



Sketch by Jim Antoniou

6- FRAMEWORK PLAN

This section describes the FWP in detail and relates a set of urban policies to ensure a feasible implementation. The purpose of the FWP is to show the inter-relation between the various activities, transport and infrastructure and is indicative of historic Cairo's desirable urban image. Thus, the FWP becomes the vehicle for ensuring that rehabilitation is coordinated and integrated with other planning policies affecting historic Cairo.

6.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAMEWORK PLAN

The FWP identified five urban areas; in addition to the Heritage Corridor are, the Institutional Corridor, the 19th century Corridor, the Transformation Zone and the Community Zone. The FWP assigns urban uses and activities for each of these areas which fulfill unmet requirements, needs, desires and interests of a variety of participants in historic Cairo. The five urban areas complement each other in terms of activities and accessibility links. Together they form the urban entity, which can satisfy the future role intended for historic Cairo within the context of Greater Cairo (Map #18).

Historic Cairo (within the boundaries of the project area), contains 313 listed monuments. Applying the above methodology onto the project area nine monument clusters were identified, containing a total of 75 monuments. These clusters are primarily located along the main authentic links of the area: al Muizz, Bab al Wazir, Gamalia and Saliba Streets. These monument clusters, together with the traditional links and the majority of remaining monuments, form the Heritage Corridor of historic Cairo, concentrating preservation and

restoration interventions and tourism development to fulfill a specific need and containing roughly 170 monuments.

Mohammed Ali Street is a north-east to south-west thoroughfare in historic Cairo, containing many 19th century buildings. It is one of the few streets in historic Cairo with arcades. Today there is a concentration of folk music and shops selling musical instruments. This corridor has a potential to represent a main culture related urban zone (i.e. music, plastic arts, bookstores, etc.) and to serve both historic and Greater Cairo. The 19th century Corridor will concentrate investment for related activities.

Al Azhar Street is the main east-west thoroughfare in historic Cairo, and contains the al Azhar mosque and university, the al Hussein hospital to the east, the wholesale commercial activities and business offices to the west. This street links the area with the downtown area of Cairo, currently the subject of a major rehabilitation project for grade separation and pedesternization leading to a new al Hussein plaza, while new institutional, recreational and commercial projects are under construction along its eastern side. This Institutional Corridor will concentrate open space beautification, road improvements and investments in commercial, public or private institutional activities. It is therefore vital to retain continuity of movement along al Muizz Street, linking the two parts of the historic city through its traditional route, now established for more than 1,000 years.

The results of data and information analysis show that *shiakhas* with dominant residential and handicraft activities are located in the eastern and southern parts of historic Cairo. These are *shiakhas* where the majority of historic Cairo's urban poor reside, next to their areas of employment (e.g. handicraft workshops). These areas contains many 19th century rented buildings in poor condition, as well as many vacant plots. Few listed monuments are located there. These *shiakhas* compose the Community Zone, where housing upgrading and community empowerment have priority. Similarly, the western *shiakhas* of historic Cairo contain handicraft activities, workshops, commercial and social services serving Cairo as a whole. Due to the area's proximity to the central area of Cairo, they represent the principal mix use urban zone. As a result, these *shiakhas* are under rapid transformation of their character. These *shiakhas* compose the Transformation Zone, where private investment with controlled development has priority.

The urban structure of historic Cairo addresses two main components; it aims to:

- (a) establish the hierarchy of the urban character inside the area (between the above defined zones) as well as between the area and its surroundings (downtown areas, cemeteries, the Citadel, etc.) and
- (b) achieve an urban stability among activities, interests, and area links.

In terms of establishing the hierarchy of historic Cairo's urban character, this is interpreted within its zones, with the focus concentrated along the Heritage Corridor. The adjacent Community and Transformation Zones on either side, interact with the Heritage Corridor and connect it with Greater Cairo in terms of land uses, vehicular traffic links, as well as the visual hierarchy of the urban and architectural character. These zones are connected to the Heritage Corridor by a buffer zone of intermediate social services that serve the community and the visitors in the area. Visually the buffer zone defines the physical edge of the Heritage

Corridor. The Transformation Zone connects the Heritage Corridor with the central area of Cairo, while the Community Zone connects it with other residential areas of Cairo.

Land uses in historic Cairo are mainly directed to the sectors of housing, services, commerce, industry and tourism. Housing and tourism sectors have the capacity to generate and improve incomes in the area, as well as contributing to the economy of Greater Cairo. The other sectors support these two main sectors. Economically, rehabilitation attempts to reach a degree of stability between these sectors in terms of land use and geographic distribution. The proposed concept links together the identified zones/corridors, in terms of activities and traffic lay-out.

Historic Cairo's main capacity for the approaching 21st century is to promote heritage and tourism, incorporate activities which preserve the area's identity, reflect a strong historic and cultural image and contribute to generating income for its residents. Its road and infrastructure network, are designed to link and promote activities and uses in an efficient and effective manner. Both activities and urban systems are inter-connected in a balanced way, with the purpose of preserving the area and improving the quality of life. As a result, the FWP expresses a set of planning themes described below.

REALIZING URBAN INTEGRATION: The proposed distribution of activities among the urban areas of historic Cairo is based upon achieving integration in terms of complementing activities, between historic Cairo and its surrounding areas,.

The Heritage Corridor is the major market outlet for traditional handicrafts produced in the Community Zone. This also generates employment opportunities in the community zones. Similarly, culture-related activities along the 19th century Corridor enhance community awareness in re-creating a contemporary identity, encourage respect, as well as preserve and maintain the urban heritage. This corridor will supply other areas of historic Cairo with recreational facilities and cultural outlets, lacking in the area. The Institutional Corridor provides for the area and for Greater Cairo important social services, such as the University, the hospital and the future Darrassa park. The Transformation Zone provides for entrepreneurs residing in the Heritage Corridor housing, storage areas and office space for their business. This also provides the opportunity for smaller-scale entrepreneurs to start their business in the area and to live in middle income housing in a residentially desirable environment. This Zone will generate many job opportunities for the unemployed new graduates already residing in the Community Zone of historic Cairo and other surrounding areas.

FLEXIBLE DISTRIBUTION OF USES AND ACTIVITIES: Historic Cairo is a suitable location for a variety of activities. The FWP though, does not attempt to assign activities to specific locations, but rather proposes an array of possible locations. This is to ensure effectiveness in implementing the FWP for a multitude of circumstances. Since the FWP does not depend on land expropriation and forced relocation of activities, it does not consider necessary to decide the exact location of specific activities. An additional element reinforcing and necessitating flexibility in the approach, is dictated by the dynamic nature of physical change in the city Cairo. Therefore, the FWP recommends general principles to identify required location for specific activity groups. For example, the plan may indicate that the inner or outer core of a "super block" or a monument cluster is a good location for a certain

activity to take place. Defining an actual location or site, requires detailed planning, as manifested by the demonstration projects, i.e. assigning specified activities to specific building or plot through community participation and involvement of group(s) of interested partners. Implementing urban policies can facilitate this process, motivate the participants and guide them to assign activities from a range of locations, following a number of guidelines (i.e. design guidelines -section 9), described below:

(a) The distribution of social services and commercial activities:

Map # 19 shows the recommended distribution of social services and commercial activities. In particular the outer core of “super blocks” (described in section 4), are suitable locations for social services and commercial activities. Similarly, monument clusters, specially along thoroughfares, are suitable locations for tourist facilities, as well as community services. Locations for social services and commercial activities are classified into a number of categories:

- (i) Tourist services and shops: are located within the Heritage Corridor, along its main spine (i.e. al Muizz, Bab al Wazir and Saliba Streets). The range of activities includes tourist information centers, souvenirs shops, bookstores, hostels or hotel, leather and clothing shops, restaurants and cafes, as well as street vendors.
- (ii) City wide services and shops: are located within the Institutional Corridor (along Al Azhar Street) and the 19th century Corridor (along Mohammed Ali Street). They include the al Azhar university, important mosques, cultural centers, banks, post offices and other public buildings. Wholesale/retail shops and art galleries are also located here.
- (iii) Intermediate services and shops: are located inside the two “buffer zones”, i.e. the areas that link the Heritage Corridor with both Community and Transformation Zones. The buffer zones contain schools, youth centers and clubs, mosques, grocery stores, NGO offices, as well as cafes and restaurants.
- (iv) Local services and shops: these are located inside community areas and along public paths. They include health care and family planning facilities, kindergartens, grocery stores and praying areas.

(b) Distribution of housing, lodging, workshops and offices:

The inner core of super blocks (described in section 4) can provide housing and a variety of lodging facilities, handicraft workshops and offices. For example a number of monuments, such as houses, located within the inner core of super blocks can be used as hotel or hostels. The dominating activities for each zone are classified as follows and their location are shown in Map # 21 within the overall FWP (Composite Plan):

- (i) Tourist related activities: are located within the Heritage Corridor, including student accommodation, hostels and furnished rooms, as well as environment friendly workshops (e.g. leather, perfume, silver and gold workshops).
- (ii) Community oriented activities: are located within the Community Zones and include housing for low-income families as well as handicraft activities on ground floors.
- (iii) Business oriented activities: are located within the Transformation Zone and include houses for middle-income groups, business offices as well as storage facilities on ground floors.

IMPROVING ACCESSIBILITY: The FWP aims to improve accessibility in historic Cairo, while respecting the organic nature of the area's urban fabric. Within historic Cairo, the FWP preserves the urban fabric and links traffic capacity to the environmental capacity, without having to resort to such measures as creating new roads or widening streets. The traffic network is based upon frequently used streets, in balance with environmental consideration for pedestrians. This approach minimizes interruptions to the communities, contributes to an improved environment and reduces intervention costs. The proposed traffic network for historic Cairo is based on a road hierarchy. Various streets within the project area require only minor improvements, while streets on the periphery need major modifications. The various categories are described below (Map #20):

- (a) Arterial roads surround the project area and provide links with Greater Cairo. These include al Azhar, Port Said, Mansouria and Galal Streets. Such streets, have an average width of 35 meters and may also be public transport routes. Major parking for private vehicles and tourist buses are located along these thoroughfares.
- (b) Collector roads are two-way roads for inter-area traffic connecting the various urban zones (i.e. Mohammed Ali and Ahmed Maher Streets). On average they have a width of 10 meters. The FWP proposes that small public transport buses and other private mini-buses will also use these streets. Off-street parking may be allowed along certain sections of these streets.
- (c) Local streets surround the super blocks and carry one way traffic, following a looping system. This is determined by the narrow widths of the streets, which are on average 4.5 meter wide. Loading and unloading areas serving the Heritage Corridor are linked to these streets.
- (e) Pedestrianised streets are along all monument clusters and parts of the main spine along the Heritage Corridor. Pedestrianization is restricted to 12 hours daily, allowing for servicing outside these hours and emergency vehicles at all times.

Within this hierarchy of roads, a number of measures are proposed to increase the efficiency of the network:

- (a) al Muizz Street, should be paved and pedestrianized between 9:00 a.m. and 9:00 p.m. to provide pedestrian freedom of movement to people on foot (see also section 7).
- (b) Galal Street, outside the historic wall (along the northern boundary of the project area), should be improved to become an arterial road, providing parking for tourist buses. An area in front of the walls should be landscaped as a buffer zone between the new arterial road and the historic wall and gates.
- (c) Salah Salem Street (near the Citadel) and the Autostrade, should be connected with Bab al Wazir Street, in order to create an access to historic Cairo from the southern side of the project area. This link will somewhat reduce the heavy traffic along al Azhar Street.
- (d) Three underground parking areas should be constructed along al Azhar Street; at Wahaat Bus Station; at the proposed Hussein Plaza (GOPP Project); and at the northern part of Darrassa hills.
- (e) Loading and unloading areas should be created on vacant plots along the two buffer zones and linked by loops of local streets.
- (f) Public transport is to be improved by diverting certain routes away from al Azhar Street to Galal Street (see -b- above). Similarly, main bus stops along al Azhar Street should be redesigned and relocated outside the area closer to Salah Salem Street. In considering the third metro line, possible damage to monuments as a result of tunneling should be a

serious consideration. Possible metro stops should be considered near Galal Street or Darrassa hills.

- (g) Arterial and collector streets should have improved traffic control signal, street lighting, road markings and clear signs.
- (h) Local streets should be improved in terms of paving, minimum active width, street lighting, road markings and clear signs.
- (i) A new local road is proposed along the eastern border of the project area, to improve the north-south connection from al Azhar Street and Bab al Wazir Street near the Citadel, as well as to improve accessibility to the al Darb al Ahmar area.
- (j) The proposed new plaza between al Azhar and Hussein mosques (GOPP Project) accommodates traffic via an underground tunnel along al Azhar Street. In spite of this design, the continuity of al Muizz Street is disrupted. Al Muizz Street is considered the most important historic spine for the project area. Consideration should be given in creating a link, possibly with a bridge building (see section 9).

URBAN FORM: The FWP links planning, design and policy decision with locations within the project area that have specific physical and socio-economic aspects. The type of intervention proposed for each zone aims to fulfill the desirable image and role these zones are deemed to play.

Table # 4 Urban Form of Historic Cairo

Urban zones and their orientation	Target groups (consumers)	Activities	Area role	Area image	Type of intervention	Main participants (producers)
Heritage Corridor Tourism and Culture oriented	- Tourists - Visitors - Students - Residents	-Museums/Tourist Information Centers - Cafe/ Restaurants - Bookstores - Souvenirs - Cultural centers -Hotels -Housing	Tourism	Traditional lifestyle Architectural style Cultural events	Rehabilitation -Conservation - Restoration - Re-use	- Owners - SAC - MoW - Consultants - Investors - CG
19th century Corridor Tourism and Culture oriented	- Tourists - Visitors - Students - Residents	- Music stores - Cafe/ Restaurants - Art Galleries - Art/Design Offices - Housing	Promotion of Tourism, Art and Culture	Modern facilities within a 19th century Setting	- Restoration - Renovation - Re-use	- Owners - Artists - Investors
Institutional Corridor Service sector oriented	- Tourists - Visitors - Students	- Public buildings - Open plaza - Shops - Offices	Area of city-wide Public Services	Contemporary life-style (combining old and new)	- Preservation - Infills -Traffic management	- CG - MoC - MoH - University - Investors
Community Zone Housing, Local Services and Handicrafts oriented	Low-income Residents (women, unemployed labors, home less, etc.)	- Housing - Workshops - Grocery stores - Clinics - Primary schools - NGO Offices	Area of low and middle income Housing Production of Traditional Handicrafts	Residential	-Rehabilitation - Environment - Training -Community empowerment	- Tenants - Owners - Investors - CG - NGO's - MoH - SFD
Transformation zone Tertiary Sector and Housing oriented	-Middle-income Housing -Private sector	-Housing - Offices - Shops - Banks - Insurance	Area of tertiary sector activities, residential	Mix-use development	-Rehabilitation - Infills	- Developers

The FWP attempts to link image and role for each of these zones, ultimately leading to an acceptable urban form for the entire project area as a whole. The urban form is based on the principle of diversity in unity. The diversity is experienced in the type of dominant activities, architectural quality and environmental standards, while unity is implied in standards of accessibility, infrastructure and services. Unity is also expressed through a compact urban form, traditional urban patterns of living and a strong sense of place.

Map #18 shows the five zones identified in the historic city. Table # 4 above, describes activities of each zone and the corresponding area role and image and its orientation to economic sectors. It also includes target groups (consumers), intervention types and main participants (producers) that should be involved in the rehabilitation process of each zone.

6.2 REHABILITATION POLICIES

In this part a number of policies relevant to the FWP are discussed. They address heritage preservation, environment, transportation, infrastructure, socio-economic aspects, housing and land policies.

HERITAGE PRESERVATION: There is a need to mobilize the historic urban resources to ensure the sustainable improvement of facilities, particularly for the tourist and the housing markets. The preservation and re-use of heritage can increase the revenues of both public and private sectors. It can also bring economic benefits to local communities, as well as utility of visitors and tourists. Heritage preservation policies include the following:

- (a) A periodic updating of the monument index : SCA has already prepared an index that needs approval and funds for publication.
- (b) Protect the monuments from vandalism: SCA in co-ordination with CG and the Ministry of Interior (MoI) should free all listed buildings currently under illegal occupancy and ensure the effective care of monuments. It is recommended that care-takers among the (unemployed) residents, supervised and remunerated by the SCA, can thus take an active role in safeguarding the area's monuments.
- (c) Re-define monument ownership: it is recommended that listed monuments and the land they occupy be owned by SCA. MoW, the current owner of over 90 percent of listed monuments, can be compensated through the provision of land of equivalent value in other parts of Cairo.
- (d) Restore deteriorated listed monuments: SCA should be allowed to franchise listed monuments to the private sector, to be restored according to defined quality standards and for appropriate re-use, under SCA's supervision and tenure. Tenants should take account of the appropriate re-use of monuments and their maintenance.
- (e) Cancel rent contracts for listed monuments: Government approval should be sought to cancel all rent contracts of listed monuments with MoW. New agreements with the tenants should be made, taking into account the re-use of monuments, their market rent and the need for compensation, based on the value of the location to the tenants in historic Cairo.

- (f) Encourage rehabilitation of non-listed historic buildings: the relevant Governorate authorities (including CG and MoH), the Social Fund for Development (SFD), SCA and NGO's should intervene in the following areas:
 - (i) to facilitate mortgage financing, furnish subsidized construction materials and provide technical assistance to building owners and tenants to restore their buildings
 - (ii) to organize capacity building programs for training architects, engineers, craftsmen and other related professionals on appropriate restoration techniques
 - (iii) to create a system of awards for participating community groups and other community members for best results in restoring and safeguarding historic buildings
- (g) Preserve the authentic character of the urban fabric: a decree should be issued to include the following (see also section 9):
 - (i) the cancellation of all issued building line decrees affecting the authentic urban fabric of historic Cairo (as per building lines shown in the 1798 historic Cairo map)
 - (ii) the periodic updating of building lines on an established digitized map
 - (iii) the enforcement of a maximum building height of all new building to 14 meters or four stories. Illegal additions are to be penalized
 - (iv) the creation of incentives to encourage building owners to include courtyards in their buildings
 - (v) the creation of incentives to urge building owners to construct new building fronts with qualities sympathetic to the character of historic Cairo.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: One of the FWP's objective is to upgrade the built environment of historic Cairo and reduce the sources of pollution, particularly from workshops, traffic, wastewater and solid waste. The following policies are proposed:

- (a) To minimize workshop-related pollution a combination of measures is required;
 - (i) relocate polluting workshops outside historic Cairo: land should be assigned for use as light industry park. Partial funding for this undertaking may be obtained through the sale of leases from existing locations (through the public or private sectors). Grants should also be made available to cover relocation costs
 - (ii) encourage workshop owners to convert their current production to non-polluting traditional handicrafts: grants should be made available over a certain period to assist business people who wish to participate in this program
 - (iii) encourage workshop owners to adopt environmentally friendly technologies by organizing training programs and awareness campaigns. Finance should be made available (possibly through SFD) for purchasing new technologies. A polluting tax is to be imposed on polluting workshops, particularly when located within the Heritage Corridor.
- (b) To minimize traffic-related pollution a possible measure is to reduce the number of cars inside historic Cairo and encourage the use of non-motorized transportation modes. Such models may be used for the transportation of goods, particularly inside the Heritage Corridor.
- (c) To improve solid waste management the following measures are proposed;

- (i) identify public collection points in each *shiakha* and furnish appropriate containers. Possible locations are along collector streets or at loading/unloading areas.
- (ii) provide suspended and fixed collector bins on all streets and every 100 meters.
- (iii) facilitate financing, possibly through SFD, for (unemployed) community residents to establish small-scale businesses for solid waste collection from households and shops, on a *shiakha* scale. Affordable collection fees are to cover basic expenses and allow for a small profit margin.
- (iv) improve the municipality services through training and a variety of incentives.

TRAFFIC AND ROAD NETWORK: The objective of these policies is to adjust historic Cairo's traffic capacity to its environmental capacity, along two main policy types:

- (a) Increase the supply and efficiency of the road network:
 - (i) roads used as part of the proposed network are to be paved
 - (ii) widen the road links when necessary or appropriate
 - (iii) use vacant plots, whenever permitted, as street parking areas, as loading/unloading areas and allocate appropriate sites for underground or multi-story parking (at the periphery of historic Cairo)
 - (iv) provide appropriate traffic signs, street markings and lighting, within the context of the historic character of the city.
- (b) Reduce and diversify transport demand:
 - (i) relocate traffic generating activities (particularly along al Muizz Street) to the periphery of historic Cairo
 - (ii) promote the use of non-motorized transportation modes for goods, particularly during hours when al Muizz Street is pedestrianized
 - (iii) limit vehicle access to the Historic Corridor during pedestrianization hours
 - (iv) levy progressive parking fees for on-street parking and along congested streets

INFRASTRUCTURE: The purpose of these policies are to minimize the adverse effects of infrastructure on the monuments and building stock and bring the extent and level of infrastructure service in historic Cairo to such standard, that it will not interfere with the development of the area. The following policies concern the water system.

- (a) Extent the service of the water system to cover the whole project area, as well as provide properly constructed public washrooms in commercial and other frequently visited areas (i.e. monuments)
- (b) Set an appropriate level of service for the water distribution in historic Cairo, concerning water allocation per capita, system operating pressures and reliability. Complete metering and suitable billing structure can be used to minimize wastage of water by consumers through financial incentives. The minimum pressure at peak hour demand is proposed to 20 meters, which is less than that set for Greater Cairo (30 meters). The reliability should be increased to ensure uninterrupted service, which will necessitate isolation valves and efficient maintenance. Fire hydrants should be installed throughout the project area, with a recommended spacing of 60 up to 90 meters. Ductile iron pipes are recommended to withstand soil aggression, internal pressures, external loads and water leakage.

The following policies concern the waste water system.

- (a) Extent the service of the wastewater system to collect sewage and industrial wastewater from all streets. Septic tanks should be prohibited.
- (b) Set an appropriate level of service and design criteria, where sewers are capable of collecting the predicted peak sewage flows without being pressurized. Minimum sewer diameter should be 8 or 9 inches. The project area should be provided with a combined storm water system and areas adjacent to monument clusters with rain water inlets. A monitoring system should be installed for the shallow groundwater table throughout the project area.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS: The purpose of these policies is to empower the communities in historic Cairo. The following are recommended:

- (a) Assign grants and/or encourage NGOs to establish literacy programs, particularly for women.
- (b) Facilitate finance (possibly through SFD) for promoting new friendly technologies for small scale enterprises in Historic Cairo. Priority is to be given to women head of households.
- (c) Encourage NGOs to organize training programs for traditional handicraft in order to improve skills and alleviate unemployment.
- (d) Provide incentives for entrepreneurs to invest in the area and generate employment opportunities, especially through the promotion of labor intensive projects.
- (e) Convene with community leaders to identify and prioritize social service projects.
- (f) Encourage private investors and entrepreneurs to finance and implement social services in historic Cairo by allowing the sale, lease and exchange of public property through a variety of agreements.

LAND DEVELOPMENT: The objective of these policies is to encourage the development of vacant lands in the area to meet the need of the community and visitors. Possible policies are:

- (a) Levy a vacant-land tax outside the monument domain, while their development is to comply with the proposed activity allocations and guidelines as per FWP.
- (b) Enforce the monument domain concept for illegally occupied vacant land, while their development is to follow set processes of preservation and re-use of adjacent monuments (the term monument domain originally implied that, land occupied -currently or formerly- by a monument, remains the property of this monument)
- (c) Encourage the development of vacant land in proximity to monuments through partnership agreements under SCA supervision.

- (d) Assign land outside historic Cairo for the relocation of polluting activities and housing projects
- (e) Apply land sharing mechanisms to subsidize the development of vacant land for low-income families by the profit generated from other investment projects in the area

HOUSING: The objective of these policies is to improve housing conditions in the area in terms of health, safety, affordability and accessibility. The sustainability of the residential environment should be secured. Housing policies are directed to the market demand and supply. The following policies are proposed:

- (a) Encourage house-owners and developers to invest in restoring and constructing appropriate housing in the area. The aim is to preserve 19th century buildings and develop vacant land for residential use. Policies can:
 - (i) provide subsidized construction materials to building owners and developers
 - (ii) create incentives encouraging building owners and developers to restore buildings and construct on vacant lands (i.e. awards, tax-free status during a set term)
 - (iii) provide technical and management support to the community.
 - (iv) facilitate mortgage finance for building owners and tenants for building restoration
- (b) Enable low-income families to have access to adequate housing after rehabilitation. The aim is to minimize direct and indirect relocation of low-income families during and after the rehabilitation process, as follows:
 - (i) organize a grant assistance program to cover temporary relocation costs of residents during rehabilitation, through a process of decanting, from their deteriorated housing units to temporary shelters and vice versa.
 - (ii) organize a regressive subsidy program to cover percentages of the post-rehabilitation increased rent (e.g. a five year program, starting from 50 percent subsidy during the first year and leading to 10 percent in the fifth year).
 - (iii) encourage tenants and building owners to establish a Historic Cairo Housing Association (HCHA) to organize the community and ensure their participation, as well as to secure tenure of housing units and land.

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