REVITALIZING HISTORIC CAIRO: THREE DECADES OF POLICY FAILURE

Remah Y. Gharib

Abstract
Historic Cairo holds an impressive record of built heritage, which no other city holds this amount of rich architecture and urban quarters. This gathered worldwide expertise attention plus financial support for safeguarding and developing these populated settlements. This historic district experienced several projects of development through international and local efforts. However, for more than three decades, Historic Cairo was challenged with physical and socio-economic deterioration. Since, the strategic drivers for any developing project are the objectives and policies then it is crucial to stretch our scope of studies toward the formulation and implementation of policies. The aim of this paper is to examine the formulation and implementation of policies within the process of revitalizing Historic Cairo, in order to reveal the major challenges and defects. This study will be addressed through a quantitative, qualitative and narrative analysis of the role and feedback of users, developers, implementers, and professional expertise in the field of revitalizing Historic Cairo. The research will focus on two major and influential case studies - the Gamalia and Darb Al Ahmar quarters - in relation to the social, economic, and physical dimensions of revitalization. The study exposes the improper orientation of polices and directives toward the built heritage, discard of local inhabitants’ needs and rights, and the effect of corruptive administration upon the historic quarters.

Keywords
Historic Cairo; Revitalization; Public Policy; Community Participation.

Introduction: The Urban Development of Historic Cairo

Cairo’s historic quarters have started facing major deterioration sixty years ago. The increase of population and rural-to-city immigration became a great burden on the century old infrastructure with poor public awareness toward the value of historical built fabric contributed to the overall deterioration facing those areas for years.

During the second half of the 20th century, there have been enormous efforts and resources directed at built heritage conservation in Egypt. The development plans proposed by the UNESCO, UNDP, AKTC, and several local conservation agencies have set an example of successful revitalization but due to mis-management these enormous efforts are mostly wasted. For instance, Wekalat Bazara’a (Bazara’a Merchants
Marketplace) located on the Gamalia Street, in the centre of Historic Cairo, was once restored by the Supreme Council of Antiquities with a 7 million LE fund by the USAID (see figure 1). This marketplace was never re-used and been closed down by the Government, without proper maintenance till groundwater soaked upwards through the monument’s walls. Consequently, this incident significantly shows the incorrect interpretation of revitalizing Historic Cairo to present a ‘restored and kept’ methodology and eventually less adaptive reuse. Flemming Aalund (2005, p.8) has explicitly presented in his ICOMOS reactive monitoring report in Historic Cairo that the first impression is of poverty, due to the enormous neglect of public services. In addition, Raymond (2001) pointed that the facilities are the most marginal due to the increased neglect through the past years. As a result, the historic core was left very poor, and densely populated, in addition there was a lack of proper management and protection of residents from threatening pollution and physical deterioration.

The main challenge facing Historic Cairo presently is that superior officials, professionals in the field of conservation, and even the lay public that lack a proper methodology for revitalizing historic quarters in a sustainable, comprehensive approach. Moreover, most of the revitalizing key players have not taken advantage of historic resources – either tangible or intangible heritage – and the surrounding urban fabric (Hampikian, 1999, and Rodwell, 2007). According to Stewart (2003, p.147) there is another major problem: aligning tourism with revitalizing goals, as not introducing it properly in the tourism business industry. These are some out of many situations facing the historic areas today and the study attempts to mention some of them to help us understand what went wrong and why.

Salama (2000, p. 13) clearly added to the debate that, “the problems of historic centers would not be solved by individual projects ... Rather, they can be solved by the policies and concrete programs that address the needs of the
inhabitants such as reducing poverty, increasing employment, upgrading local communal services, and most importantly, empowering and enabling the local inhabitants to positively participate.” In addition, Henri Lefebvre (1970) recommends that it is important to study urban design through the political dimension of urban life. Politics within urban design is a mix between the economic and social dimensions within the physical setting. These statements encapsulate the focus of this study, which aims to examine the revitalization policies of the last 30 years in relation to the different programs implemented and their effect on the social, economic, and physical dimensions of Historic Cairo. The examination is inspired by the Six Conditions of effective implementation by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983). The aim of revitalization is to serve the local community and regenerate local economies; thus, it is essential within this study to examine the current developing methodologies in Historic Cairo to reveal the failures in the implementation of policies.

**Theoretical Framework:**

**Policies and Implementation Effectiveness**

The public policy process is a major aspect which should be under continuous evaluation and analysis, this section will demonstrate the theoretical evaluation criteria. Public policies can be evaluated in short-term quantitative outputs based on the targeted communities and on a long-term basis focusing quantitatively and qualitatively methods based on the objectives envisioned (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980).

**Six Conditions of Effective Implementation**

According to the Top-Down approach of policy making, it starts with policy formulation, implementation, and then examination by which its objectives were achieved over time. As a result, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) identified a variety of political and tractability variables affecting the different stages of the implementation process. Furthermore, they redefined those variables into six sufficient and crucial conditions to achieve effective implementation based on empirical evaluation - in a way that seeks to determine the degree to which a specific program or policy empirically fulfills or does not fulfill a particular standard (Fischer, 1995). Moreover, because the policy making procedure in Egypt follows the Top-Down approach, then these implementation effectiveness conditions will be suitable for evaluating the revitalization policies in the Egyptian context; accordingly these are the implementation effectiveness conditions:

- **Condition 1: Clear and Consistent Objectives**
  This condition examines the degree of clarity of objectives within the statutory policy formulation. Simply, this condition focuses on how clear, official, and authorized the objectives, which will provide a benchmark for policy evaluation for the implementing officials.

- **Condition 2: Adequate Causal Theory**
  This condition elaborates the proposed legislations by clarifying the causes and circumstances affecting formulation. It identifies the causing factors and linkages of drawing objectives and policies. In addition, implementing officials should be exact and specific to solve the causes led to the statutory goals.

- **Condition 3: Appropriate Structures and Sufficient Resources**
  This condition focuses to provide proper implementation structures to maximize the
performance of implementing officials and target groups. This involves the assignment of considerate agencies with adequate hierarchal integration, supportive decision rules, sufficient financial resources and adequate access to supporters.

• Condition 4: Commitment and Skill of Implementers
This condition focuses on the implementation agency which needs to have significant management, political skills and be committed to statutory goals. In addition, to avoid discretion, impose commitment to policy objectives, then suitable skills are required to perform and utilize available resources, for proper implementation.

• Condition 5: Support of Interest Groups/ Agencies and Sovereigns
This condition simply recognizes the essential need to sustain political support throughout the implementation process by the legislators and implementers including governmental officials at the different levels, to secure the legal and financial support.

• Condition 6: Socio-economic Context Stability
This condition highlights the crucial need to recognize the changes which might occur in the socio-economic conditions that could have dramatic repercussions on the political support or the causal theory, during implementation. It highlights the need to avoid competing public policies to maintain the statutory objectives envisioned rather than being diluted or overrun. The first three conditions focus on the initial policy decision, whereas the last three focus on the relationship toward other political and economic pressures during the implementation process. Thus, they will be all examined qualitatively by the implementers and professionals.

Methodology & Case Studies Description
The crux of the study is to observe and evaluate the development and implementation of Historic Cairo’s revitalization policies taking into account the International Organizations agendas, through theoretical-based triangulation. The research employed a wide range of documentation and explanations to ensure that all the data needed are acquired for proper engagement with the different key players of the public policy process (see figure 2).

Following data collection, a comparative analysis took place between two case studies, in order to understand the differentials. Initially, the analysis is carried out by a narrative comparison against numeric quantitative comparison. Moreover, at a deeper level the comparative analysis involved the different policies and international recommendations regarding both case studies.
Figure 2: Explanatory diagram for the research structure (Source: Author).
Case Studies Description

This study explored the formulation and implementation of policies and programs regarding the revitalization of Historic Cairo within two major case studies (see figure 3):


Geographically, the Gamalia quarter is located on the north bound while the Darb Al Ahmar located on the east bound of the historic city but both are relatively close to the historic centre. Equally, both are similar in size, the number of built heritage and are located within Historic Cairo, the two cases contain similar urban and aesthetical settings, such as, the narrow alleys, monumental clusters, scattered open spaces, and the high commercial environments. 

Figure 3: Case studies location within Historic Cairo (Source: base map captured from Google Earth and modified by the author).
cases also have a similar socio-economic condition. In addition, both programs have been proposed and commenced at the same period to manifest that they have followed the same policies, regime, and key players of that time.

Nevertheless, both quarters include major economic potentials, the first case contain the main and oldest historic spine which include most commercial activities, while the second is advantaged with the newly established Al Azhar Park by the AKTC (see figure 4 and 5).

These historic quarters started development in 1997 focusing on monuments restoration and physical developments. In the Gamalia Quarter case, Sutton and Fahmi (2002) comprehensively explained the project’s vision as to advocate a tourism-based rehabilitation. This was to be obtained by restoring and re-using monuments to increase the tourism business in the area and remove any squatter activities within and around the monuments. Nevertheless, the program also advocates community-based rehabilitation to give attention to the resident. The root was to improve the local residents’ housing and empower the local community by advancing their education and skills, and improve the local services.

As for the Darb Al Ahmar quarter, the comprehensive vision focused on introducing new appropriate functions in order to generate more income within the historic quarter by the re-use of built heritage, as well as improving the infrastructure, open spaces, and the housing...
capabilities (Bianca, 2001: p.7). Furthermore, Bianca (2007) added that to fulfill the comprehensive vision, public awareness should be raised to increase community participation for easing the implementation phases. Thus, AKTC took a step further and worked on developing the local socio-economic conditions with the community involvement.

**Types and Methods of Sampling**

Generally the research maintained an unfolding system to allow some flexibility for thoughts to emerge. The study applies a methodological triangulation approach, based on a mixed methodology of qualitative and quantitative data gathering. The sampling methodology relied on two mechanisms; first, the ‘Stratified Random sampling’ technique focusing on the receipts and users (residents) of the historic quarters, with the use of the Likert-style format – rating scale - questionnaires. Since, this probability sampling technique focus on the target population it requires them to be divided into separate strata or groupings on the basis of characteristic relevance to the research (Aldridge and Levine, 2001). Then, this type is useful for the study because the questionnaires are being grouped according to the age and gender, in order to achieve each group’s needs and requirements, as follows:

- **Merchants:** Due to the high number of retail and commercial activities, it is essential to investigate the ground floor users and acknowledge their feedback.

- **Male Residents:** They are the main working force and those most affected by the developments due to their continual interference.

- **Female Residents:** They tend to have a different perspective than the male residents. Females focus on family needs, childcare, and the social cohesion between neighbors.

- **Young users/residents from the age of 18-28:** The future users and local workforce who will eventually should interfere in the revitalization process.

- **Elderly Residents:** They are the connection of the past with present and could provide information of how these quarters used to look like and how they transformed during the last 30-40 years.

Alternatively, the interviewees, they are also grouped according to their positions in the Government bodies (i.e. Vice-ministers, governors, and local authorities’ chiefs). The decision makers and implementers were engaged by a ‘purposive sampling’ technique by the researcher. This approach was practiced through semi-structured interviews with highly involved personnel according to their occupational positions in the field of decision-making and implementation.

In both case studies there were 313 participants in the questionnaires examination; the highest numbers of participants were among the youth and men residents during Friday prayers and at local cafes, but the least number of participants were among the women residents due to the conservative culture which reduces the ability to meet with resident women freely. The main difficulty rested in convincing high ranking officials to participate in interviews, but managed to meet 6 professionals from their feedback. Therefore, the study had to rely on
some of these officials’ statements in other media sources to complete the whole picture. Finally, a very specific comparative analysis between both case studies took place with some reflections of current policies, programs’ visions, implementers’ interviews, and organizations’ revitalization perceptions. The quantitative findings and the qualitative feedback helped to tackle the research dilemma.

**Questionnaires and methods of analysis**
The triangulation approach helped in presenting some of the policies’ contradictions, which relates to the theory of public policy and the principles of revitalizing historic quarters. The study had to understand and certify criteria of revitalization as a tool of sustainability in order to put evaluative parameters. The evaluation methodology mentioned here focused on post operational phases and determining the objectives of programs in relation to the actors’ perspectives qualitatively and quantitatively. In details, the evaluation methodology was designed in two tracks. The first focused on public policy implementation assessment through the six effectiveness conditions. Secondly, some urban design principles related to historic quarters revitalization- by the Commission of Architecture and Built Environment. The merger between the tracks was categorized into three primary dimensions - social, economic, and physical dimensions (see table 2).

**Comparative Discussion**
The following section will merge the results with the policies and implementation effectiveness conditions:

**Condition 1: Clear and Consistent Objectives**
Since the 1970s, the policies’ goals and concepts have focused on the preservation and safeguarding of monuments. These objectives strongly reflect the aspects of preservation rather than urban revitalization. It is evident that most of the policies formulated

<table>
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<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>GAMALIA QUARTER (UNDP)</th>
<th>DARB AL AHMAR QUARTER (AKTC)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SOCIAL DIMENSION</td>
<td>ECONOMIC DIMENSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERCHANTS</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTS-MEN</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTS-WOMEN</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTS-YOUTHS</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTS-ELDERLY</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 1: Quantitative comparative analysis (Source: Author).
were to secure and protect the historic buildings without considering the social and economic dimensions. In the Gamalia quarter, merchants were dissatisfied with the revitalizing program implemented, due to the decline of the current businesses and the removal of several workshops outside the quarter. The Gamalia merchants affirmed that the pedestrianization of the Muizz Street caused a large number of retail shops to close. Others had to change their business types without any tourism activity increase as expected, thus proving that the program was designed on unrealistic business decisions. The most affected groups within the retailing business were the apprentice workers at the Gamalia quarter that worked for 20-30 years but now had to lose their jobs (see figure 6). Some of these workers added: “We will come to this place every day even if we will stay to do nothing ..., and we cannot go anywhere else.” Another problem in the policies, and specifically policy No. 457 (1999) which gave the revitalizing agency the power to change the type of retails, and to pedestrianize the business streets for eighteen hours per day; unfortunately, without considering the locals’ benefit.

After reviewing most of the related policies, table 2 demonstrates that the Government policies indeed did not consider the social and economic dimensions, contrasting with the UNESCO 1980 plan. The revitalizing programs proposed by the international agencies focused on comprehensive regeneration of historic quarters but the policies drove the implementation process in another direction. On the other hand, the AKTC revitalizing program did not allow the Government policies to interfere in its implementations; thus the project was successful in achieving socio-economic objectives. Generally, policies lacked clear revitalizing objectives, never grasped the meaning of historic quarters’ revitalization, and specifically showed a narrow scope of development and problem-solving.

**Condition 2: Adequate Causal Theory**

The original rationale of the policies since 1980 to 1998 was to preserve the historic monuments and stop any damage which might occur through time. The main causes behind these protective policies were to safeguard the built heritage. As a result, most of the policies formulated at that time focused on physical upgrading with less concern toward the economic and social dimensions (Sutton & Fahmi, 2002: p.41). This was evident in the Gamalia quarter where its objective was to develop the Muizz Street into an open museum based on built heritage mumification. Although, Darb Al Ahmar program focused on the three dimensions, it had a different causal theory, more adequate than...
the Government policies; sustaining the tangible and intangible heritage and encouraging community participation. The women of Darb Al Ahmar supported this, by stating that developments in general helped in increasing the social cohesion between neighbors due to the different awareness programs and crafts workshops which have attracted a high number of local participants. Apparently, if the Gamalia quarter program had followed a similar Bottom-Up approach, then the outcomes would have been more appropriate for communities’ needs and empowerment, rather than focusing on an open museum and losing the inherited ‘sense of place’.

Table 2a: Policies study in relation to the revitalization dimensions – Social and Economic – and principles (Source: Author).
Condition 3: Appropriate Structures and Sufficient Resources

In reflection of the Egyptian context, the administration system and the implementation operational flow did not perform as efficiently or effectively as expected. There were reasons behind this, first, was the massive administrative conflict between the different Ministries, SCA and City Governorates in the revitalization tasks based on the conflict of monuments’ ownership. Second, local communities and societal organizations usually faced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Envisioned Revitalization Principles</th>
<th>Public Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Dimension</strong></td>
<td>Policy No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Promote to improve the accessibility of the quarter.</td>
<td>257/1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Promote to restore the listed buildings.</td>
<td>117/1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promote to refurbish unlisted buildings according to character.</td>
<td>250/1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Promote to improve the character of the quarter.</td>
<td>457/1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Encourage to develop more open public spaces.</td>
<td>144/2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Encourage to develop more green spaces.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Encourage adaptive reuse for the listed monuments.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Upgrade the utilities infrastructure.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Encourage to develop the surrounding built heritage.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Develop the maintenance and follow-up operations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. New buildings should respect the special architectural character.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Ban any building adjacent to a monument by less than 50 m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Promote the restoration of the historic fabric without any changes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Control and ban any polluting industries in the historic quarters.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Implementation Aspects</th>
<th>Public Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Define the key players’ roles and duties.</td>
<td>257/1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clarify the ownership of monuments.</td>
<td>117/1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clarify the responsibility of restoration between key players.</td>
<td>250/1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provide a general revitalization framework.</td>
<td>457/1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Provide a detailed guidance for revitalization of certain quarters.</td>
<td>144/2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Demonstrate a coordination plan between key players.</td>
<td></td>
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Table 2b: Policies study in relation to the revitalization dimensions - Physical and Implementation - and principles (Source: Author).
obstructions with local authorities due to less official representation and lack of policies that sustain their rights and efforts. Third, there are no definite policies that determine the role of local authorities in the revitalizing process toward the others key players. Eventually, policies were not effective and caused more uncertainty within the implementation process. There is no effective managerial long-term plan considering adaptive reuse, and this is apparent in Professor Salah Zaki’s (2008) interview when he added that, “What is after all this enormous effort in designation and preservation of historic monuments – what will happen – who will run them?” In addition, the lack of communication between the different implementing bodies. For instance, local authorities should facilitate with the tourism firms to promote and encourage more visitors to the area, plus sustain the existing monuments to prevent any deterioration.

**Condition 4: Commitment and Skills of Implementers**

According to this theory, some organizations should be specifically addressed. First, is the SCA, being the local responsible organization. Unfortunately, the SCA was formed out of professionals such as archaeologists with less architects or urban planners. Consequently, no specialists were involved and recruitment within the SCA is not based on specialization, and therefore any employee could be appointed to any task. There is no difference in appointing the supervision duties in the monuments’ preservation between the architect and any engineer, causing less quality of production.

Second, local authorities are one of the major problems in revitalizing historic quarters in Egypt. Revitalization and management of the historic quarters is the responsibility of the local authorities so ‘we will not reinvent the wheel’. The basic problem is that these local authorities do not have the appropriate human resources, trained staff, and techniques to communicate with local communities. According to the interviewers, most of the participants are without any scientific revitalization background and as a result, development and maintenance is only partial and obviously unplanned following a trial/error problem-solving methodology. Plus, some Government officials work without valuable commitment and loyalty toward the society and the historic quarter because policies did not orient them properly and they are untrained suitably. Samir Gharib (2009) sarcastically added, “what is supposed to be happening will not happen,” referring to the change of local authorities’ management and methodology, pointing out that local authority chiefs are mostly retired army generals without any knowledge of revitalization, rather to focus on the regime control and stabilization.

Third, policy No. 144 (2006) and the Unified Building Code of 2009, give the power to the National Organization for Urban Harmony - NOUH to take control of designating and protecting any valuable architecture and urban quarters. Accordingly, Professor S.O. (2009) mentioned that NOUH’s role is to prevent any visual deterioration and remove any visual pollution to retrieve the beauty of the spaces. Unfortunately, the organization was not responsible for the revitalization program in El Muizz St. - Gamalia quarter. The paradox is that the revitalization of Gamalia quarter was appointed to a specific private consultant...
abroad to provide supervision. In the meantime, NOUH was just being established and rather to take over the job, no it was passed to the private consultant. This explicitly shows the corruption of decision-making within the Ministry of Culture.

**Condition 5: Support of Interest Groups / Agencies and Sovereigns**

The Governmental bodies and administration took on firsthand the responsibility of implementation of the revitalizing program to face the difficulties of administrative coordination. Specifically, the ministries separately tried to support Historic Cairo’s Restoration Program by establishing internal committees based on each ministry’s objectives. However, each ministry is controlled by the officials’ vision, and regime party objective. For instance, the Ministry of Housing and Infrastructure once established a committee specialized in Historic Cairo urban regeneration but unfortunately it focused on monuments preservation, relatively to gain influential powers and external funds. The SCA offers great support to most of the programs’ implementation, but their internal deficits and no urban regeneration organization shifts them from the track of urban revitalization.

Secondly, the private developers and business investors, unfortunately, the policies neither support nor acknowledge their revitalizing efforts. As per Zakaria (2009), private developers within the historic quarters tend to face severe obstacles because there are no policies which support the efforts invested. Gharib (2009) added that, “A proposal was discussed ... to invite new parties within the management of the historic quarters. For instance banks, business firms, and perhaps few celebrities to constitute a board of trustees for a particular quarter, to increase the awareness of the community, invest in those areas, ease others to proceed in the revitalization process, and eventually increase business opportunities.” This is a positive vision because it is important to encourage a transformation from centralized management to a neo-liberal management through finance, and administration. This might enhance the reuse of built heritage to encourage multi-use quarters and eventually increase the local ‘sense of place’.

Thirdly, since the 1980s; policies backed up international and foreign organizations for their support on all levels; finance, technical consultancy, supervising periodical reports, and wide personal expertise. It is evident that most of the international organizations focus their efforts on built heritage preservation, except for few organizations which have grasped the essence of total urban revitalization such as the AKTC which add interest for future social enhancements. For instance, the youth of the Darb Al Ahmar participated in activities during the implementation process and others were skillfully educated to start working within the area.

Finally, the local community and societal organizations have not been mentioned within the last 30 years of policies, and even in the new Unified Building Code of 2009. According to the quantitative surveys with local residents and users, most of them agree with the idea of participation starting from the decision-making phase right through to implementation. However, the basic problem that local communities and societal organizations lack awareness of urban revitalization, along with the fact that they have developed great mistrust toward the Government and local authorities because of the inappropriate direction of
preservation which caused them misplacement and inconvenience.

**Condition 6: Socio-economic Contexts Stability**

The social characteristics of Historic Cairo have changed rapidly due to a number of reasons. The population rate has nearly tripled increasing the high demand for services and new dwellings. Unfortunately, the approach of the policies did not solve the increasingly housing demands. Otherwise the Gamalia Quarter program was driving the current policies in the direction of mummification of the historic quarters and as a result decreasing the housing opportunities. In addition, the genuine residents of the historic quarters moved out from most of the historic quarters to live in new residential districts causing less maintenance for left behind built heritage. Moreover, due to the complex urban fabric, some new residents took advantage of the empty heritage buildings and started illegal businesses especially in the Darb Al Ahmar quarter, altering the safety conditions and founding serious infrastructure destruction.

From the economic point of view, the economic base has also changed from the cultural handicrafts industries to a modern mechanism-based industry, to result in the loss of the ancient traditional industries and increasingly rates of unemployment. However, the Gamalia revitalizing program did not challenge this matter as the Darb Al Ahmar did by training the youth and the women for handicrafts jobs and opportunities.

**Conclusion**

The research revealed several issues starting that Policies focused on the preservation of monuments with less interest in sustainable revitalization of historic quarters. Egyptian revitalization policies are designed on the fundamental principle to preserve the monuments without urban revitalization. Moreover, the policies underestimated the social and economic dimensions of developments and their effect on the physical environment. In addition, the mechanisms of policy formulation and implementation programs fall under a centralized Government. Therefore, the objectives of policy objectives eventually do not complement the objectives of the revitalizing programs.

Current revitalizing policies follow a Top-Down policy-making procedure caused by the centralized Government. As, referring to the concept of sustainability, most of the formulated policies were based on a Top-Down policy-making approach, to focus on the product without consulting the end user and neglecting the needs of the communities. For instance, Government officials took decisions based on individual thoughts or objectives as in the case of transforming the Gamalia quarter to an Open Museum, which caused to safe guard the tangible heritage; but losing the intangible heritage - sense of place. The centralized Government dominates all aspects of management to maintain its power and their key player were controlled by either the regime or a single official. On the other hand, there were attempts to achieve some decentralization, such as the establishment of the NOUH, but with no policies to support this approach. Meanwhile, the role of local authorities is limited to the daily management due to the disoriented policies which neglect the duties to serve the
community. A local organization is essential to achieve effective policy implementation and more community participation. Similarly, the AKTC established a private community-based organization to manage and revitalize Darb El Ahmar. However, this approach needs to be added to a national revitalizing policy to exert upon all Egyptian historic quarters, to ensure the sense of place diversity and increase the socio-economic dimensions.

Policies did not recognize the roles and duties of key players, especially international organizations, NGOs, and local communities. This paper revealed lack of coordination and less cooperation between various ministries involved in revitalizing Historic Cairo. Policies were not efficient, caused more discrete within the implementation process, and lost the interests of the international organizations. Furthermore, local communities and societal organizations such as NGOs usually faced problems with local authorities because they were not officially represented in policies that sustain their rights and efforts and in result they were uninvolved in the decision-making or the implementation process. Consequentially, this generated less organizational coordination and numerous challenges between most of the beneficial.

The revitalization process in Egypt does not have general guidance policy or detailed guidelines for the designated historic quarters. The research reveals the lack of an inclusive national policy for historic quarters’ revitalization. It is obvious in the current policies the dominance of the executive authorities, as manifestations of the close definitive control of the central Government to local authorities. The management system is characterized by a centralized domination with a very limited role played by local authorities and the apparent absence of effective public participation except in individual cases, such as the Darb Al Ahmar quarter. Plus, the phenomenon of multiple actors and agencies that work in one area without coordination, which always leads to an overlap, conflict in the responsibilities and the loss of massive efforts. This led to the accumulation of projects in some areas and their absence in others. In addition, monuments or Built Heritage do not submit under a certain scientific categorization. Since, the policies formulated within the last 30 years treat the built heritage as any other antiquity which could belong to any other ancient era. Then, it is essential to provide a specific methodology for categorization of monuments and built heritage

Policies do not accommodate appropriate plans or suitable human resources for the sustainable revitalization of historic quarters. Government organizations lack the proper scientific revitalizing knowledge, tools, and even human resources. As a result, development and maintenance are partial and obviously unplanned. Both the SCA and local authorities were formed out of unrelated professionals and no local revitalization specialists were involved. It is not just the local community which needs revitalizing-based education but the Government officials as well. Besides that, implementers pretend that they are not a part of the community and eventually work without valuable commitment or loyalty toward the society and the historic quarter. Realistically, in order to solve this dilemma, it is preferable to
formalize the community participation concept and allow local residents to be implementers of the proposed revitalizing programs.

In conclusion, sustainability is a comprehensive approach to develop the socio-economic aspects and to regenerate the built heritage and its surroundings. However, the Egyptian policies have not been successful in revitalization during the last 30 years by advocating explicitly physical protection and preservation of monuments. Generally, the policies have lacked the support of public participation and civil society including major contradictions with other civil laws. Therefore, in order to strengthen the concept of sustainability with revitalizing historic quarters, it is essential to drive all policies and actors to safeguard the tangible and intangible heritage. The Egyptian policies lack a long-term revitalization vision and tend to push more for narrow problem-solving methodologies. The policies have not properly organized the roles of all involved actors and have avoided the role of local communities. The insufficient and misuse of resources, eventually caused ineffective results towards community development and built heritage upgrading. Therefore, Egyptian policies need effective orientation and reformulation, to avoid competition and segregation of stakeholders, and develop the built heritage status.

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Remah Gharib is an Assistant Professor of Architecture and Urban Design in the Center for Research on Islamic Architecture and Planning at Qatar Faculty of Islamic Studies, Qatar Foundation. Dr. Gharib contributes to the Qatar Faculty of Islamic Studies by teaching two courses at the Masters level; Survey of Islamic Architecture in the world and The Planning principles of the Muslim City. He received his PhD in Architecture and Urban Design from the University of Nottingham, where he developed his knowledge of revitalization and management of historic quarters. His research focuses on the aspects of public policy formulation and implementation. Prior to receiving his PhD, he earned his Masters of Architecture in Urban Design at the School of Built Environment in the University of Nottingham. He received his Bachelor of Science in Architectural Engineering from Misk International University in Cairo - MIU where he was appointed as an assistant lecturer and taught Urban Design Theories and Urban Design Studios. He can be contacted at rgharib@qfis.edu.qa or remah_gharib@hotmail.com.