-Corniche

الوقائع المصرية - العدد ٧٣ في ١٤ مايو سنة ١٩٦٧

قصر :
مادة ١ - تمد مدة المدير المؤقت لمبرة الإسكندرية لرعاية الأطفال لمدة لا تزيد عن ستة أشهر اعتباراً من ١٩٦٦/١٢/٤ ؛
مادة ٢ - على وكيل الوزارة تنفيذ هذا القرار ، ويعمل به من تاريخه وينشر في الوقائع المصرية ما
تحريراً في ٢٦ المحرم سنة ١٣٨٧ (١٩٦٧ سنة ١٩٦٧)
دكتور : أحمد محمد خليفه

محافظه القاهرة

قرار رقم ٤ لسنة ١٩٦٧
بشأن إعادة تخطيط المنطقة المحصورة بين شوارع السبتية
والجلاء و٢٦ يوليو وكورنيش النيل
محافظ القاهرة
بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ١٣٤ لسنة ١٩٦٠ في شأن نظام الإدارة
المحلية والقوانين المعدلة له ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٤٥ لسنة ١٩٦٢ في شأن تنظيم المباني والقوانين
المعدلة له ؛
وعلى قرار مجلس محافظة القاهرة رقم ٣٣٩ لسنة ١٩٦٦ ؛

قصر :

مادة ١ - تعتمد خطوط التنظيم السوداء السميكة وتلغى خطوط
التنظيم السوداء الرفيعة المؤشر عليها بعلامة (X) وجميع خطوط التنظيم
المتعارضة مع المشروع كما هو مبين على الرسم المرافق .
مادة ٢ - تعتمد الأجزاء الملونة بالأخضر للحدائق والخدمات العامة .
مادة ٣ - ينشر هذا القرار في الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ
نشره ما
تحريراً في ٢١ رمضان سنة ١٣٨٦ (٢ يناير سنة ١٩٦٧)
محمد سعد الدين زايد

وزارة الداخلية

قرار رقم ٣٥ لسنة ١٩٦٧

بالغاء شهادة جنسية

وزير الداخلية

بعد الاطلاع على المساعدة رقم ٢٨ من القانون رقم ٨٢ لسنة ١٩٥٨ الصادر
بشأن جنسية الجمهورية العربية المتحدة ؛
وعلى مذكرة مصلحة الهجرة والجوازات والجنسية المؤرخة ٥ مارس
سنة ١٩٦٧ ؛

قصر :

مادة ١ - تلغى شهادة جنسية الجمهورية العربية المتحدة السابق اعطاؤها
الى الأكنة ديانا هاج ملو بيجيان والمقيمة بمدينة القاهرة لحصولها عليها
بناء على بيانات أثبت عدم صحتها .
مادة ٢ - ينشر هذا القرار في الوقائع المصرية ما
تحريراً في ٩ رجب سنة ١٣٨٦ (١٨ مارس سنة ١٩٦٧)
شعراوى محمد جمعه

وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية

قرار وزارى رقم ٦٠ لسنة ١٩٦٧

في شأن مد مدة المدير المؤقت لمبرة الاسكندرية لرعاية الأطفال

وزير الشؤون الاجتماعية

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٣٣ لسنة ١٩٦٤ في شأن الجمعيات
والمؤسسات الخاصة ولائحته التنفيذية ؛
وعلى قانون الإدارة المحلية رقم ١٣٤ لسنة ١٩٦٠ ولائحته التنفيذية
ومعدلاته ؛
وعلى القرار الوزارى رقم ١١٥ في ١٩٦٥/١٢/٥ ؛
وعلى مذكرة الإدارة العامة للجمعيات والاتحادات المؤرخة ١٩٦٧/٣/٢٨
في شأن طلب مد مدة المدير المؤقت لمبرة الإسكندرية لرعاية الأطفال لحين
إعادة تشكيل مجلس إدارتها وفقاً للائحة نظامها المعد شهره ؛
وبناء على ما عرضه السيد وكيل الوزارة ؛

أمر :

مادة ١ - يعتبر من أعمال المنفعة العامة مشروع إقامة مبنى مجمع اللغة العربية على كامل أرض وبناء العقار رقم ١٥ بشارع المعهد السويسرى بالرمالك محافظة القاهرة الموضح بها موقعها وحدودها بالحد كذا والرسم المرفقين .

مادة ٢ - ينشر هذا القرار في الجريدة الرسمية ما

صدر برئاسة الجمهورية في ١٨ من الشهر سنة ١٣٩٢ (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩٧٢)

أنور السادات

مذكرة إيضاحية

القرار رئيس جمهورية مصر العربية رقم ١٦٠٧ لسنة ١٩٧٢

بتقرير المنفعة العامة لمشروع إقامة مبنى مجمع اللغة العربية

مبررات اعتبار المشروع من أعمال المنفعة العامة :

أنتى مجمع اللغة العربية منذ أربعين عاما تقريبا ، وهو يضم أكثر من مائة من كبار العلماء والأدباء من مصر ومن البلاد العربية ، وأعضاء عاملين أو مراسلين .

وقد ظل المجمع طوال هذه السنين يتقلع بين دور مؤجزة لانتاج رسالته ولا تنفى بحاجاته ، ولا تنتقى وسكانته العربية والدولية ، وكان يضطر إلى عقد بعض جلساته العلنية في أماكن مستعارة نارة بمبنى جامعة الدول العربية ونارة بمبنى هيئات ومؤسسات أخرى .

وفي المؤتمرات السنوية لاجتماع يبنى أعضاؤه المصريون زملائهم من علماء البلاد العربية أو غير العربية ، كما يختلف إلى المجمع قادة الفكر والعلم من أنحاء الشرق والغرب للدراسة والبحث وتبادل التعاون العلمى واللغوى ، وبذلك أضحى المجمع منارة ورمزا للثقافة المصرية والعربية على السواء ، وحلقة اتصال بين المؤسسات والهيئات العلمية واللغوية فى العالم بأسره ، وما أجدره بأن تخصص له دار تحمل رايته ، وتمكنه من الاضطلاع بمهامه على الوجه الأكمل .

ولهذا رأيت الوزارة أن تخصص له العقار رقم ١٥ فى شارع المعهد السويسرى بالرمالك .

بيان موقع العقار وحدوده :

يقع فى هذا العقار المنزل رقم ١٥ فى شارع المعهد السويسرى بالرمالك " محافظة القاهرة " ويتبع مساحته الكلية نحو ١٦٠٠ متر مربع (ألف وستة مائة متر مربع) .

قرار رئيس جمهورية مصر العربية

رقم ٥٥٥ لسنة ١٩٧٢

باعتبار مشروع إعادة تخطيط وتعمير مناطق شركس ببولاق

وسكر أبودومه بروض الفرج والمقارن الواقعة بينهما

على كورنيش النيل من أعمال المنفعة العامة

ئيس الجمهورية

بعد الاطلاع على الدستور ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ فى شأن نزع ملكية الأحياء لإعادة تخطيطها وتعميرها ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٨٣ لسنة ١٩٥٦ بإدخال بعض التعديلات على تشرىعات القائمة ؛

أمر :

مادة ١ - يعتبر من أعمال المنفعة العامة مشروع إعادة تخطيط وتعمير لى شركس ببولاق ، وسكر أبودومه بروض الفرج ، والمقارن الواقعة بينهما على كورنيش النيل والموضحة بالرسم المرفق .

مادة ٢ - ينشر هذا القرار فى الجريدة الرسمية ما

صدر برئاسة الجمهورية فى ١٦ من الشهر سنة ١٣٩٢ (٢٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩٧٢)

أنور السادات

قرار رئيس جمهورية مصر العربية

رقم ١٦٠٧ لسنة ١٩٧٢

بتقرير المنفعة العامة لمشروع إقامة مبنى مجمع اللغة العربية

ئيس الجمهورية

بعد الاطلاع على الدستور ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٥٧٧ لسنة ١٩٥٤ بشأن نزع ملكية المقارن والمنفعة العامة والقوانين المعملة له ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٥٢ لسنة ١٩٦٠ بشأن تعديل بعض الأحكام الخاصة بتبرع الملكية للمنفعة العامة والاستيلاء على المقارن ؛

قرار رقم ٢٤٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥

بشأن تخصيص أرض المطبعة الأميرية القديمة المطلية على كورنيش النيل بمنطقة بولاق لشركة الشمس للإسكان والتعمير لإقامة مجمع سباحى وإدارى عليها

محافظ القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٥٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ بإصدار قانون نظام الحكم المحلى ؛
وعلى اللائحة التنفيذية للقانون رقم ٢٤ لسنة ١٩٦٠ بشأن نظام الإدارة المحلية ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ فى شأن إزالة الأحياء ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٤٥ لسنة ١٩٦٢ فى شأن تنظيم المباني ولائحته التنفيذية ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٢١ لسنة ١٩٧٣ فى شأن المنشآت الفندقية والسياحية ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٤ فى شأن استئجار المسال العربى والأجنى والمناطق الحرة ؛
وعلى القرار الجمهورى رقم ٥٥٥ لسنة ١٩٧٢ بشأن تقرير المنفعة العامة وإعادة تخطيط وتعمير مناطق شركس بيولاى ؛
وعلى موافقة الهيئة العامة لاستئجار المسال العربى والأجنى والمناطق الحرة بتاريخ ١٩٧٥/٦/٢ ؛
وعلى موافقة وزير الإسكان والتعمير بتاريخ ١٩٧٥/٧/٢١ ؛
وعلى موافقة وزير السياحة بتاريخ ١٩٧٥/٧/٣٠ ؛
وعلى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٨٨ لسنة ١٩٧٥ ؛

قصر :

مادة ١ - تخصص أرض المطبعة الأميرية القديمة المطلية على كورنيش النيل بحرى كورى أبو العلا قسم بولاق ملك الدولة والبالغ مساحتها حوالى ٧٠٠م الشركة الشمس للإسكان والتعمير لإقامة مجمع سباحى وإدارى عليها .
مادة ٢ - يتم البيع طبقا للقانون رقم ٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٤ الخاص باستئجار المسال العربى والأجنى والمناطق الحرة والشروط والطريقة التى توافق عليها المحافظة ووزارة الاقتصاد والتشأن الذى تقدره اللجان المختصة بالمحافظة على أن يتم التعاقد بعد مراجعة مجلس الدولة على مشروع العقد .
مادة ٣ - محمد الطاقة الفندقية عا لا يقل عن ٧٠٠ غرفة وعدم إقامة مباني للسكن الإدارى أوصالات عرض أو عروض سينمائية أو أسواق تجارية إلا فى حدود ما يخدم الفندق - ويتعين الحصول على موافقة وزارة السياحة ومحافظة القاهرة على المشروع التامى المد للتفويض وكذا الحصول على موافقة الهيئات العامة لاراقق والدفاع المدنى (الحريق والمرور) على المشروع من ناحية كفايته - وسو بالنسبة لكل مرافق وأن تتعهد الشركة بحمل أى تكاليف

محافظة القاهرة

رقم ٢٣٥ لسنة ١٩٧٥

بشأن مد مدة مجلس الإدارة المؤقت للجمعية التعاونية المتزلية لموظفى وعمال سلاح المهمات بالمعادي

محافظ القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٥٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ بإصدار قانون نظام الحكم المحلى ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٣١٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ فى شأن الجمعيات التعاونية والقوانين المعدلة له والقرارات المنفذة لأحكامه ؛
وعلى قرار رئيس الجمهورية رقم ١١٨٨ لسنة ١٩٦٨ بتنظيم واختصاصات وزارة التكوين والتجارة الداخلية ؛
وعلى قرار وزير التكوين والتجارة الداخلية رقم ٦٣ لسنة ١٩٧٢ بشأن تنويع السادة المحافظين فى بعض الاختصاصات ؛
وعلى قرار السيد / محافظ القاهرة رقم ٣١٧ لسنة ١٩٧٠ بتعيين مجلس إدارة مؤقت للجمعية التعاونية المتزلية لموظفى وعمال سلاح المهمات بالمعادي ؛
وعلى قرار مجلس المحافظة رقم ٢٦ لسنة ١٩٧١ بشأن مد مدة مجلس الإدارة المؤقت سالف الذكر إلى ١٩٧١/٨/٢٦ ؛
وعلى قرارى محافظ القاهرة رقم ١٤٥ لسنة ١٩٧٢ ورقم ١٣٧ لسنة ١٩٧٤ بشأن مد مدة مجلس الإدارة المؤقت للجمعية المتزلية المشار إليها ؛
وعلى كتابى مديرية تومين القاهرة رقم ٤٠٥٥ بتاريخ ١٩٧٥/٧/١٣ ورقم ٤٠٠٨ بتاريخ ١٩٧٥/٧/٢١ ؛

قصر :

مادة ١ - يستمر مجلس الإدارة المؤقت للجمعية التعاونية المتزلية لموظفى وعمال سلاح المهمات بالمعادي لمدة سنة اعتبارا من أول أبريل سنة ١٩٧٥ .
مادة ٢ - يتولى مجلس الإدارة المؤقت المشار إليه الاختصاصات المنوطة لمجلس الإدارة فى قانون الجمعيات التعاونية والنظام الداخلى لهذه الجمعية وعليه متابعة الاجراءات التى اتخذتها بشأن المخالفات الموجودة بالجمعية وعليه أن يدعو الجمعية العمومية العادية خلال هذه المدة وأن يرض عليها تقريرا مفصلا عن حالة الجمعية وتنتخب الجمعية مجلس إدارتها الجديد فى الجلسة ذاتها .
مادة ٣ - ينشر هذا القرار فى الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره ، وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه ما
مربرا فى ١٢ شبان سنة ١٣٩٥ (٢٠ أغسطس سنة ١٩٧٥)
دكتور : محمود عبد الحافظ

محافظة الجيزة

قرار رقم ١٣١ لسنة ١٩٧٤

يربط موازنة مجلس قروي سفارة للعام المسالى ١٩٧٤

محافظ الجيزة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ١٢٤ لسنة ١٩٦٠ بشأن إصدار نظام الإدارة المحلية والقوانين المعدلة له ؛

وعلى القرار بالقانون رقم ٥٧ لسنة ١٩٧١ في شأن الحكم المحلى ؛
وعلى القرار الجمهورى رقم ٢٠٤٢ لسنة ١٩٧٣ بربط موازنة محافظة الجيزة للعام المسالى ١٩٧٤ ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس التنفيذى بجلسته فى ٢/٣/١٩٧٤ ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس الشعبى بجلسته فى ٢٧/٣/١٩٧٤ ؛

باعتاد موازنة مجلس قروي سفارة للعام المسالى ١٩٧٤ ؛

قرر :

مادة ١ - ربط مصروفات مجلس قروي سفارة للسنة المسالية ١٩٧٤ بمبلغ ٣٦٢٢٨ جنيها (فقط ستة وثلاثون ألفا ومائتان ثمانية وعشرون جنيها) موزعة حسب الجدول حرف (أ) المرافق .

مادة ٢ - ربط إيرادات مجلس قروي سفارة للسنة المسالية ١٩٧٤ بمبلغ ٣٦٢٢٨ جنيها (فقط ستون وثلاثون ألفا ومائتان ثمانية وعشرون جنيها) موزعة حسب الجدول حرف (ب) المرافق .

تحريرا فى ١٦ رجب الأول سنة ١٣٩٤ (٩ أبريل سنة ١٩٧٤)

محمد حامد محمود

موازنة

مجلس قروي سفارة للعام المسالى ١٩٧٤

ملخص المصروفات والإيرادات وتوزيعها

(ب) الإيرادات	(أ) المصروفات		البيان
	باب ٢	باب ١	
جنيه	جنيه	جنيه	١ - الديوان العام ..
٧٥٨٨	٧٥٨٨	٣٧١٨	٣٨٧٠
١٧١٠٦	١٧١٠٦	٢٢٨	١٦٨٧٨
٩٠١٩	٩٠١٩	٢٨٤٢	٦١٧٧
—	—	—	—
٢٥١٥	٢٥١٥	١٥٨٠	٩٣٥
٣٦٢٢٨	٣٦٢٢٨	٨٣٦٨	٢٧٨٦٠

قد يتطلبها المشروع بشأن هذه المرافق (داخليا وخارجيا) . كل ذلك قبل الترخيص بالبناء .

مادة ٤ - ينشر هذا القرار فى الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره ، وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه ما

تحريرا فى ١٩ شعبان سنة ١٣٩٤ (٢٦ أغسطس سنة ١٩٧٥)

دكتور : محمود عبد الحافظ

قرار رقم ٢٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٥

بشأن مشروع تخصيص قطعة أرض من أملاك الدولة لاستناد المنطقة الصناعية طريق مصر الاسماعيلية وتخصيص قطعة أرض لشركة أطلس (لمصنع المبانى الجاهزة)

محافظ القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٥٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ بإصدار قانون نظام الحكم المحلى ؛

وعلى اللائحة التنفيذية للقانون رقم ١٢٤ لسنة ١٩٦٠ بشأن نظام الإدارة المحلية ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٤٥ لسنة ١٩٦٢ بشأن تنظيم المبانى ولائحته التنفيذية ؛
وعلى موافقتنا على المذكرة المقدمة من السيد وكيل الوزارة للإسكان والتعمير بالمحافظة ؛

قرر :

مادة ١ - تبنى خطوط التنظيم السوداء الزهيدة المؤثر عليها بالإمات (x x x) المبينة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار وجميع الخطوط المتعارضة .

مادة ٢ - تعتمد خطوط التنظيم السوداء السمبكية المبينة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار على أن تعتبر خطوط تخطيطية بأراضى الأهالى تحترم عند اعتقاد تقسيمها .

مادة ٣ - تعتمد الأراضى المحدد دائرها باللون الأصفر المبينة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار للافراض الصناعية وتخصيص الجزء المحدد دائره باللون الأحمر المبين على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار من أملاك الدولة لشركة أطلس لإقامة مصنع المبانى الجاهزة عليها وذلك بالتقن الذى يقرره المجلس المختصة بالمحافظة وبالشروط التى توافق عليها وزارة الطيران المدنى .

مادة ٤ - ينشر هذا القرار فى الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره ، وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه ما

تحريرا فى ١٩ شعبان سنة ١٣٩٤ (٢٦ أغسطس سنة ١٩٧٥)

دكتور : محمود عبد الحافظ

(٣) - أن تخصص جميع المجال التجارية في المناطق الجديدة لأصحاب المجال التي يتم اخلاؤها .

(٤) - توفير جميع الخدمات التعليمية والصحية والاجتماعية والأمنية مع قبول جميع التلاميذ المنقولين إلى المدارس القريبة من موطنهم الجديد وتنشئ به المرافق الخدمية بما يلزم مناطق الإسكان .

(٥) أن يلتزم التخطيط بتحديد مناطق للإسكان الاقتصادي بحسب بولاق يمكن استيعاب الأسر التي يتم اخلاؤها ولين يرغب العودة إلى بولاق من سكان منطقة عشش الترحمان .

(٦) أن يتم نقل العاملين الذين يقطنون في هذه المناطق التي يتم اخلاؤها إلى أقرب مكان من سكنهم الجديد بقدر ما يتوفر .

(٧) البدء في إقامة مساكن اقتصادية في المناطق المحددة للإسكان الاقتصادي في بولاق قبل البدء في إزالة مناطق جديدة أخرى لينقل إليها المواطنين .

(٨) تقديم الدراسات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية المتوفرة عن سكان المناطق الخلفة لتوضع تحت نظر لجنة خاصة تشكل من السادة أعضاء مجلس الشعب وأئس الخلى عن المنطقة لمعالجة المشاكل الاجتماعية وما يتطلب إصدار قرارات من المجلس المحلي بشأنها .

(٩) كفالة وصول التعويضات وفق ١٠ كفاة القانون إلى أصحابها .
مادة ثانية - يتم تنفيذ البنود الواردة في المادة الأولى من هذا القرار بما يتفق مع أحكام القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ في شأن نزع ملكية الأحياء لإنشاء تخطيطها وتعميرها والقوانين واللوائح الأخرى وقرارات مجلس الوزراء الصادرة في هذا الشأن .

مادة ثالثة - ينشر هذا القرار في الوقائع المصرية ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه .

تحريراً في ١٩ جمادى الأولى سنة ١٣٩٩ (١٧ أبريل سنة ١٩٧٩)

محمد سعد الدين مأمون

الهيئة المصرية العامة للتأمين

قرار رقم ٨ لسنة ١٩٧٩

بقبول تسجيل صندوق التأمين الخاص للعاملين بالهندسة هيئة الموصلات السلكية واللاسلكية

رئيس مجلس الإدارة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٥٤ لسنة ١٩٧٥ الخاص بصناديق التأمين الخاصة ؛

وعلى القرار الجمهورى رقم ٢٢١ لسنة ١٩٧٦ بشأن الهيئة المصرية العامة للتأمين ؛

قرار رقم ٩٧ لسنة ١٩٧٩
بشأن عقد الاتفاق بين محافظة القاهرة وشركة مصر للتعمير لإعادة تخطيط حى بولاق وحكر أبو دومة

محافظة القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٥٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ بشأن نظام الحكم المحلى ولائحته التنفيذية ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ١٠٦ لسنة ١٩٧٦ في شأن توجيه وتنظيم أعمال البناء ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ بشأن نزع ملكية الأحياء لإعادة تخطيطها وتعميرها ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٥٧٧ لسنة ١٩٥٤ بشأن نزع ملكية العقارات للتنمية العامة ؛

وعلى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٧٤ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بشأن إعادة تخطيط منطقة بولاق ؛

وعلى قرارى المجلس المحلى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ١١٨ لسنة ١٩٧٩ ورقم ١٢٠ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بشأن عقد الاتفاق بين محافظة القاهرة وشركة مصر للتعمير لإعادة تخطيط حى بولاق وحكر أبو دومة ؛

قرر :

مادة أولى - الموافقة على قرار المجلس المحلى للمحافظة رقم ١٢٠ لسنة ١٩٧٩ المشار إليه التضمن الموافقة على التخطيط المبدئى لمنطقة بولاق ومشروع العقد المقترح بين المحافظة وشركة مصر للتعمير في هذا الشأن - على أن تقوم مديرية الإسكان بالمحافظة بإعادة تخطيط أحياء القاهرة بوجه عام وخاصة التمدد منها - مع أخذ موافقة المجلس المحلى للمحافظة قبل اتخاذ الإجراءات التنفيذية للتخطيط التفصيلى شاملاً كل جوانبه .

وعلى أن يراعى الآتى :

(١) - أن يبدأ التنفيذ بمنطقة عشش الترحمان - وألا ينقل أى مواطن من مسكنه إلا بعد توفير السكن المناسب وألا تزيد قيمة الأجرة عما كان يدفعه في مسكنه الأول .

(٢) في حالة تملك المساكن الجديدة لشاغليها تخضع قيمتها من التعويض المستحق طبقاً لما يقرره القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ وتوجهات السيد الرئيس بضرورة تعويض المواطنين ملاكاً أو مستأجرين والأيتام والمواطنين أية أعباء قد تنشأ نتيجة عدم وفاء التعويض المستحق عن القيمة المطلوبة .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



جمهورية فلسطين العربية
رئاسة الجمهورية

السنة الثانية والمشرون

العدد ٢٦

٣ شعبان ١٣٩٩

٢٨ يونيو ١٩٧٩

الجريدة الرسمية

محتويات العدد

- قرارات رئيس جمهورية مصر العربية
- قرار رقم ٢٦٤ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بتعيين الفريق أول فؤاد عبد أحمد ذكرى مستشارا عسكريا
لرئيس الجمهورية ٤٣٨
- قرار رقم ٢٦٥ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بتعديل بعض أحكام اللائحة التنفيذية لقانون تنظيم الجامعات
٤٣٨

قرارات رئيس مجلس الوزراء

- قرار رقم ٥٤٠ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بتعيين السيد الأستاذ الدكتور محمد فوزي حسين عميد كلية العلوم
بجامعة القاهرة نائبا لرئيس جامعة القاهرة لشئون التعليم والطلاب ٤٤٣
- قرار رقم ٥٦٨ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بقرار بعض الإعفاءات الجزئية ٤٤٣
- قرار رقم ٥٦٩ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بقرار بعض الإعفاءات الجزئية ٤٤٣
- قرار رقم ٥٧٣ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بالاستيلاء بالإيجار على الشقق التي تشغلها الهيئة العامة
للأمنيات الاجتماعية بالعقار رقم ١٢٣ بشارع عبدالعزيز آل سعود بمبنى الروضة
التابع لقسم مصر القديمة بالقاهرة ٤٤٤
- قرار رقم ٥٧٤ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بقرار المنفعة العامة لمشروع إعادة تخطيط وتعمير حي
عشش للزحمان والمناطق المحيطة له بمحافظة القاهرة والاستيلاء بطريق التنفيذ
المباشر على العقارات التي يشملها المشروع ٤٤٤

وعلى قرار المجلس الشعبى المحلى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ١٦٠ لسنة ١٩٨٣ باعتماد قرار المجلس التنفيذى لمحافظة القاهرة ؛

قرر :

مادة أولى - تلغى خطوط التنظيم السوداء الرفيعة المؤشر عليها بعلامات ××× وجميع الخطوط المتعارضة مع المشروع وفقا لما هو مبين على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار .
مادة ثانية - تعتمد خطوط التنظيم السوداء السميكة المبيئة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار .

مادة ثالثة - تستنزل قطعة الأرض المحدد دائرها باللون الأحمر المبيئة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار والبالغ مساحتها ٢٣٩٦٠٠ (تسعة وثلاثون ألف وستمائة متر مربع) الصادر بشأنها القرار الجمهورى رقم ٢٢٨ لسنة ١٩٨٢ بتخصيصها لوزارة التموين والتجارة الداخلية لإقامة مجمع انتخابى بمدينة نصر من مساحة الأرض المخصصة لمركز المرور الدولى بقرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ١١٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ والمحددة باللون الأزرق المبيئة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار .

مادة رابعة - تضم قطعة الأرض الملونة باللون الأصفر المبيئة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار والبالغ مساحتها حوالى ٢٣٧٠٠ (ثلاثة آلاف وسبعمائة متر مربع) لمركز المرور الدولى لتصبح المساحة الكلية لمركز المرور الدولى ٢١٨٩٣٢٥ م (مائة وتسعة وثمانون ألف وثلاثمائة وخمسة وعشرون متر مربع) .

مادة خامسة - يذشر هذا القرار فى الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه ما

صدر فى ١٠ شعبان سنة ١٤٠٣ (٢٣ مايو سنة ١٩٨٣)

يوسف صبرى أبو طالب

← قرار رقم ١٣٥ لسنة ١٩٨٣

بشأن مشروع إعادة تخطيط منطقة بولاق وواسيرو

محافظ القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على القانون رقم ٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٩ بشأن نظام الحكم المحلى والقوانين المعدلة له ولائحته التنفيذية ؛

قرار رئيس مجلس الوزراء

رقم ٥٧٣ لسنة ١٩٧٩

رئيس مجلس الوزراء

بعد الاطلاع على الدستور ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٥٧٧ لسنة ١٩٥٤ بشأن نزح ملكية المقارنات للمنفعة العامة أو التحسين ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٥٢ لسنة ١٩٦٠ في شأن تعديل بعض الأحكام الخاصة بترجع الملكية لمنفعة العامة والاستيلاء على المقارنات ؛

وعلى قرار رئيس الجمهورية رقم ٤٨٩ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بتفويض رئيس مجلس الوزراء في مباشرة بعض اختصاصات رئيس الجمهورية ؛

قرر :

(المادة الأولى)

يستولى بالإيجار ، لمدة ثلاث سنوات من تاريخ العمل بهذا القرار ، على الشقق التي تشدها الهيئة العامة للتأمينات الاجتماعية أرقام ١ و ٢ و ٣ و ١٠١ و ١٠٢ و ١٠٣ و ١٠٤ و ٢٠١ و ٢٠٢ و ٢٠٣ و ٢٠٤ من المقارنات رقم ١٢٣ الكائن بشارع عبد العزيز آل سعود بميل الروضة التابع لقرى مصر القديمة بالقاهرة ملك السيد / محمد أحمد عتريس وذلك لصالح الهيئة المذكورة .

(المادة الثانية)

ينشر هذا القرار في الجريدة الرسمية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره ، وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه .

صدر برئاسة مجلس الوزراء في ٢١ رجب سنة ١٣٩٩ (١٦ يونيو سنة ١٩٧٩)

د . مصطفى خليل

قرار رئيس مجلس الوزراء

رقم ٥٧٤ لسنة ١٩٧٩

بتقرير المنفعة العامة لمشروع إعادة تخطيط وتعمير حي عيشي للترجمان والمناطق الممتدة له بمحافظة القاهرة والاستيلاء بطريق التنفيذ المباشر على المقارنات التي يشملها المشروع

رئيس مجلس الوزراء

بعد الاطلاع على الدستور ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ في شأن نزح ملكية الأحياء لإعادة تخطيطها وتعميرها ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٢٨٣ لسنة ١٩٥٦ بإدخال بعض التعديلات على التشريعات القائمة ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٥٢ لسنة ١٩٧٥ بإصدار قانون نظام الحكم المحلي ولائحته التنفيذية المعدلة بقرار رئيس الجمهورية رقم ٥ لسنة ١٩٧٩ ؛

وعلى قرار رئيس الجمهورية رقم ٤٨٩ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بتفويض رئيس مجلس الوزراء في مباشرة بعض اختصاصات رئيس الجمهورية ؛

وعلى موافقة مجلس محلي محافظة القاهرة على المشروع بجلسته المنعقدة في ١١/٤/١٩٧٩ ؛

قرر :

(المادة الأولى)

يعتبر من أعمال المنفعة العامة مشروع إزالة حي عيشي للترجمان والمناطق الممتدة له لإعادة تخطيطها وتعميرها طبقاً لأحكام القانون رقم ٢٧ لسنة ١٩٥٦ المشار إليه ووفقاً للبيان والتخطيط الإجمالي للمشروع المرفق لهذا القرار .

(المادة الثانية)

يستولى بطريق التنفيذ المباشر على المقارنات الكائنة في المنطقة التي يشملها التخطيط الإجمالي للمشروع .

(المادة الثالثة)

تتخذ الإجراءات اللازمة لتفويض شاغل المقارنات التي يتم الاستيلاء عليها وفقاً لسادة السابقة بنقلهم إلى وحدات جديدة مما تشهده محافظة القاهرة بعين شمس والزواوية الحمراء ، على أن تملك لهم هذه الوحدات الجديدة - دون الأرض المقامة عليها - وذلك مقابل ثمن يدفع على أقساط شهرية لمدة خمس عشرة سنة على أساس جنيه واحد للجمرة مع اعتبار الصالة الجمرة .

وبالنسبة لمن تقتضي أوضاعهم الاجتماعية ضرورة بقائهم في حي عيشي للترجمان والمناطق الممتدة له ، تعد لهم وحدات جديدة بنفس المنطقة ويتم شغلها بعد الدراسة بمعرفة لجنة مختصة تعتمد توصياتها من محافظ القاهرة ، وذلك مقابل الأجرة المقررة قانوناً .

(المادة الرابعة)

ينشر هذا القرار في الجريدة الرسمية ما

صدر برئاسة مجلس الوزراء في ٢١ رجب سنة ١٣٩٩ (١٦ يونيو سنة ١٩٧٩)

د . مصطفى خليل



الوقائع المصرية - العدد ٢١٢ فى ١٩ سبتمبر سنة ١٩٩٦ ١٣

محافظة القاهرة

قرار محافظة القاهرة رقم ٢٦٠ لسنة ١٩٩٦

بشأن تعديل بعض خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة بمنطقة رملة بولاق طبقا للطبيعة

محافظة القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على قانون نظام الإدارة المحلية رقم ٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٩ ولائحته التنفيذية وتعديلاتهما ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ١٠٦ لسنة ١٩٧٦ بشأن توجيه وتنظيم أعمال البناء ولائحته التنفيذية وتعديلاتهما ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ بإصدار قانون التخطيط العمرانى ولائحته التنفيذية ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس التنفيذى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ٩٣ لسنة ١٩٩٦ بشأن تعديل بعض خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة بمنطقة رملة بولاق طبقا للطبيعة ؛

وعلى قرار اللجنة المؤقتة للمجلس الشعبى المحلى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ٦٥ لسنة ١٩٩٦ بالموافقة على قرار المجلس التنفيذى للمحافظة رقم ٩٣ لسنة ١٩٩٦ ؛

قرر :

مادة اولى - تعديل بعض خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة بمنطقة رملة بولاق طبقا للطبيعة وذلك وفقا لما يلى :

إلغاء خطوط التنظيم المؤشر عليها بعلامات XXX .

اعتماد خطوط التنظيم السميكة .

كل ذلك حسب ما هو مبين على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار .

مادة ثانية - ينشر هذا القرار بالوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره ، وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه .

تحريرا فى ١٩٩٦/٨/٢٦

محافظ القاهرة

مستمد عمر عبد الأخر

الوقائع المصرية - العدد ١٤٣ في ١٩ يونيو سنة ١٩٨٣ ٩

وعلى القانون رقم ١٠٦ لسنة ١٩٧٦ في شأن توجيه وتنظيم أعمال البناء المعدل بالقانون رقم ٢ لسنة ١٩٨٢ ولأتمته التنفيذية ؛
وعلى القانون رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ بإصدار قانون التخطيط العمراني ؛
وعلى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٤ لسنة ١٩٦٧ بشأن إعادة تخطيط المنطقة المحصورة بين شوارع السبتية والجلاء و ٢٦ يوليو وكورنيش النيل ؛
وعلى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٧١ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بشأن إعادة تخطيط منطقة ماسبيرو ؛
وعلى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٧٤ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بشأن إعادة تخطيط منطقة بولاق ؛
وعلى قرار المجلس التنفيذي لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ١٢٨ لسنة ١٩٨٢ بشأن مشروع إعادة تخطيط منطقة بولاق و ماسبيرو ؛
وعلى قرار المجلس الشعبي المحلي لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ١٧٨ لسنة ١٩٨٣ بشأن مشروع إعادة تخطيط منطقة بولاق و ماسبيرو ؛

قرر :

مادة أولى - يلغى قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٧٤ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بشأن وقف تراخيص البناء بمنطقة بولاق المحددة باللون الأزرق ، مع السماح بصرف تراخيص طبقا لقرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٤ لسنة ١٩٦٧ بالإضافة إلى الأجزاء التي تم نزع ملكيتها مثل عشش الترحمان ومنطقة الرملة الجارى نزع ملكيتها وكذا الشريحة المطلة على كورنيش النيل وفقا لما هو مبين على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار .

مادة ثانية - تجديد قرار محافظ القاهرة رقم ٧١ لسنة ١٩٧٨ بشأن إعادة تخطيط منطقة ماسبيرو المحدد دائرها باللون الأحمر المبينة على الرسم المرافق لهذا القرار ووقف تراخيص البناء بها لمدة عام .

مادة ثالثة - ينشر هذا القرار في الوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه ما

صدر في ١٠ شعبان سنة ١٤٠٣ (٢٣ مايو سنة ١٩٨٣)

يوسف صبرى أبو طالب

محافظة القاهرة

قرار رقم ٦٢٢ لسنة ١٩٩٢

بشأن مشروع تخطيط منطقة حكر أبو دومة ورملة بولاق بالقاهرة

محافظ القاهرة

بعد الاطلاع على قانون نظام الادارة المحلية رقم ٤٣ لسنة ١٩٧٩ ولائحته التنفيذية وتعديلاتها ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ١٠٦ لسنة ١٩٧٦ فى شأن توجيه وتنظيم أعمال البناء والقوانين المعدلة له ولائحته التنفيذية ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ باصدار قانون التخطيط العمرانى ولائحته التنفيذية ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس التنفيذى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ٣٤ لسنة ١٩٩٢ بشأن تخصيص جزء من قطعة الأرض رقم ٥٠ شارع عبيد الواقعة بحكر أبو دومة لمؤسسة أخبار اليوم لاقامة مبنى متطور على كورنيش النيل لها ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس التنفيذى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ٣٧ لسنة ١٩٩٢ بشأن طلب مؤسسة أخبار اليوم الموافقة على اقامة مبنى ادارى لها بمنطقة رملة بولاق ؛

وعلى قرار المجلس الشعبى المحلى لمحافظة القاهرة رقم ٢٢٣ لسنة ١٩٩٢ بشأن مشروع تخطيط منطقة حكر أبو دومة ورملة بولاق بالقاهرة ؛

- ٤ - الالتزام بقانون التخطيط العمرانى رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢
٥ - الالتزام بقانون البيئة رقم ٤ لسنة ١٩٩٤
٦ - الالتزام بقرارات التخصيص السابقة وخطوط التنظيم المعتمدة وغير المتعارضة مع المشروع .
٧ - إلغاء خطوط التنظيم المتعارضة مع المشروع .
٨ - عند حدوث أى صعوبات تعوق تنفيذ التخطيط المقترح يوصى بتشكيل لجنة من الأجهزة المختصة (التخطيط العمرانى بالمحافظة - أملاك المحافظة - حى بولاق) لوضع الحلول المناسبة لها .
وكل ذلك حسب ما هو مبين بالرسومات المرفقة .

(مادة ثانية)

- ينشر هذا القرار بالوقائع المصرية ، ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره ،
وعلى الجهات المختصة تنفيذه .

تحريراً فى ١٣/١١/٢٠٠٥

محافظ القاهرة

دكتور / عبد العظيم وزير

Appendix - E

**Minutes of the Local People Council
of the Muhafzah**

Letter of complaint from the Local People's Committee to the Muhafez, not dated, the planning department, the Muhafzah

مذكرة
بالرد على مشروع تخطيط وتطوير
منطقة بولاق

السيد اللواء أركان حرب / أحمد فخسر
رئيس المجلس الشعبى المحلى لمحافظة القاهرة

الموضوع

- فى مستهل مذكرتنا نود أن نوضح لمعاليتكم أن مشروع تخطيط وتطوير منطقة حى بولاق والتخطيط التفصيلى لمنطقة رملة بولاق قد أصبح قضية رأى عام بين أهالى بولاق حيث ساورهم العديد من التساؤلات خاصة عند دراسة هذا المشروع فى حدود ما أتيج لنا من معلومات وبيانات قليلة وما تمكنا من الاطلاع عليه من خرائط عند عرضها فى إحدى جلسات لجنة الإسكان بالمحافظة وبعد أن تبين لنا أن هذا المشروع قد قام على أساس غير سليم من القانون والواقع، كما أنه لم يتبع الإجراءات القانونية الصحيحة فى العرض طبقاً لنصوص القانون مما يتعين معه قبول اعتراضنا وأهالى بولاق على المشروع وإعادة عرضه طبقاً لصحيح القانون حتى يتسنى لنا القيام بالمزيد من الدراسة الكافية التى ترضى قناعتنا عن هذا المشروع وإبداء ملاحظتنا ومقترحاتنا على أساس علمى ومنطقى سليم.

- وهو الأمر الذى كفله لنا قانون التخطيط العمرانى رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ ولائحته التنفيذية وسنوضح لمعاليتكم أوجه اعتراضنا على هذا المشروع:

« فمن هيث الشكل والقانون:

- لما كان من المقرر قانوناً طبقاً لقانون التخطيط العمرانى رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ أنه يلزم أن يراعى فى إعداد مشروعات التخطيط العام أن يكون عاماً وشاملاً ومحققاً للاحتياجات العمرانية على المدى الطويل وأن يكون قائماً على أساس من الدراسات البيئية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية والعمرانية، ويحدد التخطيط العام والاستعمالات المختلفة للأرض التى تشمل المناطق السكنية والتجارية والصناعية والسياحية والترفيهية وغيرها من الاستعمالات التى تتفق مع طبيعة المدينة أو القرية وظروفها واحتياجات القاطنين بها وهذا لم يتحقق فى هذا المشروع لأن ما ورد به لم يتفق مع طبيعة واحتياجات القاطنين بحى بولاق.

(٢)

- كما وأن المادة ٣ من قانون التخطيط العمراني رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ نصت على أنه ((تعرض الوحدة المحلية مشروع التخطيط العام بمقرها ليبدى المواطنين ملاحظاتهم وآرائهم فيه، ثم تصدر قراراً في شأنه في ضوء ما أبدى من ملاحظات ورأي الهيئة العامة للتخطيط العمراني. وتبين اللائحة التنفيذية أوضاع وإجراءات ومدّة عرض المشروع وإبداء ملاحظات المواطنين فيه. ويعرض المشروع على المجلس الشعبي المحلي للمحافظة لإصدار قرار في شأنه، ثم يعرض على الوزير المختص بالتعمير، فإذا اعترض الوزير على المشروع أعاده إلى المجلس المحلي مشفوعاً بأوجه الاعتراض لتعديله أو إعادته من جديد بالاشتراك مع الهيئة العامة للتخطيط العمراني خلال المدة التي يحددها الوزير..... إلخ))

- ثم جاءت اللائحة التنفيذية لهذا القانون وحددت طريقة العمل به وإجراءات عرضه حيث نصت في المادة ١٢ منه على أن ((بعد تحضير مشروع التخطيط العام يعرض بمقر الوحدة المحلية المختصة لمدة شهر، ويتضمن العرض تحديد موعد لجلسة الاستماع للرأي العام بعد انتهاء مدة العرض... ثم تعلن الوحدة المحلية عن موعد ومكان عقد جلسة الاستماع في جريدتين يوميتين قبل الموعد المحدد بأسبوعين)).

- كما نصت المادة ١٣ من ذات اللائحة التنفيذية على أنه ((يدعى أعضاء المجالس المحلية المختصة التي يجري إعداد مشروع التخطيط العام لها لحضور الاجتماع وفي الموعد المحدد يتولى المختططون الذين قاموا بإعداد المشروع شرحه للمواطنين الحاضرين لجلسة الاستماع ويجيبون على أسئلة المستفسرين منهم مع تدوين تعليقاتهم وملاحظاتهم واقتراحاتهم)).

- ثم جاءت المادة ١٤ ونصت على أنه ((بعد انتهاء جلسة الاستماع يعاد التخطيط العام إلى لجنة التخطيط لإجراء ما تراه من تعديلات على ضوء الملاحظات التي ظهرت أثناء المناقشة..... إلخ)).

- وكما نصت المادة ١٥ من اللائحة التنفيذية على أنه ((يعرض مشروع التخطيط العام بعد مراجعته من الهيئة العامة للتخطيط العمراني على المجلس الشعبي المحلي للمحافظة للموافقة عليه..... إلخ)).

- ومن مفاد ما تقدم يتبين أنه كان يلزم وأن يعرض هذا المشروع بعد تحضيره بمقر الوحدة المحلية لمدة شهر مع تحديد جلسة الاستماع لرأي أهالي بولاق بعد انتهاء مدة العرض لتقوم الوحدة المحلية لحى بولاق بالإعلان عن مكان وعقد جلسة الاستماع في جريدتين يوميتين قبل الموعد المحدد بأسبوعين على الأقل ليتسنى للمواطنين الحاضرين المتضررين للاستماع

لشرح المخططون لهذا المشروع ولإجابتهم على أسئلة وانتقادات هؤلاء المواطنين مع تدوين تعليقاتهم وملاحظاتهم واقتراحاتهم ثم يعاد المشروع إلى لجنة التخطيط العمراني لإجراء ما تراه من تعديلات على ضوء الملاحظات التي ظهرت أثناء المناقشة.

- ولما كان ما تقدم فإنه يتضح جلياً أن قانون التخطيط العمراني رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ ولائحته التنفيذية قد حدد الإجراءات التي يجب اتباعها عند طرح مثل هذه المشاريع، وبإزالة ما تقدم من نصوص على ما تم من إجراءات اتبعت في هذا المشروع نجد أنها قد خالفت صحيح القانون ومن ثم يكون هذا المشروع قد شابه الخطأ في تطبيق واتباع صحيح القانون مما يتعين معه إعادة عرضه طبقاً للإجراءات المنصوص عليها في القانون.

« أما عن هيئ الموضوع:

- فلا ريب أن ما تقدم وعدم اتباع الإجراءات القانونية الصحيحة في هذا المشروع من حيث الاستماع لتعليقات وملاحظات واقتراحات أهالي بولاق في هذا المشروع كان مؤداه الآتي:
- ١- أن مذكرة التخطيط قد جاءت غير مستوفية للبيانات الكاملة للتخطيط العام لبولاق وعلى سبيل المثال أنه لم يتعرض ويتعرف على الشوارع الداخلية لمنطقة بولاق.
- ٢- عدم مراعاة هذا المشروع للبعد الاجتماعي لأهالي منطقة بولاق حيث أنه ولا بد من انعكاس هذا التطوير على المواطنين وهذا لم يتحقق في هذا المشروع.
- ٣- نقاعس المشروع عن عمل بحوث اجتماعية واقتصادية وبيئية وأمنية لأهالي المنطقة، بينما وعلى الوجه المقابل قام بعمل بحث كامل للتخطيط لمنطقة بولاق مما يعنى أن هذا المشروع قد جاء لتطوير المنطقة وليس للمواطن القاطن بهذه المنطقة.
- ٤- كما أنه من الواضح أن هذا مشروع التخطيط العمراني للمنطقة غير معلوم تماماً للسادة القائمين على التخطيط والدليل على ذلك عدم توضيحهم وتحديد المناطق منزوعة الملكية والملكية الخاصة وكان هذا المشروع قد وضع على أساس أن المنطقة بأكملها منزوعة الملكية.
- ٥- كما وأن هذا المشروع قد جاء بما لا يمثل الواقع الفعلي والحقيقي لحاجة المنطقة للتطوير حيث جاء بالمشروع فتح ثلاث محاور بعروض تتراوح بين ١٥ إلى ٢٥ متر مربع ليس للمنطقة حاجة إلى هذا الاتساع الكبير خاصة وأن المنطقة بها العديد من المحاور الهامة والرئيسية والحيوية وعلى سبيل المثال محور السبئية الذي يربط بين كورنيش النيل والسبئية وشوارع بولاق الجديد وشوارع ٢٦ يوليو.

(٤)

٦- أن المشروع قام على أساس ترفيحي تجارى وفندقى وإدارى وهذا واضح من تخطيط منطقة عزية الكفراوى وسانتو وكابش وفايد ولم يراعى أن يكون هناك ضمن هذه المساحات سكن اقتصادى لأهالى المنطقة حفاظاً على البعد الاجتماعى والاقتصادى وعدم التهديد لأهالى المنطقة.

٧- بالنظر إلى هذا التخطيط العمرانى نجد أنه لم يخضع للدراسة الكافية والمستوفية لكل المنطقة، بل أنه قد اقتصر على مناطق بعينها وألقت تماماً عن مناطق أخرى أكثر حاجة للتطوير.

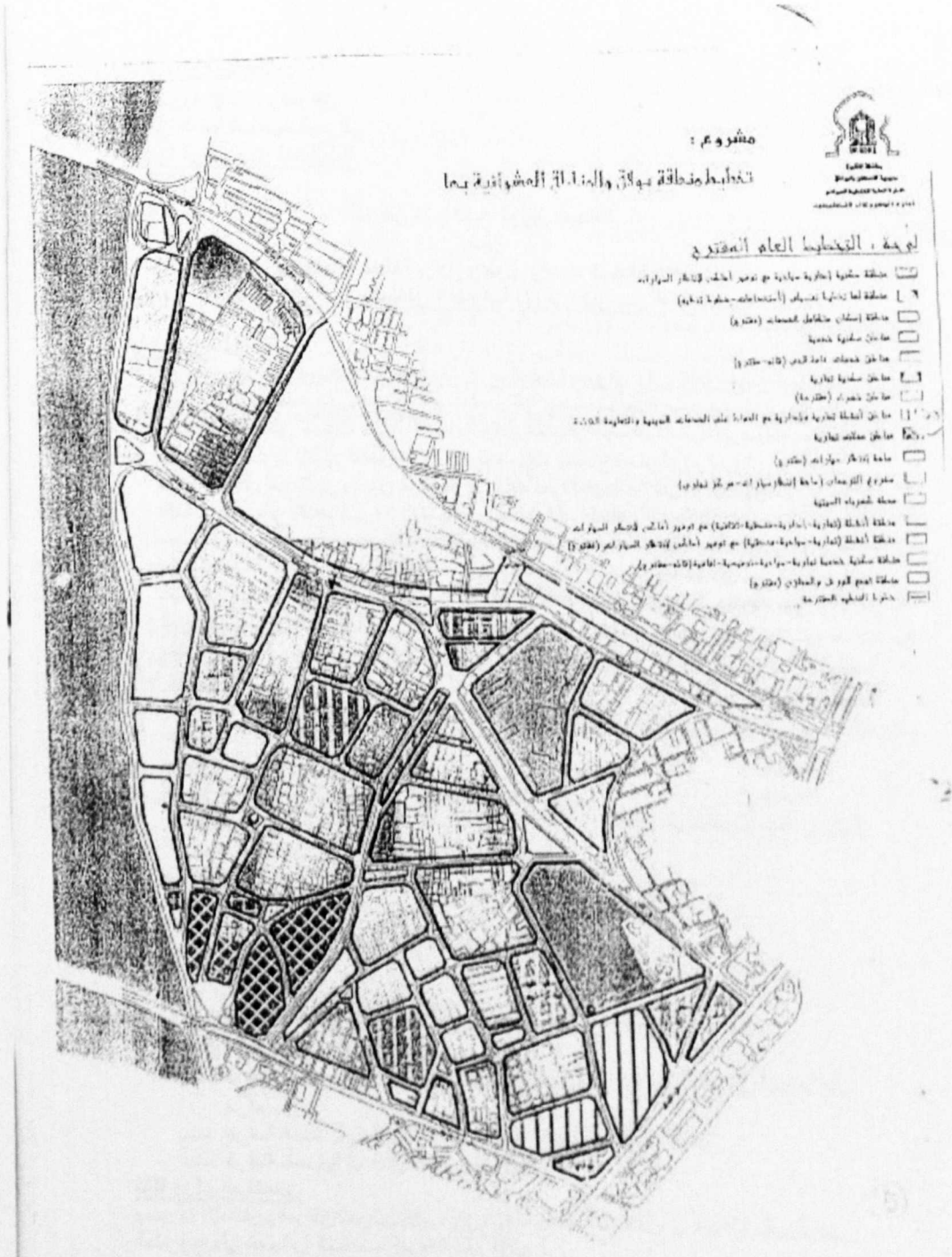
٨- لم يراعى هذا المشروع عمل مجمع لخدمة المنطقة خاصة وبعد أن أصبح حى بولاق مستقل ومنفصل عن حى غرب، وعلى سبيل المثال لم يخصص المشروع قطعة أرض لإقامة مبنى رئاسة حى بولاق والإدارات الخاصة بها.

٩- جاء هذا المشروع دون أن يوضح خطوط التنظيم المقترحة على شارع السبئية والصحافة.

- وعلى الرغم مما تقدم قام المجلس المحلى لحى غرب القاهرة بإرسال كتاب مؤرخ فى ٢٠٠٢/١٢/٣١ لمجلس المحافظة بطلب تحديد جلسة مشتركة مع لجنة الإسكان بالمحافظة لعرض الخرائط التوضيحية بقاعة المجلس الشعبى المحلى لحى غرب القاهرة، إلا أن المجلس لم يرد على هذا الكتاب ولم تعرض الخرائط حتى الآن ضارباً بكل النصوص القانونية التى وردت فى هذا الشأن عرض الحائط غير عابئاً بما قد يصب أهلى منطقة بولاق من ضرر جسيم وما قد يفوت عليهم حق إبداء تعليقاتهم وملاحظاتهم واقتراحاتهم فى هذا المشروع الذى تعلق برقابهم ومستقبلهم وأمنهم وأصبح كالسيف المسط على أعناقهم.

- ولما كان ما تقدم وبنثوت عدم قيام هذا المشروع على أساس صحيح من القوانين والواقع وعدم اتباعه لتلك الإجراءات القانونية المنصوص عليها فى المادة ٣ من قانون التخطيط العمرانى رقم ٣ لسنة ١٩٨٢ والمواد ١٢، ١٣، ١٤، ١٥ من اللائحة التنفيذية لهذا القانون ولتلك الاعتراضات الجوهرية المذكورة سلفاً.

The original A4 map presented to the local people's committee



محافظة القاهرة
مديرية الإسكان والمرافق
الإدارة العامة للتخطيط العمراني
إدارة المشروعات والتخطيطية

مذكرة

للعرض على السيد الوزير المحافظ

بشأن

مشروع تخطيط منطقة بولاق وتطوير وإعداد المخطط التفصيلي
لمنطقة الإيواءات والمناطق العشوائية بها في نطاق حي غرب القاهرة

أولاً : الموضوع

في إطار سياسة الدولة للارتقاء بالمناطق المتدهورة عمرانيا وفي إطار خطة المحافظة لدعم النمو الاقتصادي وتحسين البيئة العمرانية بإعادة تنظيم النسيج الحضري وتوفير الخدمات وتحسين شبكات البنية الأساسية وحل المشاكل الجماهيرية طبقا لتوصيات مخطط التنمية الحضرية لإقليم القاهرة الكبرى وتوصيات القطاع المتجانس رقم (١) تم اختيار منطقة بولاق لما تتميز به من موقع فريد وذلك لمواجهة نهر النيل وهي تتبع حي غرب القاهرة إداريا وتنقسم إلى (١٦) شياخة وتشتمل على أماكن أثرية كثيرة أهمها مسجد مصطفى ميرزا وحمام سنان باشا والتكية الرفاعية وتتضمن المنطقة أيضا مباني حكومية مثل مبنى دار المعارف (الهيئة المصرية للكتاب) وقسم شرطة بولاق ويوجد أيضا مستشفى بولاق العام وكلية الاقتصاد المنزلي والمعهد الفني الصناعي ويوجد عدد من الكنائس منها كنيسة الشهيد دميانة وكنيسة القديس يوسف .
لذلك نشترف أن نعرض على سيادتكم الآتي :

ثانياً : الدراسة

تم تقسيم العمل بالمشروع إلى عدة مراحل وتتلخص في الآتي :-

- مرحلة تحديث الخرائط .
 - مرحلة جمع المعلومات .
 - مرحلة المسح العمراني وإخالها على الكمبيوتر .
 - أ- علي مستوى البلوكات بالمنطقة .
 - ب- علي مستوى العقار في المناطق العشوائية .
 - مرحلة التحليلات :
 - أ- علي مستوى المنطقة .
 - ب- علي مستوى المناطق العشوائية .
 - مرحلة الحل المقترح :
 - أ- التخطيط العام لمنطقة بولاق .
 - ب- التخطيط التفصيلي لمنطقة رملة بولاق (الإيواءات - المناطق العشوائية) .
- أعدت فكرة الحل على مابلي :
- أ- دراسة خطوط التنظيم للطرق طبقاً للطبيعة ورفع كفاءتها والبدء في تنفيذها على مراحل .
 - ب- دراسة الخدمات وتخطيط مواقع الخدمات التي تقتدر إليها المنطقة .
 - ت- دراسة تصيلية للمناطق العشوائية والإيواءات .

ثالثاً : رأي المختصين

ومديرية الإسكان والمرافق تعرض الأمر على سيادتكم للتفضل بالنظر في الموافقة على عرض المشروع على المجالس المختصة للموافقة على الآتي :

- ١- إعتداد التخطيط العام لمنطقة بولاق بحى غرب القاهرة .
 - ٢- إعتداد التخطيط التفصيلى لمنطقة رملة بولاق (الإيواءات - المناطق العشوائية) .
 - ٣- الإلتزام بإستخدامات الأراضى وخطوط التنظيم المقترحة بكل من التخطيط العام لمنطقة بولاق والتخطيط التفصيلى لمنطقة رملة بولاق وذلك طبقاً للإشتراطات والخرائط المرفقة للمشروع .
 - ٤- الإلتزام بقانون التخطيط العمرانى رقم (٣) لسنة ١٩٨٢ .
 - ٥- الإلتزام بقانون البيئة رقم (٤) لسنة ١٩٩٤ .
 - ٦- الإلتزام بقرارات التخصيص السابقة وخطوط التنظيم المعتمدة والغير متعارضة مع المشروع .
 - ٧- إلغاء خطوط التنظيم المتعارضة مع المشروع .
 - ٨- عند حدوث أى صعوبات تعوق تنفيذ التخطيط المقترح يوصى بتشكيل لجنة من الأجهزة المختصة (التخطيط العمرانى بالمحافظة - أملاك المحافظة - حى غرب) لوضع الحلول المناسبة لها .
- وكل ذلك حسب ما هو مبين بالرسومات المرفقة .

مهندس
المشروعات التخطيطية

وكيل
المشروعات التخطيطية

مدير
المشروعات التخطيطية



الجلسة الشعبية المحلية لحي غرب القاهرة
(رئيس المجلس)



مذكورة

المعرض على المجلس الشعبي المحلي للمحافظة القاهرة

مبدأ - مشروعات تخطيط منطقة بولاق وتطوير وإعادة المخطط المخصص لمنطقة الابواب
والمناطق العشوائية بها في نطاق حي بولاق أبو العلا -
ساعة على ما تم عرضه بجلسة المجلس المدعومة بتاريخ ٢٠٠٤/٢/٢٤ تم عرض كتاب
المجلس الشعبي المحلي لمحافظة القاهرة نحو تطوير حي بولاق أبو العلا
وبعد ما دار من مناقشات تم الموافقة على الاتسي :-

١- بالنسبة لاشتراطات المناطق العشوائية والابواب منطقة رجة بولاق

أولا : المناطق العشوائية

التي أوصى قرار التخطيط نازلتها عن طريق الحي وبحوث الاسكان وتوفير أماكن
بديلة للمستحقين وفي مناطق (بحيرة الكراوي - منطقة كبرى - منطقة سانبسو
منطقة فايد)

يرى المجلس انه ليس لديه مانع من التطوير وتخطيط المنطقة المشار اليها اعلاه على
الحسب التالي وطبقا للتوصية التالية :-

نظر لان هذه الأماكن يوجد بها قاطناتها حتى تاريخه ومنذ زمن بعيد وهناك ارتباط
بمبنى المنطقة وحفاظا على البعد الاجتماعي وتماشيا مع خطط التطوير

يوصى بالمجلس الاتسي :-

م - يتم عرض التخطيط العام لهذه المنطقة

ب- اختيار احدى الأماكن المشار اليها ذات الصاحة المناسبة لاقامة مساكن عليها تتماشى
مع القلة الحضارية للمنطقة مع تأهيل قاطناتها بأسوة مساكن منطقة زيبم لإعادة
تسكينهم داخلها مع الحفاظ على الملكات الخاصة التي يملكونها وبحفظها الدستوري

- والتأمين وحتى لا يضار مواطن

ج - بالنسبة لمنطقة فايد :-

مبدأ ازالة (ورس الخشب) وذلك بعد حصرها عن طريق الحي وادارة بحوث
الاسكان لتوفير أماكن بديلة للمستحقين

- يرى المجلس بانسه ليس لديه مانع نحو ازالة ورس الخشب بعد حصرها وتوفير
أماكن بديلة لهم مناسبة على الاضمار أحد

بعد / ...



المجلس الشعبي المحلى لحي غرب القاهرة
(رئيس المجلس)



- ٢ -

ثانياً :- الاموال

- ١- الموافقة على ازالة الابواب الكشة خلف المسكة الحديدية بجهة قبلى وبقدر مساحة ٥٢ حجرة والمسطح القائم عليها ١٩٠ م^٢ .
ويقتضى اقامة حديقة أو مكتبة للطفل أو معهد زهرى عليها لخدمة منطقة رطة بولاق ا لسود الاضائة بأن هذه الابواب قد تضررت فعلا .
- ٢- بوجى بازالة الابواب الكشغمام ساكنى الرطة نهاية شى الملح والموتون بقرى بـ ٤٨ حجرة وتشغل مساحة ١٠٨٠ م^٢ .
ويقتضى اقامة حى بولاق أبو الغلا عليها ا نود الاضائة بانه تم هدم الابواب لخدمة لخدمتها بقرار المجلس المحلى للمحافظة رقم ٨٨ لسنة ٢٠٠٤ م . مانشأ حى بولاق أبو الغلا عليها .

ثالثاً :- بالنسبة للقرارات الصادرة للمنطقة :-


- ١- الموافقة على اعتماد جميع قرارات الارشاد وسوق الملكة بمنطقة بولاق ا لسبور رقم ٥٥٥ لسنة ١٩٧٢ م والقرار رقم ١٢٥ لسنة ١٩٨٢ م غير سارى .

رابعاً :- بالنسبة للطرق :-

- ١- بالنسبة لتقسيم شى سوق العمر كحور رأسى بداية من شارع السنينية حتى كوبرى ١٥ مارشيو معرض (١٥٠ م) وكذلك النقطة رقم ٢ الخاصة بتمتد شارع درب عمر كحور افق بدارسة من شارع شين واستفاده حتى شارع وكالة الملح الى كورنيس النمل بزيادة بتردد ليكون (١٥٠ م) رأى المجلس على عدم الموافقة على ما ذكره الملاح بالنسبة لشارع سوق العصر وقرب نسر لحيين خوفاً المجلس بالنواحيات التنموية لها مع المطالبة بضرورة ايجاد حلول عملية لتكون هناك بفاق لمرها وهو تنمية محور المنصوري والسينية وشين والصفاة والحلا، والطبعة الاهلية على ان يتم فتح وتوسعة الشوارع الرابطة بين كورنيس النمل والمطبعة الاهلية لتكون محور مرورياً لربط ترب القاهرة بشمالها مع رفع كفاءة كوبرى اصنام والمحاوير الموعودة له وكذلك المعابر التى تحت مرسد وكذلك رفع كفاءة نفق الرطة لسهولة الحركة المرورية .
- ٢- الموافقة بشأن تمتهن شى أبو الفرج كحور رأسى بداية من شى كوبرى امامة حتى شى رطة بولاق بعرض (٢٥٠ م) واستفاده شى الطبعة الاهلية ليكون بعرض (١٥٠ م) وذلك يكون التوسع مسر بأحضان المسكة الحديدية .
- ٣- بالنسبة للبدء الرابع والخامس والسادس بوق المجلس بالنسبة للبدء المشار لها وخاصة بالطرق الاضلاى اولاً قبل الموافقة على هذه البدء على خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة والمعتمدة بشارع السنينية والصفاة وكسما خطوط المراد تنفيذها على مراحل .
- ٤- الموافقة بشأن البدء السابع نحو تطوير مرافق التجيلى الذى يربط بين حى بولاق أبو الغلا وحى روى الفرج لبدء خط سكة جديد بجهة قبلى القاهرة


بمعد /

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



المجلس الشعبى المحلى لحي غرب القاهرة

(رئيس المجلس)



الاشتراطات العامة لمنطقة بولاى
بجى بولاى أبو العسلا

أولا - بالنسبة لاستخدامات الاراضى :-

- 1- الموافقة بشأن تغيير استخدام الانشطة الصناعية الكائنة على كورس النيل طبقا لاشتراطات الكورس مع توفير اماكن انتظار السيارات .
- 2- الموافقة بشأن الحفاظ على اماكن رطبة بولاى مع تهدب الواجهات ورفع كفاءة الشوارع وتشيير المساحات المعتمدة حدائق والكائنة من المباني والمناسك طبقا للرسم المعد رقم ١٢٥٠ مقرر على أن يعرض الرسم .
- 3- الموافقة بشأن وقف تراخيص المحارن والنوتر بالمناطق السكنية وتركيز هذا النشاط على طراز المنطقة العطله على شارع المتصوري حاف محطة الكهرباء الستة كما بالتحطيط العام للمنطقة على أن يعرض التحطيط .
- 4- الموافقة بشأن نقل النشاط الصناعي خارج المنطقة مع اعطاء مهلة قدرها ثلاث سنوات لنقل النشاط وتعديل استخدامات طريقها كما يورد بالتحطيط العام للمنطقة
- 5- نوصى بعرض الاستخدامات الواردة بالتحطيط العام للمنطقة
- 6- الموافقة بشأن ما تقدم من هيئة السكة الحديد لتعديل استخدام المحارن والنوتر الخاصة بها والكائنة على حدود خط السكة الحديد شمال منطقة بولاى ويتم الالتزام بأن يكون الالتزام المعدل (سكي متكامل الخدمات) مع المقدم بمشروع نفسه لمحافظة القاهرة .

ثانيا - بالنسبة لارطاعات المباني :-

- 1- الموافقة بشأن تطبيق قانون المباني (مرة ونصف عرض الشارع) ومراعاة السورود القانونية الخاصة بالحارات
- 2- الموافقة بشأن تأكيد وحدة النسق المعماري لواجهات المباني الكائنة على شوارع عرضى ١٥ متر فأكثر .

ثالثا - بالنسبة لمناطق الخدمات :-

- 1- الموافقة بشأن تخصيص مناطق خضراء وساطق خدمات حسب احتياجات المخطفــــــــــــــــة المستقبلية (على أن يعرض التحطيط العام والتفصيلى المقترح) .
- 2- الموافقة بشأن استخدام أسفل الكبارى بالمنطقة كحدائق واساحات انتظار
- 3- لجنة من الاجهزة المختصة (التخطيط العمرانى بالمحافظة - أملاك المحافظــــــــــــــــة حصى بــــــــــــــــولاى) وأن يمثل ضمن هذه الجهات موصين أحدهما من مجلس الحي والآخر من مجلس المحافظة في حالة غياب رئيس أو وكيل المجلس المحلى للحي عن الحضور

بعدة / ٠٠٠

إشتراطات المناطق العشوائية والإيواءات
بمنطقة رملة بولاق

١- المناطق العشوائية :

عزبة الكفراوي :

يوصى بإزالة العشوائيات وذلك بعد حصرها عن طريق حي غرب وإدارة بحوث الإسكان وتوفير أماكن بديلة للمستحقين وحيث أنها أملاك دولة يقترح طرحها للاستثمار كاستخدام (ترفيهي - فندقى - إدارى - تجارى) وهى بمسطح حوالى ٢,٦ فدان .

منطقة كابش :

يوصى بإزالة العشوائيات بها وذلك بعد حصرها عن طريق حي غرب وإدارة بحوث الإسكان وتوفير أماكن بديلة للمستحقين وحيث أنها من أملاك الدولة يقترح استخدامها كجراج متعدد الطوابق وتجارى وهى عبارة عن قطعتين الأولى أعلى شارع بولاق الجديد بمسطح حوالى ٠,٨ فدان والثانية أسفل شارع رملة بولاق الجديد بمسطح حوالى ٠,٣ فدان .

منطقة سانتو :

يوصى بإزالة العشوائيات بها وذلك بعد حصرها عن طريق حي غرب وإدارة بحوث الإسكان وتوفير أماكن بديلة للمستحقين ويقترح استخدامها سكنى تجارى وفى حالة ثبوت ملكيتها للمحافظة يقترح تقسيمها وطرحها للبيع بالمزاد العلنى كأستخدام سكنى تجارى بان يكون الإرتفاع يحد أقصى ١٥ م وهى بمسطح حوالى ٣٧٨٩ م ٢م اى حوالى ٠,٩ فدان .

منطقة فايد :

يوصى بإزالة العشوائيات بها (ورش خشب) وذلك بعد حصرها عن طريق حي غرب وإدارة بحوث الإسكان وتوفير أماكن بديلة للمستحقين ويقترح استخدامها تجارى إدارى مع توفير أماكن لإنتظار السيارات وتقدر مساحتها حوالى ١,٣ فدان .

٢- الإيواءات :

- يوصى بإزالة الإيواءات الكائنة خلف سكة حديد وجه قبلى وتقدير ٥٢ حجرة والمسطح للقائم عليه ٩٩٠ م ٢م ويقترح إقامة حديقة ومكتبة للطفل عليها لإسكان الرملة .
- يوصى بإزالة الإيواءات الكائنة أمام مساكن الرملة نهاية شارع الملح والصودا وتقدير ٤٨ حجرة وتشغل مساحة ١٠٨٠ م ٢م ويقترح إقامة حديقة عامة عليها .

بالنسبة للقرارات السابقة بالمنطقة :

إعتبار جميع قرارات الإيقاف ونزع الملكية بمنطقة بولاق (قرار رقم ٥٥٥ لسنة ١٩٧٢ وقرار رقم ١٣٥ لسنة ١٩٨٣) غير سارية ويتم الرجوع للتخطيط .

الإشتراطات العامة لمنطقة بولاق بحسب غرب القاهرة

بالنسبة لاستخدامات الأراضي:

- 1- يوصى بتغيير استخدام الأنشطة الصناعية الكثيفة على كورنيش النيل طبقاً لإشتراطات الكورنيش مع توفير أماكن إنتظار الميانات .
- 2- الحفاظ على إسكان رملة بولاق مع تهذيب الواجهات ورفع كفاءة الشوارع وتشيير المساحات المعتمدة حدائق والكاتنة بين البلوكات وذلك طبقاً للرسم المعتمد رقم ١٢٥٠ مكرر
- 3- وقف تراخيص المخازن والورش بالمناطق السكنية وتركيز هذا النشاط على أطراف المنطقة المطلة على شارع المنصوري خلف محطة كهرباء المبتية كما بالتخطيط العام للمنطقة
- 4- نقل النشاط الصناعي خارج المنطقة مع إعطاء مهلة قدرها ثلاث سنوات لنقل النشاط وتعديل استخدامه طبقاً لما ورد بالتخطيط العام للمنطقة .
- 5- الإلتزام بالإستخدامات الواردة بالتخطيط العام للمنطقة .
- 6- في حين تقدم هيئة السكة الحديد لتعديل استخدام المخزن والورش الخاصة بها والكاتنة على حدود خط السكة الحديد شمال منطقة بولاق يتم الإلتزام بأن يكون الإستهلاك المعدل (سكني متكامل الخدمات) مع التقدم بمشروع تقسيم لمحافظة القاهرة .

بالنسبة لإرتفاعات المباني:

- 1- تطبيق قانون المباني (مرة ونصف عرض الشارع) ومراعاة الرود القتونية الخاصة بالحارات .
- 2- تأكيد وحدة النسق المعماري لواجهات المباني الكاتنة على شوارع عرض ١٥ متر فأكثر .

بالنسبة لمناطق الخدمات:

- 1- تخصيص مناطق خضراء ومناطق خدمات حسب إحتياجات المنطقة المستقبلية (كما بلوحة التخطيط العام والتقسيمي المقترح) .
- 2- إستخدام أسفل الكبارى بالمنطقة كحدائق وساحات إنتظار .

بالنسبة للطرق:

- 1- تنمية شارع سوق العصر كمحور رأسى بداية من شارع السبئية حتى كوبرى ١٥ مايو ليكون عرضه (١٥ متر) .
- 2- تنمية درب نصر كمحور أفقى بداية من شارع شنن وإمتداده حتى شارع وكالة البلح إلى كورنيش النيل بزيادة عرضه ليكون (٢٥ متر) .
- 3- تنمية شارع أبو الفرج كمحور رأسى بالمنطقة بداية من شارع كوبرى إمبابية حتى شارع رملة بولاق بعرض (٢٥ متر) وإمتداده شارع المطبعة الأهلية ليكون بعرض (١٥ متر)
- 4- تنفيذ خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة والمقترحة لشارع السبئية .
- 5- تنفيذ خطوط التنظيم المعتمدة لشارع الصحافة .
- 6- لتوصية بالبدء فى تنفيذ خطوط التنظيم على مراحل حسب أهمية المحور وإمكانية التنفيذ طبقاً للطبيعة .
- 7- تطوير مزلقان النجلى الذى يربط بين حى غرب وحى روض الفرج ليعبر خط سكة حديد القاهرة - وجه قبلى .

بالنسبة للمباني الأثرية:

- يوصى بالحفاظ عليها مع إعادة ترميمها (مسجد سفان باشا - وكالة سليمان باشا - للتكية الرفاعية - مسجد ميرزا - كنيسة السيدة دميالة - كنيسة القديس يوسف -

A case of building permits issued in Bulaq to follow the new regulations and set-backs (Case 1)

محافظة القاهرة
حى بولاق أبو العيلا
منطقة الاسكان

رخصة خط تنظيم رقم (٢٠)
لسنة ٢٠٠٥

الاسم / جيمال يوسف محمد
الموقع / ١٦ درب مصر
الحدود /

الحد البحرى / اعطفت الزواوي
الحد القبلى / جا
الحد الشرقى / درب مصر
الحد الغربى / جا

طول الواجبه = ٥٠ متر

صورة خط تنظيم أمام الموقع ١٦ درب مصر - بولاق
وذلك طبقا للزسم المعتمد رقم ٢٠٠٤
سنة ٢٠٠٤ وقرار المحافظ رقم
مقياس رسم ١:١٠٠٠ وطبقا للخريطة
المساحية رقم ٢٢١ مقياس رسم ١:١٠٠٠
الموقع على خريطة المساحة رقم ٢٢١ مقياس رسم ١:١٠٠٠
طبقا لقرار السيد وزير الإسكان رقم ١٠٢١ لسنة ٢٠٠١
وذلك طبقا لخطة التنظيم
مع مراعاة أتباع القانون رقم ٠٦ لسنة ٧٦ وقانون ٢ لسنة ٨٢ والقوانين المعدلة ولائحة
التنفيذية . وهذه الأبعاد تقريبية وعلى المالك أنتداب مندوب الرفع وبتبذانية بالمحافظة
لتحديد خط التنظيم على الطبيعة وعمل محضر رسمى بذلك وهذه الرخصة لا تثبت ملكية الأرض ولا
تعطى أى حق من حقوق الغير ولا تعطى حق البناء وصرفت هذه الرخصة بناء على طلب السيد /
جيمال يوسف محمد السيد بولاق حى بولاق أبو العيلا على مسئولية الخاصة ودون أدنى
مسئولية على منطقة الاسكان بحى بولاق ومحافظة القاهرة وقد سدد الرسوم بالقسيمة رقم
٨٩٤٦٨ بتاريخ ٢٠٠٤/٤/٢٢

(بشهر ٣ حيزا وار بيوه ترشا فقط لايز)

مهندس / مدير إدارة التخطيط
وكيل المنطقة
مدير عام منطقة الاسكان

A case of building permits issued in Bulaq to follow the new regulations and set-backs (Case 2)

منطقة الإسكان
بحسب بولاق أبو العيلا
رقم ١٧١

رخصة خط تنظيم رقم (١٧)
لسنة ٢٠٠٤

الاسم / أحمد محمد
الموقع / أطرافه على نهر
الحدود /

الحد البحري / ٢ متر
الحد القبلي / ٤ متر
الحد الشرقي / ١٠ متر
الحد الغربي / ١٠ متر

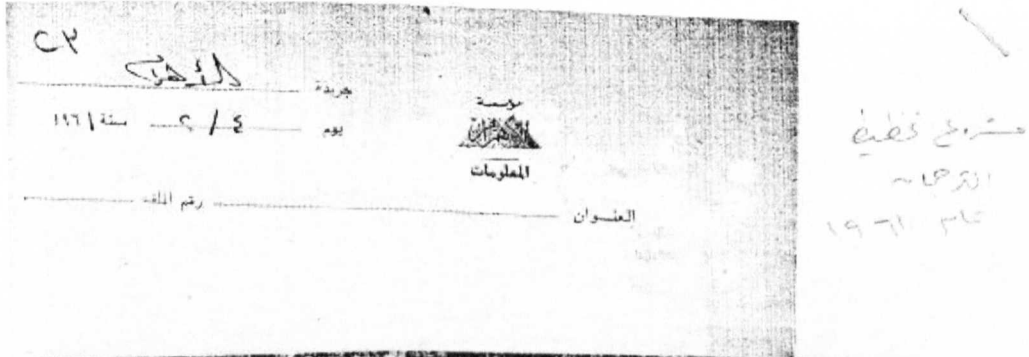
مسورة خط تنظيم أمام الموقع أطرافه على نهر
وذلك طبقاً للرسم المعمد رقم ٢٦٩
وقرار المحافظ رقم ٢٦٩
السنة ٢٠٠٤ مقياس رسم ١:١٠٠ وطبقاً للخريطة
المساحية رقم ٢٨ مقياس رسم ١:١٠٠
الموقع به بزر كبير منها مع تنظيم وهو المنزر المرشح

مع مراعاة أتباع القانون رقم ٠٦ لسنة ٧٦ وقانون ٣ لسنة ٨٢ والقوانين المعدلة ولائحة التنفيذية ٠ وهذه الأبعاد تقريبية وعلى العالك أنتداب مندوب الرفع وتبليغانية بالمحافظة لتحديد خط التنظيم على الطبيعة وعمل محضر رسم بذلك وهذه الرخصة الانتشيت ملكية الأرض ولا تعطى أي حق من حقوق الغير ولا تعطى حق البناء وصرفت هذه الرخصة بناء على طلب السيد / أحمد محمد كوصيهم وعلى مسئولية الخاصة ودون أدنى مسؤولية على منطقة الإسكان بحسب بولاق ومحافظة القاهرة وقد سدد الرسوم بالقسيمة رقم ٤/١٤/٨ بتاريخ ١٥/١٤/٠٤

مهندس / محمد
مدير إدارة التخطيط
وكيل المنطقة
مدير عام منطقة الإسكان

Appendix - F
Archival Newspapers

The announcement published in official newspapers for a re-planning scheme to renew Ishash al-Tourguman in Bulaq.



القاهرة القديمة تتجدد

في الترجمان الجديد يقام على ١٦ فدانا في بولاق مشروع جديد يوفر المساكن الصحية المناسبة لنحو ٣٠٠ أسرة المشروع ينفذ في ٥ سنوات ويناقشه المواطنون مع المختصين قبل بدء تنفيذه

أعدت محافظة القاهرة مشروعاً لتجديد حي الترجمان الشعبي، اشترك في اعداده مهندسو بلدية المحافظة وطلبة قسم الاجتماع وطالباته في الجامعات. صرح السيد صلاح يسوقى محافظ القاهرة بأن المشروع سيعرض على سكان الحي في ندوة عامة تناقش فيه تباينه تنفيذ.

الحى القديم

ويتم بعد ذلك تخطيط الحى القديم سنة ١٩٦٦ على اسس سليمة - ويتبع بالخطط التي كان عليها في بيته من جديد أكبر ومن المقرر ان ينقل هذا المشروع على مراحل تنتهى في خلال ٥ سنوات وهو يعد احد المشروعات التخطيطية الكبرى التي ستندمها محافظة القاهرة

وسيتقبل أن هذه العمارة جانب من سكان حى الترجمان الحالي فويتم بعد ذلك عدم السكان التي كانوا يشغلونها. ثم توفر المساكن المناسبة لعقد أكبر من السكان الحاليين + ويتكون اليها ولهم مساكنهم القديمة + وهكذا حتى يتم بالتدريج نقل جميع السكان الحاليين الى الحى الجديد

ويتم استكمال الخطط الخاصة بالعمارة الاجتماعية لحيه القديم + الأكثر من زده لا من طلبة وطالبات الاجتياح بين سكان الحى من مشكلاتهم الاجتماعية المختلفة + فليس ان سكان الحى الذين يتكون ٣٠٠٠ أسرة تتصوّر إلى سكاني الصحيحة المناسبة للواقع العامة التي كلفهم بمستواهم الاجتماعي

الحى الجديد

ويعد هذه الأبحاث الشاملة قامت بمحاولة القاهرة باعداد مشروع تخطيطي جديد لهذا الحى بهدف الى إنشاء حى جديد يبدأ من حى الترجمان الحالي على ان يتم فوق ١٦ فدانا بمساحة ١٠٠ فدان بواقع ٤ في مكان مختار السكك الحديدية

وقد روعي في التخطيط الجديد للحى ان يشتمل على مركز تجارى دولي تتوافر فيه المرافق العامة كاملة + من مياه وتلغراف وارسنال ومخاضر ومسداتش اوربيد وتليفونات وامداد مياه ذلك + كما تتوافر كل الوان الترفيه المناسبة لسكانه الى جانب الاكثر من الحدائق والناظر الخضراء + ويستمتاز شوارع الحى بالانساع وطفه التقاعسات + حتى لا يؤثر ذلك في حركة المرور بها

المرحلة الاولى

وستتطلب المرحلة الاولى من المشروع بالقرب من حى الترجمان الحالي بحيث تقام عمارة سكنية اقتصادية كبيرة تتسوية ٤٠٠ أسرة + على ان تقام فوق المساحة + وتكون لها سوق للخضر والفواكه لخدم سكان العمارة وسكان المناطق المحيطة بها + ويتطلب ان تبلغ تكاليفه اقامة هذه العمارة حوالي ١٤٠٠٠٠٠٠ ل.م. مع جدرانها بمساحات مكنة من ثلاث طوابق مساحتها

تجديد الاحياء القديمة وتحويلها من احياء غير صحية الى احياء حديثة على اسس صحية تتواءم على النهوض بالمتوى الاجتماعي لسكانها + وقد انتهت المحافظة بالفعل من اعداد مشروع عمارة الفاظمين التي تهدف الى تجديد احياء الازهر والحسين والدراسة بوباسام في تنفيذ هذا الفرض

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جريدة **النهج** موسم

يوم **١٢ / ١١** سنة **١٩٦١**

رقم الملف

٢٢ ميا جدياً في القاهرة

يتم إنشاؤها قبل عام واحد

الأحياء الجديدة تضم ١٠ آلاف سكن تتراوح أحيائها بين ٨٠ ألفاً و٤٠٠ ألفاً

الذي والوطني . وستشاه فيه قاعات
عربية ومراسم للفنانين ومكاتب للبين
وحمل للمسلمات الدقيقة والحرف
اليدوية .

وسيفيد في شهر يناير المقبل نقل
سكان هذه الحي إلى المساكن الاتصالية
التي أقيمت لهم في الدراسة ، حتى تبدأ
أعمال حرم الحي القديم وتنفذ مشروع
النوم بخاهرة القاطنين .

وقى بولاق : وسعت نفس القطعة ،
ويجرى الآن بناء أجزاء سكنية في رحلة
بولاق ونادي السبعة لينقل إليها سكان
حي الترجمان ومن مسيرو . . . وقى نيتة
التورة العائش يسكن هؤلاء السكان في
أحيائهم الجديدة .

وخطة تجدد القاهرة كانت بوسوعة
على أسس أقالمة ٤٠٠٠ سكن مسكن
الاقتصادى سنويًا . وقام المختصون في
الحفاظة بأعداد الرسومات الخاصة
بهذه المساكن . وهذا الأسبوع عقدت
المحافظة على إنشاء ١٠ آلاف وحدة
على من أربعة الأمتار ، وأقيمت المسيد
سلاح نسوفي تونجها على ٢٤ حيا
من : رحلة بولاق ، ونادي السبعة
والقلى ، والشراية ، وبهشة ، ومرتبة
جدي ، وعربة بسار ، وطوان ،
والأجربة ، والطليح ، والمنظية ، وجسر
السحر الأعظم ، والترسة البولندية
والعسال وعربة وجيه ، والأناية .

أن ٧٥ ٪ من سكان العاصمة يقعون
في مساكن غير مناسبة ، وعلاوة عليها
سئم نظم إلى أحياء جديدة ، مع حرم
الأحياء القديمة التي يقعون فيها الآن .
وبذلك ستغير صورة العاصمة .
القاهرة .

محمد عويس

إعادة تخطيط أحياء الحسين وبولاق والرحمان وما سبير من يناير المقبل



صلاح نسوفي محافظ القاهرة

والمساكن المتوسطة ، والمشآت التي
تطر بأفراخ الشسلا الدينس والتقالق
والقوس نيتي الحي مركزاً لتقاسم

سقيم محافظة القاهرة هذا
العام ٢٢ حيا سكنيا جديدا ،
تضم ١٠ آلاف مسكن اقتصادى .
أتمتدت المحافظة مبلغ ٣ ملايين
و ٦٠٠ الف جنيه للبدء فورا في
بناء هذه المساكن ، بحيث يتم
إنشاء ٨ آلاف مسكن منها في عيد
الثورة العاشر .

سكنون هذه المساكن في ٢٤٥
عجزة كسرة ، مكسونة من ثلاث
أحدهمات من الشقق .

الاولى : مكونة من خمسة وسبعة
وإيجارها الشهرى نحو ١٨٠ قرشا
والثانية : مكونة من حرتين وسبعة
وإيجارها الشهرى نحو ٢٠٠ قرش
والثالثة : مكونة من ٢ حيراشوصالة
وإيجارها ٤٠٠ قرش شهريا .

وستتوفر فيها المياه والكهرباء
والترافق المساسة ودارس الأطفال
والمدائق ومناطق الترفيه العسبة .
كما ستتم الأها خطوط الأنابيب
ليربطها بمختلف أحياء العاصمة .

وسينقل إلى هذه الأحياء سكان
بعض الأحياء القديمة التي تقدر عددها
وإعادة تخطيطها . . . وفي الشهر الجائى
تقبل مسكن من معروف . . . والأق
ستعد المحافظة لنقل سكان بولاق
الحسين والأرض .

على الصين والأرض وكانت الخطه
لأالة ماحول مسجدالحسين من الجنتين
الشربية والغربية ، وأمانة ميدان قسبيح
أياه بصل مائتة ميدان الأهر نبع
أعادة إنشاء ميدان جديدة حول الميدان
على الطراز العريق بحيث تصور فيها
المجلس التشريعية ذات ٤ التوابل ،

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جريدة **زهرا**
يوم ١٤ / ٢ سنة ١٩٦٤



المعلومات

رقم الملف

النسوان

الحياة الفريية في المحى الذى تخلف ٢٠٠ سنة عن القاء

مفتاح الباب الخلقى

الذى تدخل منه التوراة الى الدرسي في بولاق

بداية الطريق الى الاصلاح

اول عيادة تقسيم طيبة في الشرق كله



حاصل سبيل
مكتبة

الباب الذى تسلك منه ..

الخدوات
ولم يكن هذا هو كل ما قاله بحرين
الهيئة الاستعلامية داخل من بولاق ..
نقد اصالتهم ارتداهم انه بين ١٠٠٠
نفس من اصل التي يوجد ١١ شخصيا
مصائب يعاقت منطقة ..
والسبب - في حياطة وسدى - يعود
في اساسه الى مادة الزواج الغير بين
اقل بولاق حتى وصلت نسبة التي ان
١٤ في القاية من استيلاء وتوليد التي
يتزوجون في حين سيرة لا تتعدى ١١ سنة
البيت و ١٦ سنة لولد !
ومن هذه النطقة - بالذات - ومن
النساء مادة الزواج بالتر من واحدتين
سكني بولاق .. دخلت الطفرات المتزايدة
الى كل بيت وكل حجرة في منازل التي
النسبي !

النساء والادمان على التدخين ..

ومن عجيب ان التدخين و ٩ كرتي
العنقبي بعضه خاصة منظر انتشارا
كثيرا بين نسائهم اكثر منه بين رجاله
● تؤكد ذلك أيضا .. احدى
الباغيات الاجتماعية في لفريرما
حيث تقول ان هنالك بعض السيدات
في بولاق اتى التدخين حتى انها
تستدين قسريا للتدخين وتزور وانها
ان يقدم مفعرا سكايفاد خبيثا !
وقامت قباة الدنيا

ويوم ان اتى الدكتور جمال الدين
رأى تلك الحالة القريية فاجتمع
في بولاق ٥٠٠ قامت قباة الدنيا

خلال ايام تتحرك قافلة من خبراء المسائل الاجتماعية ل
بلادنا .. وجهتها هي بولاق من ساهرة . القافلة تقسم ٤٠
خبرا .. سطر فون كل باب .. للكشف عن حقيقة نقول : ان هي
بولاق متخلف عن اجزاء القاهرة على الاقل ب ٢٠٠ سنة الى
الوراء !

ولقد تم اختيار ١٠٠٠ أسرة من سكان
بولاق لسكون ٥ عينة ٤ تحت الفحص
والاختبار .
والد ١٥٠٠ أسرة بعد ايام - الآن -
الاول عيادة من ترميم في الشرق الاوسط
في وسط التي - سيكون في استقبالهم
داخل العيادة ٦ من اهل الاختصاص في
ميدان الطب والتمريض والصيدلانية
بعدها .. يتسبح كل واحد من
الاخصائيين الى ٦ تقرير .. كل في مجال
اخصاصه .. ومن خلال التقرير الذي
يشتمل الاجابة على السؤال الغربي
الذي لقر لجاد : هل صحيح ان هي
بولاق متخلف ٢٠٠ سنة كلفته !

اول الخيط ..

والخيط اول الخيط .. كان مند
اقل من اربعين عاما في اساس الخيط
جبال الدين والتي تراكب عام الجسوت
الاجتماعية بجهاطة التفرع . وبعد ان
قام على راسي بقية استقلالية اصبحت
٩ يوما .
قائرا .. ان بين كل ١٠ رجال يعاملون
بمجرد ٧٢٢ جديون مثلا .

الاولى من ايامها في الشرق الاوسط للكشف
من كل اثار الالف اسيرة من كل التراس
الصخرة والعقبة والنقبة، وتبريزوع
العلاج ..

خريطة لنقط التخلف ..

غير احيى يكون .. ان لمة خريطة
بديعة للشاعرة بقوم اهل ابيها
- الان عدد من خيرة المجتمع .. على
شوه مايسر عنه اجساد الـ () ياها
التي تتنهر خلال شهور ثلاثة ..
والخريطة يوضح مراكز المناكفات المختلفة
التي صارت منها اجساد الشاعرة المختلفة
.. تمهيدا لتعريف نوع العلاج وبرايم
التطير في المستقبل ..

عزت السعدني

الذين تغير على الاطلاق .. ومن هذا
ان السكن ليس احمده .. هو السبب
في تخلفه عن بولاغ وغيره من الاحياء
المختلفة ..

• وان اسباب التخلف بهذه اساسا
الى التي تسبب في قلة العلقين والصدام
الشفاعة والتغاليب والسكن .. وقراها

نماذج بشرية ..

ان مسورة من داخل الحس .. من
داخل البيوت نفسها .. بعض مزيدا
من العصور ..
وكانت الدرجة التي قدرتها التباينة
لحال الاسرة ولتعلقها بفعاليتها
اسع المجتمع والرغبات النفسية والذاتي
من 1 - تتنفس ..
في حارة احمد علي .. داخل شقة
من حجارين يعيش أسرة متواضعة
.. المواقف بالنسبة التعريف لنموذج من
حارة بولاغ

الاسرة مكونة من ٩ افراد ..
دخل الاسرة لا يتجاوز مرتبة الزوج
٩ - جارات اول كل شهر ..
التواضع الكفري لم يدخل حياتها بعد
.. من تمتع في الاستعداد ابيلا من
المشاة الجاز .. اما الله فيعلمه انها
.. السقا .. كل صباح ..
• لو تصرف الاسرة الطريق الى
الطبيبة منذ زمن بعيد .. الوصفاة
المستهدفة ارفعوا وانصر العرق لتعالج
الزاد الاسرة ..
• اخبر مرة دخلت فيها الاسرة
والسراية كالتصنيف ستواصلا سنة ..
• المستراح هو الملمر الاول ..
انها احب ..
• تعليم الطفلة حريصة لتفترعا
السنة ..

خطوات .. للاشغال ..

وكان لابد من اتخاذ خطوات اجنبية من
اسل .. الف شخص يتكلمون بولاغ ..
ومثلهم ثانياً يتكلمون الشبهة زكيتا ..
والصالح في عصر القديلة .. وعن الاسراء
الذاتة التي ايجت اثارها الجاهلانية
بمساعدة ليرة ..
والابتدائي للتحفيزات تلك المنطقة
من حارة المركز القومي لبيوت وتوابعها
• ياها مناشدة طرقتوا الى حارة بولاغ
ولتالي الخطوات فعادة التثنية عن

وكانت تلك خريطة مكونة من ٩ اشكال
المستطيلة .. من المثلثات التي للمرض
والتي تتوزع على اربعة اقسام
الطب البشري .. والذاتية القوي
مسلو لتكافة اربابها والمعادن ..
الذكور احمد علي مسالمة لاصحات
النفس .. للذكور التي توبس
مسالمة لاصحات الذين والذات
المستطيلة مسالمة حافظ لتعريف
والاشكال ..

اجتماع الـ ٦

وتمتد لجنة الـ ٦ اكثر من اجتماع
لناقشة ٩ اشهر الذي اذرف على اجتماعه
الذكور صلال الدين زكي والذي قال :
• اننا سادنا قد بدأنا في تنفيذ
مخططات اصلاح الرضا .. فلهذا ولتبدأ
من هنا .. من داخل العاصمة نفسها
• وان لو تقسنا سلكنا منزل في
بولاغ الى صغرة الامتيازات في اول
مناطق القاهرة .. وحتما هم يتشربون
هناك فترة طويلة .. فن يقرأ عليهم

Announcing the construction of a new touristic building on the site of the Ameri press.

جريدة
مؤسسة
المعلومات
السنون
١١ سنة
١٣ أكتوبر ١٩٧٧
١٢
١٣

قرارات هامة للجنة التنفيذية لمحافظة القاهرة :

اقامة مجمع سياحي على أرض المطبعة الاميرية بالكورنيش تنظيم حملة جمع تبرعات لرعاية طلاب الجامعات والمعاهد

كتب - محمد بآسنا :
وافقت اللجنة التنفيذية لمحافظة القاهرة
على اقامة مجمع سياحي مساحته ٧٠٠
متر مربع على أرض المطبعة الاميرية القديمة
بشارع كورنيش النيل ، واقامة حديقة
سباحية بها الزهور مدينة نصر ضم

تارتينو ولعاب الخيال وطعما ، والفروع
في اثناء دور المناقشات باحياء المعاصرة
لاستغلالها في اقامة الانراج والمسابم
والقنوات ، برسوم رمزية يخصص دخلها
لصندوق الخانات بالمحافظة ، والده في
جمع تبرعات لرعاية طلاب الجامعات
بمعاهد العليا ، وانشاء لجنة خدامات
منطقة الاميرية الصناعية تضم الشركات
والمصانع الموجودة في حدود احياء
الطرية والزينون وحداائق القبة والوايلي
والقنارية ، تخصص نسبة ١٠ ٪ من
ارباحها لتطوير هذه الاحياء ، واتمية
مركز اسلاسي في جزمين الحديثة ايام
بمستشفى دار الشفاء .

كما ناقشت اللجنة التي رئسها
الدكتور محمود عيسى الحافظ محافظ
القاهرة اقامة التمثلة في العاصمة وقررت
استمرار الحملات التي تعري حاليا ،
واعداد تقرير مشترك من المحافظة
والجيش المحلى في رعاية الكوير تعرضه
على السيد مدوح سالم رئيس الوزراء
لتقديم هذه الصفقات ، ووافقت على ان
تبدأ شرطة المرافق من يوم السبت القادم
في تنفيذ قانون النظافة بتحويل غرائب
من المظلمين الذين يتفرون بمشاكلهم في
الاسوارح بواقع ٢٥ قرشا للمارة و ٥٠
قرشا لاصحاب المظلمة ، وانحرر لهم
محافظ تحول للتيابة المسامة في حلة
عدم سداوعا خلال ٤٨ ساعة

الحياة في عشش الترجمان قبل أن ينتقل سكانها الى النور!

لا اطلاق وغير انساني تولد منه الامراض كما ان ١٧٢٢ أسرة ببنسبة ٧٧٪ من عدد الاسر تستخدم المراحيض المشتركة ، و ٤٤٢ أسرة تستخدم المراحيض الخارجية (خارج الشقق) بل حتى وسائل التوية تشير غير موجودة تقريبا و بعد ان هذه المثلثة ١٧٢٢ أسرة أي ما يوازي ٨٨٪ من مجموع الاسر تقيم في مساكن ليس بها بلكونات على الاطلاق والدقيقة المظلمة من اشغال السكان بالنسبة بحصة من الشقق حده غير ان ١٩٦٢ أسرة أي ما يوازي ٧٢٪ من مجموع الاسر تقيم بمساكن استعفا من الخشب و ٧٪ من السكان تقيم في مساكن الستفا من الاسمنت المسلح و ٢٦٪ من الاسر تقيم تحت استعفا من الصلح واللبه والتمشي والبوصي

و تكتسي لعمرائ العمارة نند تدين ان اكثر من نصف عدد الاسر بالنسبة وطولها ٢٢٦٤ أسرة تستخدم المصنوعات الاعلى من الحصول على المياه اللازمة لها من طريق الابواب والصنماج والجرارل و ١٠٩٤ أسرة يحصلون على المياه من المصنوعات المشتركة داخل المنازل و ٧٦٪ من الاسر يحصلون على المياه اما من الجيران أو من حديق السقا

وقد تدين ان من عشش الترجمان ١٥٠٠ أسرة تستخدم التروسون و ١٢٤ أسرة يستخدمون التوابس نظاء باليفاريت او البونجاير أو لا النية الصلحوخ

مساكن غير صحية على الاطلاق تصامم بها اسرناق الخزنة للحيشة وبنية من طراز قديم وغير متصلة بشبكة المياه الكلية ولا يشتمل الصرف الصحي وبنية بشبكة الكهرباء و بنتم بالقدارة وغير مرسومة والمتدنية من مطلة يتخلفه جدرانها بجزاليم من دوتوبها في تلك الغاصية ا وليس اوضح من ذلك ان ما يقص الكيلو متر المربع من مساحة المنطقة وصل الى ٢٢٠ ألف نسمة على ارضية تقريبا من الاسر تقيم جميع ارضها لتورا وانشا في جيرة واحدة!

كتب - حسن عاشور :

هذه صورة على الطبيعة لتشكل العمارة في منطقة عشش الترجمان ، التي سيعطي الرئيس السادات يوم السبت القادم إشارة البدء بجمعها ، ويوم يتسلم الضفة الاولى من المساكن الجديدة لبناء المنطقة في عين شمس والزاوية الحمراء

والصورة تشرح بلا كلام الاسباب التي دفعت الى اصدار القرار بعدم عشش الترجمان ا

بأول الجناس حسب الله الكرماوى وزير التعمير والحيثيات الجديدة ان ٢٤٤٢ أسرة أي ما يوازي ٤٤٪ من عدد سكان المنطقة يعيشون في غرفة واحدة ، و ١٥٩٩ أسرة تقيم في شقة مشتركة ، وذلك الى جانب ٤٧٦ أسرة تقيم في غرفة مشتركة وهي في الغالب غرف مسكونة بالانوار والبيديات ، و ١٦٦ أسرة تعيش تحت شرا السلم لا لها الاسر التي تشغل المسكن من دابة هي ٤٦ أسرة فقط بنسبة ٨٠٪ من عدد الاسر بالنسبة

١٦٧٩ أسرة بنسبة ٣١٪ اشغال الثلث تقريبا تقيم في خشبة او تحت شرا السلم أو اسفل المنازل والبراميه ومن هذا العرض بالارقام يمكن القول بان درجة التراحم في المنطقة برغمه جندا ويرجع ذلك الى ان المنطقة مبعودة ومزعجة بالمخلفات والبيها مساكن من دور واحدة وخدمات التوسع السكني في المنطقة ضعيفة

ان اقلية الاسر ٤٠٢٢ أسرة بنسبة ٧٥٪ من مجموع الاسر ليس لديها مطابخ و هذا بلا شك مؤشر خطير لان بناء ان هذه الاسر تعرض باستمرار لانظار استخدام مطابخ مشتركة داخل الحجرات ، وذلك ٥٢٤ أسرة لديها مطابخ مشتركة و ١٤٠ أسرة تستخدم المطابخ الخارجية موجودة خارج الشقة ، وغلبا من ان المطابخ المشتركة مصدر خطر فهي ايضا مثل مناطق جين الاسر ويصعبها

وفي القالبه تصدحله حجرات النوم والغيشة كطابخ

ان ١٩٥٦ أسرة أي ما يوازي ٧٨٪ من مجموع الاسر ليس لديها حمامات في المسكن وتستخدم حجرات الميضة في عمليات النظافة الشخصية ولا شك انه محسوس

تقسيمها - وبذلك يصبح مجموع الوحدات غير السكنية التي تزيد على ١٨ مليوناً في السنة ١٩٧٠-٧١.

والقاهرة يبلغ المجموع الكلي للوحدات في القاهرة مليوناً و١٧٠ ألف وحدة

ولقد كانت مساحة شوارع القاهرة المرسوفة - أي التي تنسج - حتى عام ١٩٦٨ ٣٢ مليون متر مربع، ثم أصبح لها في العام الماضي جزء من طريق السويش وبعض الشياطين المشراوية التي أصبحت جزءاً من القاهرة حيث أضيفت المساحة الجديدة بعد هذه الامتدادات ٢ مليون و ٨٨٧ مليون متر مربع.

وهي رأى محافظة القاهرة أن جهاز التنمية الذي يقوم بأجراء تعداد توري للمساكن يمكن أن يفرد خاتمة ضمن البيانات التي يسلطها عن عدد الخيالي

تصنيف حسن الشرقاوي محمد عبد التواب

القديمة بالنظر العادية وتكون موجودة كجزء - وإن زادت بنسبة ١٠ في المائة أو قلت - فإنها يمكن أن تعطي بانجم من ذلك مؤشراً يمكن الاعتماد به - وربما فانه يمكن لهجان التنمية عند عمل دراسة معينة على الخيالي أن يأخذ رأي القيمة التابع لها التوري الذي يجري دراسته - فمستطوع مثلاً أن نحصر الشوارع والحدائق والفضات

التي ١٠ أن حيا كالتجالية كان يسكنه في عام ١٩٦٧ ١٤٠٨٧٢ نسمة

التي
تعتبر
سواء

وهل في عام ١٩٧٠ إلى ١ و ١٤٢ ألفاً

نسبة - كذلك فإن شبرا (قسم كبيراً وحده) كان تعداد سكانها عام ١٩٦٧ ١٧٣١٢

١٠٦٠ ألف - وهكذا زادت نسبة السكان في معظم أحياء القاهرة القديمة

وحدثت تغيرات وامتدادات في اتجاهين - الاتجاه المعروف بزيادة السكان كل عام نتيجة لزيادة الوالد وانخفاض نسبة الوفيات وتوسع

الامتداد العمراني في الأحياء الجديدة فقط - بينما يتكسب السكان في الأحياء القديمة نتيجة لعدم زيادة الوحدات

السكنية وتهم بعض ميثها - وفي رأى وكيل وزارة الإسكان فانه يمكن تنفيذ خطة شاملة لاعادة بناء

النازل الأيالة للسقوط على مراحل طبقاً لخصائص كل حي - وتتم من هذه الخطة إنشاء

مستقرات لاستقبال سكان المنازل التي سيتم هدمها - ويمكن البدء - مثلاً -

بجى بولاق حيث يتم نقل سكانه الى مستقرات الاستقبال ثم هدم المنازل

الأيالة للسقوط ومحاولة التوفيق بين خطوط التنظيم الجديدة والسكان

الباقية - ثم اعادة السكان بعد انتهاء البناء - للبدء في حى آخر وهكذا

حتى أن تجرى من الآن الدراسات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والبيئية والتنقل

أمكانية اعادة اسكان أهل الحى - وحل السكان في المصروف على وحدة سكنية

وهل سيكون بنفس الأجزاء ٤ وعلاقة الملك الاصلي بالمقار الذي يتم

انشاؤه - وهل يمكن تعويض هؤلاء الملاك باعتبار أن المشروع لنفيع العام -

أهداف تحقق

ويضيف وكيل وزارة الإسكان انه يجب البدء فوراً في تنفيذ الخطة

بالنظر في الأحياء القديمة - بعد أن طلت الأتربة تنظر حلاً للمشكلة منذ

أكثر من عشر سنوات وطلت تنتظر الامتدادات اللازمة للتنفيذ منذ عام

١٩٦٦ - وقال أن قرار مجلس الوزراء وزير الإسكان بالبدء فوراً في إعادة

بناء هذه المساكن خلال العام المالى ٧٦ - ٧٢ يعتبر أول خطوة ايجابية لنحل

التي المشكلة بعد أن بلغت ذروتها - ومن المزمع أن اعادة بناء المساكن

الأيالة للسقوط تنفق في رأى المبرراء عدة أهداف منها -

■ ازالة أرواح ضحايا انهيار المنازل القديمة التي تم بناؤها بطريقة

الجدريان الضائعة - وهي مجرد جدران مبنية من الطين ومونة (الصرطل)

لحفل اسفلت من خشب أو أي مادة أخرى وليس بها أي دعائم

خرسانية - وهي بهذه الصورة لا تعطي أذاراً مسبقاً بالمسقوط وبالتالي فانهما

تنهار فجأة - ازالة علاج الشيشونة التي لمقت بالقاهرة خاصة وأن معظم المنازل

التي مستن أن لها - ليس لها أي طابع معماري أو أي قيمة أثرية - ومن الممكن

حصر المنازل الأثرية ذات المصالح العمرانية المميزة التي يرى الإبقاء عليها -

■ أن المشروع يوفر الاستقلال التكنه للمساكن الحالية للأحياء وبناء

عمارات أقل تحتوي على وحدات سكنية أكثر من طريق استقلال الامتداد الراسي

للمباني وتوفير الامتداد الافقى لانشاء الحدائق والرافق بنور الترفيه - فضلاً

عن توفير الوحدات السكنية اللتمة ■ من الممكن أن يمول المشروع نسبة

ذاتياً - عن التوسع فيه في المستقبل - بعد توفير الامتدادات البيئية له - حيث

يمكن شراء الأراضي من الافراد وبنائها وتأجيرها واستغلال مواردها في

خطوات المتكاتف جديدة - يمكن أن تخفف بعض اعباء امتدادات المساكن

وهي الوقت الذي بدأت فيه المرافيات الهندسية بالاجراء اجراء الاحصاء

الشامل للمنازل الأيالة للسقوط - فان كثيرا من المستوطنين يرون أن الانتهاء

من هذا الاحصاء - وإن كان ضرورياً للتقييم العدمي والتقدير المالي - إلا أنه

ينبغي ألا يعطل البدء في التنفيذ أو يؤخره - على أن هذا الاحصاء - على

حد قول المهندس محمد عبد العظيم عايد وكيل وزارة الإسكان للشئون الهندسية - سوف يسفر عن تحقيق عدة

نتائج هامة منها - الوفاء على حجم المشكلة في

القاهرة الكبرى ككل وفي أحياء العاصمة المختلفة - وضع أولويات للمناطق التي

تشتت الاحصائيات التي زيادة معدل انهيار المساكن بها -

■ اعادة بناء المساكن الأيالة للسقوط بطرق - على المدى الطويل - لتخفيف

هذه أزمة المساكن أو أن ايواء مساكن المساكن المتهاجرة يبلغ الاف القرص

للجديدة للمساكن

ويسان يسدون ملفات

ويحاول السيد محمد على الكاوي رئيس حى جنوب القاهرة الذي يضم

مختلفة مصر الشعبية - أحد الأحياء التي ترتفع فيها نسبة الانهيار - أن هناك

مضروبات تعترض المسح الشامل لهذه المنازل تتمثل في أن معظم المنازل الأيالة

للسقوط قد تم بناؤها بدون ترخيص بناء أصلاً - ولم يكن لها أي ملفات

بالبلدية وانه تم البناء بخلاف التقسيم وحتى لو فرض وكان بعضها معتمد

التقسيم فانه يسرع - ضماناً لتسليم نتائج الاحصاء - توفير فرق كالمية من

المهندسين والتقنيين لأمكان المعاينة الشاملة لكل مسكن ووضع تقرير مفصل

عن صلاحيته - خاصة وأن هناك بعض المنازل التي حصل امتثالها على

ترخيص بالتعديف دوران تكون الامتدادات سالحة - ويصور المهندس انور أبو العطا

رئيس حى غرب القاهرة حجم المشكلة وأسبابها في تولى سحبت يوجد على

نسبة من حواضرت انهيار المساكن المرشح للبدء به في إعادة بناء المساكن

الأيالة للسقوط - يقول ان الاحصائيات التي بدأ اجرائها في الحى منذ شهرين

وبعد انهيار ٤ منازل في يوم واحد في ديسمبر الماضي راح ضحيتها ٤٠ قتيلاً

قد أكلت أن حوالي ٨٥ قتيلاً من منازل الحى بحدود السراج بومها فوراً

- ويضيف أن حواضرت الانهيار تقع بمعدل حادتين في الاسرع -

اعمارها فوق المئة عام

ويقول أن نتائج الدراسات التي اجريت خلال الشهرين الماضيين قيد

حصرت أسماء هذه القاهرة - في - اصحاب رئيسية -

■ أن معظم منازل الحى قد بنيت في عهد محمد على ومتوسط عمر المنزل

أكثر من مائة عام - والمفروض أنها استقلت عمرها الأثرى منذ أكثر من

خمسين عاماً - أشارت الاحصائيات إلى ظاهرة

سكن بعض الاسر حيث يصل متوسط افراد هذه الاسر إلى ٨ أشخاص في

حجرة واحدة - وفي بعض الأحيان تسكن الحجرة أكثر من أسرة -

ويتمثل المنزل نتيجة لزيادة عدد سكانه عن العنل الطبيعي اضعاف طاقته في

حجم الحركة والمسولة واستهلاك مياهه ومرافقه وإسماسته بمعدل صرمة -

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تسبب انهيار بيوتات

صورة بالأرقام

الارتدادية : ١٧٧٠ مبنى تضم ١٥٠٩٢ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ١٢١٢٤ أسرة من بينها ٢٠ مسكناً عاماً ويتم فيها ٢٨١٩ تسكناً ومجموع السكان ١٤١٧٧ تسكناً

● الجمالية : ١٦٦١٠ مبان تضم ٢٩٠٩٦ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ٢٩٧٧٠ أسرة و ٢٢٠ مسكناً عاماً تضم ٨٨٨ تسكناً ومجموع السكان ١٥٠٨٧٢ تسكناً

● الحليبية : ١٧٨٨١ مبنى تضم ٢٤٧١٧ وحدة تعيش فيها ٤٧٠٦٦ أسرة و ١٥٥ مسكناً عاماً تضم ٢٤٦ تسكناً ومجموع السكان ٢٢٢٢٥ تسكناً ● الغربية الأشرف : ٩٢٨٨ مبنى تضم ١٢٤٢٦ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ٢٨٥٠٥ أسرة و ١٤ مسكناً عاماً تضم ١٥١٤٧ تسكناً ومجموع السكان ١٥١٤٧ تسكناً

● الزينون : ١٤٠٠ مبنى تضم ٢٤٤٨٠ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ٢٤٤٦٩ أسرة و ٥ مسكناً عاماً تضم ١٥٤ فرداً ومجموع السكان ٢٤٦٢٤ فرداً ● السلطان : ١٤٦٠٥ مبان تسكنها ٦٨٢٤٢ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ٧٤٢١١ أسرة و ١ مسكناً عاماً

● بيا ٢٢٦ فرداً ومجموع السكان ٢٧٨٨٩ تسكناً ● السيدة رشيد : ١٥٥٩ مبنى تضم ١٧٤٢٦ وحدة سكنية تسكنها ١٧٤٢٦ أسرة و ١ مسكناً عاماً يسكنها ٢٢١ فرداً ومجموع السكان ٢٧٨٨٩ تسكناً ● القاهرة : ٢٢٤٤ مبنى تضم ٢٠٤٠٨ وحدات سكنية تسكنها ٢٠٦٢٦ أسرة و ١ مسكناً عاماً بها ٥٢١ فرداً ومجموع السكان ١٠٢٢٢٢ تسكناً

● المطرية : ٢٤٢٤٦ مبنى تضم ٦١٨٥٦ وحدة سكنية تسكنها ٢٤٢٤٦ أسرة ومجموع السكان ٢٤٢٤٦ تسكناً ● الجدي : ١٤٠٠ مبنى تضم ١٤٠٠ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ١٤٠٠ أسرة و ١ مبان عامة يسكنها ٤٦٠ فرداً ومجموع السكان ١٤٠٠٢ تسكناً ● الواسطي : ١٧٨٢ مبنى فيها ٧٤١١ وحدة سكنية يسكنها ٧٤١١ تسكناً ومجموع السكان ١٧٨٢ تسكناً ● باب الشعرية : ٢٨٢٤٦ أسرة في ٢٥٠٠٦ تسكن ومجموع السكان ١٤٩٧٨ تسكناً ● بولاق : ٢٤٧٧٥ وحدة سكنية فيها ١٤٩٧٤ أسرة ومجموع سكان بولاق ٢٠١٧٧١ تسكناً

● حلوان : ٢٥٢٨٥ مسكناً و ١١٧٦٨ أسرة ومجموع السكان ٢٠٢٤٤٨ تسكناً ● رويح اللجج : ١٥٧٨١ أسرة عدداً (١٨١٠٤٤) تسكنها يسكنون في ٥٠٢٠٥ تسكن ● شبراخيت : ٧٥٩٠١ تسكن يعيش فيها ٨٢٤٧٧ أسرة عدد أفرادها ١١٢٢١٢ تسكناً ● حلوان : ٨٥٢٠ فرداً تسكنهم ٩٢٢١١ أسرة ويسكنون في ٢٥١٥١ تسكن ● قصر النيل : ١٠٩٦٩ فرداً تسكنهم ٤٨٧١ أسرة تعيش في ١٤٨٢٢ تسكن ● مصر الجديدة : ١١٢١٥ تسكن و ٢٠٥٢٢ أسرة ومجموع السكان ١٢٦٦٧ تسكناً

● شبراخيت : ١٤٧٨٨ أسرة ومجموع السكان ١٤٧٨٨ تسكناً ● مصر القديمة : ٥٠٤٤٨ تسكن و ٥٠١٢١ أسرة ومجموع السكان ٢٥٢٢٥٢ تسكناً

وهكذا .. كان في مجموع المباني في القاهرة ٢٢٦٢٦٢ مبنى في عام ١٩٦٧ - العام الذي أعلن فيه هذا الإحصاء - تضم ٧٧٧٨٩ وحدة سكنية تعيش فيها ٨٢٢٨٢ أسرة و ٢٢٢ مبنى عاماً يتسم بـ ٢٢٢٢٩ فرداً ويصل مجموع السكان إلى ٢١١٤٥٢٢ فرداً

لكن الزيادة في العاصمة تفرح وفي الإحصاء الأخير - ١٩٧٠ - أعلن الجهاز المركزي أن عدد سكان القاهرة قد وصل إلى ١٦٦٠٠٠٠ نسمة .. أي أن القاهرة زادت في ثلاث سنوات فقط ٧١١١٧٧ نسمة !!

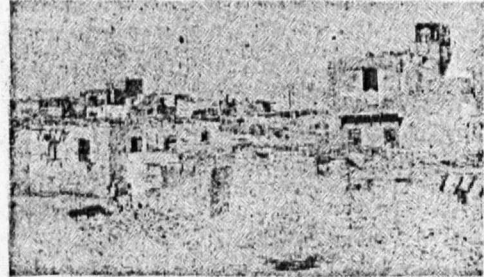
شعر الأخصر - العالية - بسعر لثن ٢٥ جنيهها يبلغ جوازها ١٠ آلاف جنيه

وهذه هي الصورة في حي بولاق كمنها ١٢ وحدة للفقراء تحتاج بسرعة إلى التجديد .. وللرئيس ليكون البداية

كيف تمضي خطة الإحلال وأين يقيم السكان؟ الخطة تستطيع بمجرد البداية أن تمول نفسها بنفسها



مسالك التولية في القرابية لم تخلف من مكان الحي وإنما أضافت سكاناً جديداً في الطابقين الأسفلين الجامع محور من العاصم .. بعد الآثار الاستعمارية الباقية



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تكاليف الترميم من قيمة العقار نفسه والقانون لا يمكن المالك من استعادة أكثر من ٥ في المائة من قيمة تكاليف الترميم من السكان . وعلى فرض قيام المالك بالإصلاح فإنه يطلب أخلاء السكان للبدء في الترميم ، والسكان يرفضون لعدم توفر أماكن يسكنة لإبرائهم . وفي حالة رفض لسالكه للترميم ، فإن القانون لا يفرض عليه أي عقوبة سوى غرامة ٥ جنيهات

الملاك يرفضون الترميم

كما أشارت الدراسات التي أجريت خلال الشهرين الماضيين إلى أن ثلاثة يفتشون الإبقاء على المباني دون ترميم حتى يهاجر ، لأن قيمة الأرض النقصان للبناء تبلغ أضعاف قيمة العقار الأول لتسقط ، وعلى سبيل المثال فإنه إذا تسورتنا منزلاً مثلاً بجناحها على مساحة ٥٠٠ متر مربع وإيجاره سنوي قديم - ١٦ جنبها فإن ثمنه على حالته لا يتعدى ثلاثة آلاف ، وسوف لا يتمكن من أخراج مكانه منه ، بينما

الأمراء في استهلاك البناء من المستجدين في ظل نظام الإيجارات القديم الذي يلزم المالك بقيمة استهلاك البناء ، فضلاً عن عدم وجود شيكات للمحاري معاً يقصر عمر المباني ويؤثر على أساساته

تأثر حياني الحي القريب من النيل بحركة الفيضان خلال السنوات الماضية ، أدى إلى اختلال الأساسات والإجراءات البيئية التي تصل بالشبكة إلى شروتها في انهيار المنزل على مكانه أو توافر مسالك جديدة لهم

وقول رئيس الحي أن لجنة المعايير في حالة الإيلاج عن اختلال المنزل - تصدر أحد قرارات ثلاثة : الانتقاء بترميم المباني أو تخفيف بعض أبنواره العليا أو هدم المنزل

ويظل القرار الأول أجزاء مخطئا يهبط على الشبكة حتى يهاجر المنزل فإن المالك يرفض باستمرار قرار اللجنة لعدم أسباب منها : عدم زيادة قيمة

أوراق وتوصيات أول مؤتمر بين محافظة القاهرة وتيارات الحزب الوطني :

جديد ١٧ حيا قديما والبدء بعشش الترجمان وبولاق ٣٠ مليون جنيه للاسكان و ٦٤ مليوناً للصحة بالقاهرة

كتب - محمد بالناس :

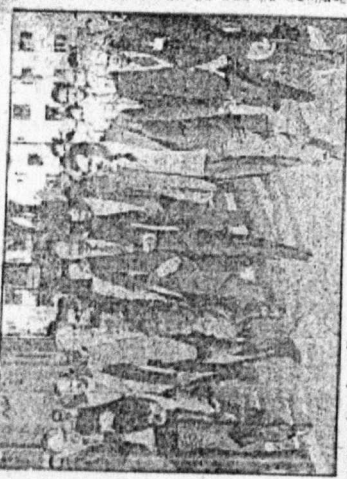
اعن السيد نكرى بكريم عهد نائب رئيس الوزراء والأمين العام للحزب الوطني الديمقراطي - ان الثورة تفتح آفاقاً جديدة للاسكان وتوليه لخصم مشتركين الاستيطان والرفاه ، وان الاستثمارات المخصصة للرفاه من الخطه الخمسينية تتبين تخصيص ٣٠ مليون جنيه لبناء القرب و ٦٤ مليوناً للصحة و ١٧ مليوناً للصحة العامة و ١١ مليوناً لاستيطان النساء ومعدات سكنه بالقاهرة و ١٨ مليوناً لمعدات الاسكان التي تملكها الوزارة بالمجانبة و ١٧ مليوناً للاستيطان المشترك ونصف مليون جنيه لتأمينات الماء و ٥٠٠ ألف جنيه للاسكان القليلين في كل من حيايى عين شمس والازهر و ١٠٠ ألف جنيه لمرافق و ٥٥ ألفاً للاسكان عمال مصنع الحديد والصلب و ٢٥ ألفاً للمباني التعليمية بقرية الريه .

وكان السيد سعد بانون محافظاً للقاهرة قد دعا في عقد مؤتمر مشترك بين استوطنى التثويين في محافظة القاهرة وتيارات الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي لبحث مشكلة الاسكان من العاصمى و شهدت ائس القضاة احمد كمال المطاى وزير التولية الشؤون الحزب ويدا الطنبى بطيه امين القاهرة ومبارك محمد من امين الحزب بالقاهرة والواء ثروت عماد الله مشير امين وسط ان استعرض الحاضرين جميع المسئلة وتحول المقترحة لعمسة ،

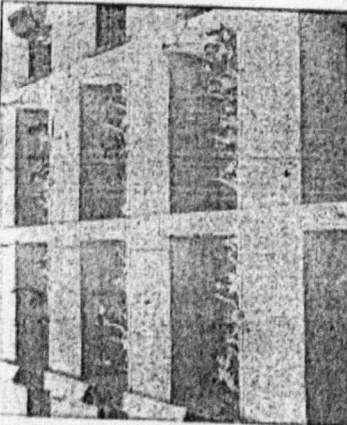
١٧ حيا قديما

- نظر الخواجة على خطة الخواجة .
- وحرص التوصيات من الرئيس الوردى
- اسادات في جناح الهيئة البرلمانية بعد له و وتضمن هذه التوصيات :
- اعداد مسكرات ابراء حاجب من اهم مسكرات او يكون موقفاً ابراء و الا على استشارتها المصلحة لتتولى من اتمام اتمام من التسامح اللازم لتتواءم مع الف وحدة سكنية والهدى لورا من اشاء ١٠ آلاف وحدة سكنية يكون من قرية وقرى من وساحة ايم استلها من كراغ وقد سكن وتسير الاضدادات الخلية لعمسة
- اطلاق الاجراء السكنية القديمة من ساكن اخرى والبدء بتسليمها من القرى والبدء بها ببولاق وبالسيد وكذاه بتسليم حرم الحدى وتسير الاضدادات وتدرجاً ٢٤ مليون جنيه لهذا الغرض وذلك كمدية للاضدادات ١٧ حيا قديما بالقاهرة .
- تعديل قانون الاسكان ليتمكن السكان وذلك التعديل من ضمانات من سلامة المسئلة المدنية والوطنية من سلامة المظفر الذي يقرر تنظيمه او عدمه وما يتربط من ذلك مع اثار لقيسة تهاوى و تسيير اعدادها بتسيير الساكنين والتكليف بها بتسليمه على سرعة التنفيذ من خطة القطاع المسئلة وان يكون ذلك بالطريق الامارى وليس القسسى مع ضرورة تشديد العقوبة على المالك الذى يتسبب من القسسى للبناء .
- اوزير دولة التسيير والارواء القارة بالاسمال الجنبية للقطاع الخاص لتشجيع من استيطان الورا للبناء .
- تشجيع المجرىة التعاونية للاسكان بتمهتها ارضى بامسارمالية تعديل في كادها تية الرفاه مع ضرورة الرابح بالتوسيع ارضى
- اعادة النظر في سياسة التملك للمناطق التي تليها التطوير والتشريك وامادة دراسة قرار رئيس الوزراء الخاص بتوامد التملك على قطاع القرىة امام المواطنين بتعهد العمل للاستفادة من الوحدات السكنية التي تليها التملك .
- ومن بداية الاضداد اعن السيد نكرى بكريم عهد ان هذا الاجتماع نظره يجب ان يستمر لان التسيير الوطنى قائم على التباير والقرار لا يصدر من الفة لنا يصدر من الامة العربية صاحبة المسئلة وبتل هذه الاضدادات تكون المشاركة من صنع القرار وظهر من ذلكا توصيات الرئيس الوردى الصادرة .

دقيقة بدقيقة مع السادات في لقائه مع سكان الترحمان والحمدي داخل مجتمع الجدي



مجلس الوزراء يجمع الى اجتماعه في حقل قصره في القاهرة يوم الاثنين الموافق ١٠/١٠/١٩٦٤ في حضور السيد الرئيس السادات ووزير الخارجية السيد احمد فؤاد نجم ووزير التعليم العالي السيد محمد عبد الوهاب ووزير الثقافة السيد محمد مصطفى كامل ووزير الاعلام السيد محمد مصطفى كامل ووزير الاعلام السيد محمد مصطفى كامل ووزير الاعلام السيد محمد مصطفى كامل



المنهج الجديد في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الثانوية في مصر



المنهج الجديد في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الثانوية في مصر

تعتبر رخصتنا
للحجر والعمارة الحجرية
منذ إنشائها عام ١٩٦٤

مهندس حلمي اسماعيل وشركاه
١٠ شارع صول بالشرابية - القاهرة
٧٤٦١٧٧٨٨١٧

محلنا في شارع صول بالشرابية - القاهرة
١١ مليون جنيه
تتبع مصنعنا الشركة بمصنعة الخرسانة
على مساحة حقل عشرين فداناً

لنفسه لم يكتف به...
المنهج الجديد في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الثانوية في مصر
المنهج الجديد في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الثانوية في مصر
المنهج الجديد في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الثانوية في مصر

في شقة حنفي عبد القحاح التي زارها الرئيس
قال له أفراد الأميرة : « الحمد لله » نور ومياه وشقة
واسعة حتى ابتسأ الصغير له مدرسة يتعلم فيها
وفي شقة ماهر بحيث قال الرئيس : مسبروك
وقال الرجل : « الله بيبارك فيك باريس أخذنا شقة
نسكده فيما كمانه مطا نعيشه من خسه مع الأه لاد »

ترقبوا مفاجأة
بنكة التامين الاكاديمية العربية
٨٠٠٠
٤٤٤
عشر فدان

جريدة
الأخبار



قسم المعلومات

يوم

سنة ٢٠٠

العنوان

رقم الملف

مجلس محلي القاهر:

الموافقة على مشروع إعادة تخطيط وتقسيم بولاق وهايسبرو

كتب - عبدالهادي تمام

وافق المجلس المحلي لمحافظة القاهرة على مشروع إعادة تخطيط منطقتي بولاق وهايسبرو وفق شارع وفتح شارع و انور الرجحان حتى تقاطعه مع شارع شمن بعرض ٢٠ متراً وفقاً لما جاء بالتراسمة المرفوعة وذلك لتخدمة المتسوقات اليومية الجيدة بالمنطقة.

ووافق المجلس في اجتماعه أمس برئاسة اللواء أحمد فخر وحضور المحافظ الدكتور عبد العظيم وزير على تخصيص قطعة أرض بقرها، مدينة نصر ١٦٦٤ مركز صحي لتنظيم الأسرة وخدمة هذه المناطق الجديدة وبمقابل الرخص الاجتماعية.

كما وافق المجلس بمشور المهندس أحمد توفيق ومحمد أبو عبيدة وكتب المجلس على تخصيص قطعة أرض بمدرسة النهضة بحي السلام لأولياء ٥ مدارس عليها واعادتها وتجهيزها لصالح جهاز شمس الموجهين بالمحافظة لخدمة هذه المناطق وإيجاد فرص تشغيل الشباب والقضاء على الظواهر السام الخائز.

ووافق المجلس على تخصيص قطعة أرض من أملاك المحافظة بالمطم الأتية بمجمع مدارس الوحدة الوطنية بصحر وستينا ومكتبة وكهيسة بإيجاز رسمي على أن تظل الأرض ملكا للمحافظة وكذلك تعيين خطة التنظيم بشراحي وهي المعهد بالطرية وإنشاء شارع جديد بجوار مبنى القنارات بعرض ١٠ متراً على أن يكون طرفها علما بمخدم حركة المرور.



قسم المعلومات

جريدة

يوم

سنة ٢٠٠

١١ ديسمبر ٢٠٠٠

رقم المضا

العنوان

البيروت / لبنان

مشروع تخطيط بولاق يستهدف تطوير

العشوائيات والإيواءات وما سيبرو

كتب - عيد الهادي تمام:

وافقت اللجنة الدائمة بالمجلس المحلي لمحافظة القاهرة على مشروع التخطيط العام لمنطقة بولاق واعداد التخطيط التفصيلي على ان تتضمن هذه الاعمال تطوير منطقة الايواءات والمناطق العشوائية حتى بولاق بالإضافة الى مناطق ماسيرو. كما وافقت اللجنة في اجتماعها برئاسة السيد أحمد فخر وبمشاركة محمد أبو عيطة والمهندس أحمد توفيق وكثيلى المدارس المحلى لمحافظة على تخصيص قطعة أرض لصالح مؤسسة مستشفى الأطفال للأورام بأرض المديح القديم بالسيدة زينب ضمن أعمال إعادة تخطيط وتطوير أرض المديح القديم لإقامة خدمات ومرافق عامة لخدمة أهالي المنطقة وفقاً للتخطيط العام. كما وافقت اللجنة على إقامة مركز طبي بعزبة الوالدة ببلوازان وأخرى للشباب ، علاوة على نقطة شرطة بهدف تحسين المعيشة والمستوى الحضري للسكان بعزبة الوالدة وعزبة الوالدة. ووافقت اللجنة على تخصيص قطعة أرض بطرة كونيسكا بالمعادي لإقامة مدارس عليها لصالح الهيئة العامة للأبنية التعليمية وتخصيص مساحة ٣٢٠٠ متر بمنطقة القمصاط لإقامة مركز للتعليم الثقافي للحفاظ على البيئة.



قسم المعلومات

جريدة

يوم ١٥ مايو ٢٠٠٥ سنة ٢٠٠

العنوان: السبع حيا

رقم الملف

صفحة 3/4

إنضاج منطقة بولاق ليزيد من الدراسة تخطيطها

كتب: عبد الهادي تمام

أعدت اللجنة الدائمة للمجلس الأعلى للقاهرة مشروع تخطيط منطقة بولاق التي أحتضن الإسكان بالمجلس ليزيد من الدراسة والوصول إلى اتفاق في وجهات النظر المختصة في العملية التخطيطية ومراعاة الأوضاع الاجتماعية والاقتصادية ورأفت اللجنة في اجتماعها برئاسة السيد احمد لخر وخضور محمد بوعبيدة والمهندس احمد توفيق وكلمى المجلس على تخصيص ١٢٥ فداً و ٢٠٠ متر لإقامة مركز شباب الأميرة والأقزام بالاشرفيات البدائية التي تقرب عدم قيام البائى على حساب المساحات الخضراء، كما وافقت اللجنة الدائمة على إحادة النظر لتعلق تخصيص قطعة الأرض الكائنة بشارع ٢٠٠ بالمعالي لآلقرية مجمع مدارس بقرى نظر لأن هذه المنطقة بها كتباتات بالمجلس والدراسة وتحتاج لإقامة نحو ٢٠ مدرسة للفناء على تعدد الفترات الدراسية وتخطيط الكتابة.

