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## Gentrification Indicators in the Historic City of Cairo

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### Abstract

Since, 1980s, academics used to deal with gentrification as a haphazard process. While on 2000s, gentrification is no longer perceived as a haphazard process but rather a planned process. As urban neighbourhoods exposed to gentrification, physical, economic, social and cultural changes take place. Gentrification can also process reversely named as "Degentrification". This paper tackles the problem of what Lee (1996) called "Geography of Gentrification", trying to understand the dilemma of how gentrification evolves within neighbourhoods. Moreover, this paper explores the application of the gentrification indicators developed by Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (April 2001) on the historic city of Cairo.

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*Keywords:* Degentrification; Gentrification; Gentrification indicators; Historic Cairo; Urban Neighborhood.

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### 1. Introduction

Since, 1980s, academics used to deal with gentrification as a haphazard process. Later on, since the 2000s, gentrification is no longer perceived as a haphazard process but rather a planned, well defined and organized process. It has been recognized that gentrification does not process the same everywhere. While urban neighborhoods exposed to gentrification, physical, economic, social and cultural changes take place. Gentrification can also process reversely that is called as "Degentrification". There is a common agreement between scholars and practitioners that gentrification leads to the improvement of the urban life, facilities urban neighborhoods and reducing the likelihood of future demolition and provides a practical solution for deteriorated neighborhoods. The

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paper tackles the problem of what Lee (1996) called "Geography of Gentrification", which makes a hard need to understand the dilemma of how gentrification evolves and develops within neighborhoods in different cities.

Moreover, this paper explores the application of the gentrification indicators developed by Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (April 2001) on the historic city of Cairo in order to understand the process of gentrification. Gentrification started as a local process in New York City while progressing as a global process in Mumbai, Beijing and Mexico City. Neil Smith (2010) points out that:

"Gentrification nowadays is a generalized process, not anymore a random process that could happen in different places haphazardly. It is rather a systematic, planned and considered process; it could be political or economic decision" (Neil S., 2010).

Gentrification has its in reducing the likelihood of future demolition, improving associated streets and infrastructure, nonetheless, it has negative consequences as the destruction of social networks, increasing number of homeless people, increasing crime rate, social and cultural displacements with regards to identity and behavior.

## **2. Prologue**

Gentrification is:

"a term used to describe the arrival of wealthier social class in an existing urban district and its consequent increase in rents and property values, and changes in the district's characteristics and its culture. The term is often used negatively, suggesting the displacement of poor communities by rich outsiders" (Benjamin, 2003).

The term "gentrification" firstly appeared in an essay on the urban dynamics in Inner-London by Ruth Glass in 1964. She described gentrification as:

"..... the invasion of the middle class who replaced the working class and the renovation of residential houses" (Ruth Glass, 1964).

She pointed out how rapid the appearance of the whole changes in such neighborhoods and states. Glass noticed how gentrification is spreading to other surrounding neighborhoods. While in terms of demography, economy and politics, the pressure gentrification puts on central London as it was clear that she was revealing her point of view on a small scale, assuring what kind of changes are going on, in-between social classes, and not about a "back to the city center" movement. That kind of gentrification was called "classical gentrification".

While the early stage models of gentrification were introduced by Phillip Clay in 1979 (cited in Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008: 31-33). Clay studied the private reinvestment in the core of U.S. cities in the 1970s, as four stages (cases) of gentrification were discovered; pioneering gentrification, expanding gentrification, adolescent gentrification and maturing gentrification. Clay's model described the way gentrification evolved in the 1980s and 1990s. So far due to time and different changes (economic, social, political changes), a new stage of (super) gentrification was developed recently.

Neil Smith (1979) argued that gentrification is the reinvestment into rundown neighborhoods rather than moving back to the city center for the middle class people by introducing a theory of investment and reinvestment. Smith was also capable of introducing a model trying to explain why some districts are lucrative to redevelop and others not by the rent gap model. So far, such theory was criticized by David W.S. Wong, 1988, as by testing the rent gap, enormous methodological difficulties come out. Another theory was introduced by Hamnett and Randolph (1986), the value gap theory, as a result of the changing from renting out to ownership, occupied flats became more relevant, followed by a decrease in the number of rented accommodations in the housing market.

By the late 1980s, gentrification transformed as the term was stretched and new forms of the phenomenon popped up. Such new forms encompass rural gentrification, new-build gentrification and super gentrification as

mentioned before. By the 1990s, more research was done and gentrification was seen as completed. A significant speedup and a major transformation of the process linking gentrification to powerful instruments of public policy, sooner, the term was developed to work as a global urban strategy.

Moreover, gentrification has both positive and negative sides, Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge (eds.: 2005) mentioned some of the positive and negative sides of gentrification. On one hand gentrification increases social mix, increases property value and loss of affordable housing, reduces crime rates and reduces urban sprawl. While on the other hand, gentrification facilitates the loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos), also increases the demand on housing units for the displaced inhabitants who tend to move to the surrounding poor areas.

Gentrification cannot be applied everywhere similarly, due to culture and social differences, as referring to the type of gentrifiers who may have sexual preferences (gays and lesbians) that cannot be measured nor applied in Egypt. Also, the notion of that, no idea to where will move the displaced inhabitants (homeless), who could be relocated in new districts using Site and Services project. Accordingly, there is a need to a general framework to define and identify gentrification advantages (positives) and to overcome its disadvantages (negatives) as well.

To sum up, gentrification is “an urban process that aims to improve urban life, which could be managed by the government or investors or even residents belonging to a higher class, than the class already existing in the neighborhood. As the existing neighborhood of that class, somehow, tend to be gentrified. The gentrified building(s) becomes a spotlight of interest, when the manager (Gentrifies) and the place both have the motivation and ability to be gentrified synchronously. All this happen without giving attention to gentrification negative consequences, likely as social segregation, destruction of Social classes, and displacement” (Adopted by the researcher, 2013)

In the meantime, gentrification process could happen in a reverse way, instead of improving urban life and replacing lower middle class inhabitants by other higher, the so called "Degentrification" could take place by deteriorating the urban life and replacing of higher middle class inhabitants by other lower, degentrification could be defined as "Simply, degentrification (reverse gentrification) is the replacement of wealthier social middle class with a lower social middle class in an existing deteriorated urban district. This happens due to the decrease of rents and property values, and changes in the district’s characteristics and culture". And the coming figure illustrates the difference between the gentrification and degentrification processes” (Adopted by the researcher, 2013).

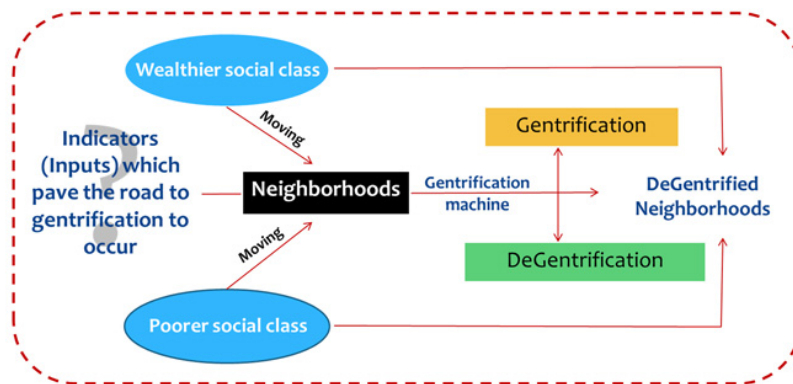


Fig. 1. Illustrates the relation between the two notions of "gentrification and degentrification" (adopted by the researcher, 2013).

Meanwhile, in order to identify, indicate and detect gentrification in urban neighborhoods, some gentrification indicators needed to be involved in order to determine such neighborhoods. Accordingly, there were four major studies that addressed the neighborhoods of Saint-Henri and Lower Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG) in Montreal, Canada (Ley, 1996; RESO, 2002; RESO, 2007; and Walks and Maaranen, 2008). The work of the Report of the Southwest Housing Committee (RESO: 2002; 2007) documents that in the Southwest Borough in Montréal, of

which the Saint-Henri neighborhood is a part; there were sharp increases in housing prices between 2001 and 2005. And as Ley (1996) relies on a different methodology than the work of RESO, Ley's analysis compared gentrification of six Canadian inner cities from 1971 through 1991, using special tabulations based on Canadian census data.

So far, while before the Report of the Southwest Housing Committee in 2002 emerged, another research was done by the Urban Institute, District of Columbia Policy Forum in 2001, in the District of Columbia neighborhoods. As a result, five leading indicators of gentrification were discovered, which can be listed as following, low priced areas adjacent to higher priced areas, low priced areas with good metro access, low priced areas with historic architecture, low priced areas with large housing units, and low priced areas with recent appreciation.

Later on, Walks and Maaranen (2008) presented an assessment of neighborhood gentrification and upgrading in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver cities. The study was divided into stages over the 1961 till 2001, using indicators from the Canadian census. The aim of the study is to detect the presence of gentrification and upgrading processes, as six indicators were used (Walks and Maaranen, 2008: 10). Thus, many changes were measured according to the Canadian census, such as, changes in neighborhood income, changes in social class/social status, changes in the Location Quotient (LQ) of artists (artistic, recreational and literary occupations), average monthly rents, and average dwelling values.

Gentrification indicators are various and diverse, meanwhile Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, categorized gentrification indicators to three main types, leading, primary and secondary indicators. After research and comparing various indicators, Kennedy and Leonard indicators were preferred to be examined. As they are very convincing and more applicable to the case study, also due to the absence of a comprehensive approach to deal with such neighborhood, while the next table shows the three different types of indicators. For example, the high architecture value indicator can be seen in the monumental and historic buildings with unique architectural styles, low housing values' indicator is also represented in deteriorated and bad condition housing; both are leading indicators for gentrification.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

Many authors dealt with gentrification as a theoretical process which considered gentrification consequences and impacts, positive and negative ones (especially displacement and segregation). Gentrification is considered to be a new field for research and study, and there is a lot to be explored and examined. Even some academics may refer to gentrification from the mid of the nineteenth century, others relate gentrification with the liberalism period in the eighteenth century. While few authors struggled to categorize and identify gentrification indicators, and by investigating, reviewing and evaluating many different indicators, the researcher determined that the indicators of Kennedy and Leonard, 2001 are the most suitable for the case study, due to the absence of a comprehensive approach of the case studies that Ley, 1996; and Walks and Maaranen, 2008 used, the theme that assures the research point of view: what can be applied for example in Saint-Henri and Lower NDG, Montréal and Toronto, must not by default be applied to other countries due to social and cultural differences.

The methodology used for examining the gentrification indicators; is to overlap and join the typology of the case study with the indicators of gentrification in order to achieve the main objective of the paper. As, the main objective of this paper is to understand how gentrification is processing and to expect future gentrification locations in order to consider the possible precautions to deal with gentrification in a good manner and avoid its negative consequences while using its positive ones to upgrade and develop the neighborhoods exposed to gentrification. This methodology was applied by analyzing a neighborhood of the Historic City of Cairo as a case study (as shown below), then to examine with the gentrification indicators to realize the level of gentrification the neighborhood exposed to.

#### 4. Case study of Historic Cairo

Cairo is considered as an embrace for many historical districts and significant monuments, which does not reveal the city architecture wealth only, but also its significant urban fabric which characterized by its narrow streets, paths and landmarks, urban experience is a challenge for any visitor who would like to explore the Islamic era’s urban life. Historic Cairo was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1979 under the title of "Islamic Cairo".

Islamic Cairo is a part of the city center of Cairo well-known for its historical mosques and other Islamic monuments. It is overlooked by the Cairo Citadel as a strategic spot to control and protect the city. Medieval Cairo or Fatimid Cairo was founded in 969 as the royal enclosure for the Fatimid caliphs. The historic centre of Cairo bears impressive material witness to the international importance, on the political, strategic, intellectual and commercial levels of the city during the medieval period.

The Historic City of Cairo is located in the down town of Cairo between two main streets Salah Salem Street and Port Said Street from east and west respectively, from the north Albanhawi street and Alazhar street from the south. This location is considered to be very important because of the unique architecture style, monumental buildings and commercial district this location enjoys, not only that, but also this location is one of the UNESCO (United Nations for Education, Science and culture Organization) world heritage sites. This area witnessed many different eras and years of neglect during the last decades, and the next figure shows the location of the historic city of Cairo.



Fig. 2. (a) the location of the study area IN Cairo; (b) Case Study location from the Historic City of Cairo and main surrounding streets (Adopted by the researcher using Google maps, 2013).

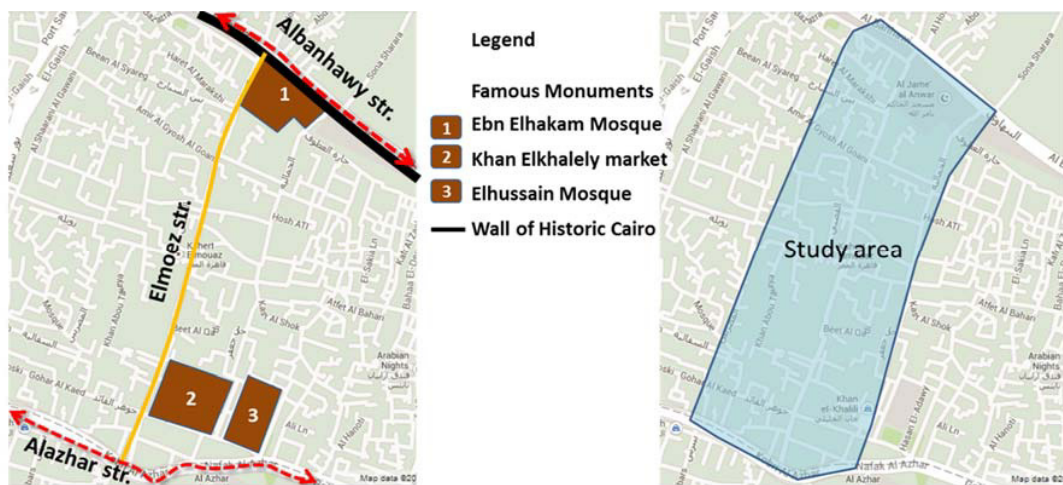


Fig. 3 (a) main landmarks in the study area; (b) the study area of Historic City of Cairo (Adopted by the researcher using Google maps, (2013).



So far, the case study area is popular of its bazars and antique shops (Khan Elkhailily district) because of the high architectural and historical values it enjoys, which makes it a significant destination for many tourists to visit, nevertheless a headquarter for many jewelry workshops and showrooms, also as an open market for selling handmade products, moreover a market for textile goods such as sheets, towels, blankets, and other similar products, and some places work as a backyard for these shops as a storage areas. Thus, this neighborhood is highly rich and diverse, many economic facilities and chances for deterioration.

#### 4.1. Case study analysis

In this part, the paper will introduce the analysis of the case study, two methods were used to explore the case study in order to discover the current situation, firstly by interviewing some of the stakeholders who are involved in the study area, as the area is popular by its bazars and antique shops (Khan Elkhailily district) which make it a significant destination for many tourists to visit, nevertheless a headquarter for many jewellery workshops and showrooms, also as an open market for selling handmade products, moreover a market for textile goods such as sheets, towels, blankets, and other similar products. Accordingly, many stakeholders are involved in such area, which make the researcher widen the scope of his study population as much as possible.

Secondly by exploring the typology of the case study, such as the buildings' conditions, heights, uses and construction system used as exploration helps to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to near gentrification process. While this analysis will be joined with the gentrification indicators developed by Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (April 2001). Meanwhile, try to figure out possibilities for degentrification process as well, which will be more illustrated in further researches due to the specific focus of the contemporary research.

The study population included some interviews with governmental bodies such as the ministry of housing and the supreme council of antiquities, and local authority as many projects were supervised by such bodies. And as renting – renting refers to the rent gap which plays a very important role in the gentrification process – some interviews were done with renters and owners as well, also some local residents were interviewed, regardless to which social group they belong to as it was determined that the residents belong to the same social group with the same race, as race is not an issue in the study area. Also, some tourists and passing by users were interviewed and the table below shows the study population, methods and sampling techniques which were used during the study.

Table 1. Study population, methods and sampling techniques.

Study population	Methods	Sampling techniques	Number of interviewees
Ministry of Housing	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful then snow-balling	1
Supreme Council of Antiquities			3
Local authority			2
Apartment owners	Unstructured interviews	Stratified random sampling then snow-balling	3
Shop owners			5
Local Residents		Purposeful	12
Renters		Purposeful	7
Users, Passing by, others, ... etc.		Purposeful	6

By interviewing, the interviewees seemed to be little conservative somehow towards the study area, maybe due to the frequent developments the area witnessed during the last decades, in addition to deterioration stages that the area were exposed to due to negligence, misuse and abundance.

Residents and renters tend to answer most of the questions they have been asked, especially those related to their economic problems, mainly arguing the increasing renting prices and which they cannot afford, to pay the rent on time, also, some other problems related to the government's ability to deal with recent problems which has been always below their expectations. Meanwhile, asking about educational level and awareness sometimes may embarrass the interviewee, so it was asked in indirect way to avoid dispersing and focusing on the main issue of the research.

#### *4.2. Interviews results*

The Supreme Council of Antiquities argued that "the Historic Cairo faces three main challenges; monuments evacuation, misbehaviour and lack of awareness towards the monuments, and reaching the real owners of some monuments, all may result in abundant houses or could be a suitable spots for crimes which consequently decrease the houses' values."

So far it was claimed by the ministry of housing that the level of education is moderate as most of the inhabitants finished their diplomas or technical high schools (five years of high school). Most of inhabitants tend to work two or three part-time jobs to cover their living costs, mainly unregistered jobs which explains the high rate of unemployment. Thus, it explains the general spread of peddlers all over the area, especially by the main commercial zones (Elmoez Street, Elgamaleya district, Elhussein district, etc.), this was also assured by the speaker of the local authority of Historic Cairo. Also, their encroachments pollute the visual and physical appearance of the monuments, nothing against peddlers but just it's a problem which hardly needs a comprehensive radical approach to solve the problem from its roots which has to be based on public participation from all sides.

On the other hand, local residents as they enjoy the new urban life the area may offer after renovation, they may suffer from the increase of rents due to such renovation and modernization. "Well, in order to conserve the achieved progress sometimes it is needed to change the mentalities (users)", and in this case the residents, claimed by one of the land owners. Hereby, to replace local residents by other new comers who, eventually; will accept to pay higher rents to enjoy social, cultural and economic satisfaction due to the proximity to urban facilities, this emphasizes the main concept of displacement. While, other buildings which were not renovated, their renters do not like to leave their shops due to their proximity to the city centre (the market).

Due to the increase of land prices, land owners tend to construct new buildings without any respect to the monumental buildings surrounding their lands, thus many inconvenient buildings appeared in the last decade with irrelevant architectural style compared to the Historic Cairo context. With increased land and renting prices for the renovated buildings, old residents who enjoy living with the old rental law showed no care towards any hopes for renovating any buildings, thus indicates low housing values in some areas. On the other hand, the owners suffer from low rents due to the old rental law as the living standards increase, price of renovating increases.

#### *4.3. Map analysis results*

By overlapping the uses of the case study; buildings and the building conditions, it was found that the locations of handicrafts and manufacturing uses are in bad condition (1E) while the monumental buildings are in good condition (1D) – where 1 represents the type of indicators (leading, primary or secondary) and D represents the number of indicator in the table of gentrification indicators - due to the renovation which was made in 2010 by the government to preserve the historic city, also the commercial district in the south (1B) varies between good and moderate conditions which gives more opportunity for renovation for the renovated buildings to catch up better

urban conditions like the neighboring buildings. Similarly, the location of the tourism facilitates (2B) which seems to be in a bad condition.

Generally, bad condition buildings are good opportunities for future gentrification, as these buildings are in a passive state, as soon as the neighboring building started to be renovated or used, the passive building becomes active and more motivated for reuse or renovation. The Historic city of Cairo is a touristic attraction for tourists around the world which works as a good access to job centers, many shops, bazars, restaurants and cafes.

By overlapping the structure systems of the case study; buildings with its heights as shown in figure 5, it was found that as better the structure is, as better the high rates of renters are, which also explains the concentration of the commercial activity (1A), also high architecture value of some historical buildings built from stone, and characterized by low height (between 1-2 floors) is very significant specially in the northern and middle parts (1D). A comparatively low housing value which was represented in the middle and mid-Eastern parts (1E), as the different mixture of structure systems of buildings which varies between stone and bricks led to low value of housing. In the southern and southern east parts, attracted some individuals and households to rent or buy in such parts, due to proximity to services and local business, who are also interested in Urban Amenities/Culture (2B). So far, the change in income (3C) in the middle and mid-western parts of the neighborhood, as shown in figure 5, as low buildings stand next to high buildings and reinforced concrete buildings next to stone historical buildings.

Thus, the following examination was made to examine the gentrification indicators in the Historic city of Cairo, and shown below the results of this examination.

Table 2: The following table summarizes the analysis and examination of gentrification indicators on the Historic city of Cairo (Determined and developed by the researcher, 2013).

No.	Gentrification indicators	Yes	No
1	Leading indicators: Areas Most likely to Experience Gentrification		
A	High rate of renters <i>"The area witnessed so much development and always we are the ones who have to suffer, they put us away from our homes, renovate the monument then bring us back and we want to live, the owners want to kick us out or increase the rent and we do not have any other place to go"</i> Local resident.	Yes	
B	Ease of access to job centers <i>"big problem is to deal with peddler retailers who are spread all over the historic Cairo district especially by the commercial zones, ..... you can find famous brands of retailers next to a very small merchants, which represents the diversity and differences in this district"</i> Local authority. <i>"I left school when I was 12 years old and I cannot get any decent job so I am here to carry goods from the store to the shops, or sometimes help people who make their shopping"</i> Bagger Worker	Yes	
C	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion <i>"Why I move out, I am here in the middle of the market; many customers come from all over Egypt to shop here"</i> Shop renters.	Yes	
D	High Architectural Value <i>" historic Cairo is very rich with its architectural values and it enjoys a very significant urban fabric"</i> Supreme council of Antiquities	Yes	
E	Comparatively Low Housing Values <i>".... most of the buildings either with no active owner or was inherited to many people who lost interest in the area and we cannot communicate with them anymore"</i> Supreme council of Antiquities	Yes	



	"why I renovate my apartment or building it's not mine, I just pay the rent and I do not care about the building, the owner has to do so" local residents.		
2	Primary indicators: Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring		
A	Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership <i>"do you see these shops, there are small shops everywhere their owner is one person he used to work in one of these shops long time ago"</i> one of the workers.	Yes	
B	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture <i>"Well, in order to conserve the achieved progress sometimes it is needed to change the mentalities (users)"</i> Land owner.	Yes	
C	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people. <i>"you can find famous brands of retailers next to a very small merchants, which represents the diversity and differences in this district"</i> Local Authority	Yes	
3	Secondary indicators: Less Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring		
A	Change in Racial Composition		No
B	Change in Occupancy Rate	Yes	
C	Change in Income <i>"... Most of the inhabitants work in 2 or 3 part-time jobs to cover their living costs, also they work in unregistered temporary jobs which means that their income is not constant and always in changes due to the market's demand and support"</i> . Ministry of Housing	Yes	
4	Other indicators the researcher would like to test		
A	Low level of education <i>"the level of education for the inhabitants at the age of education, in general, is moderate, as about 25 % of the population have university certificates, 15 % has elementary education, 45 % achieved some kind of diplomas or middle education, 10 % are uneducated and 5 % unknown"</i> Ministry of housing	Yes	
B	Change in tradition and customs <i>"I live here for almost 45 years, I like this place so much this is my home, I do not like to move from here, here are many mosques, my mosque is 20 meters far from my house, I can practice my religion everyday"</i> local resident.	Yes	
C	Diversity of visitors <i>"Nowadays many tourists like to live in this district they say that this district is nice and they enjoy the old historic atmosphere"</i> <i>From time to time we see students who set in front of some monuments and try to draw in there sketch book, to draw a picture of the Fatimid Cairo"</i> <i>"I really enjoy hanging out here, walking around, smoking shisha by the cafes, eating local food, it's a nice place, I know one of my colleagues had moved to live here already, I will think about it"</i> Some local residents and tourists who are living there.	Yes	

From the table above, the researcher concluded that the case study has strong leading, primary and secondary indications for gentrification, which means that many precautions had to be taken into consideration when dealing with this area for future upgrading and development plans.

Meanwhile, it turns out that, there are some other indicators that have to be considered, first low level of education, as it indicates the level of awareness and behaviour dealing with monumental values. Second, change in tradition and customs, as people tend to live beside religious monumental buildings seeking bless and make them more near to god. Last but not least, diversity of visitors, as it will show whether the district has a big fame so people tend to hang out there or not; which means more powerful gentrification towards Historic Cairo.

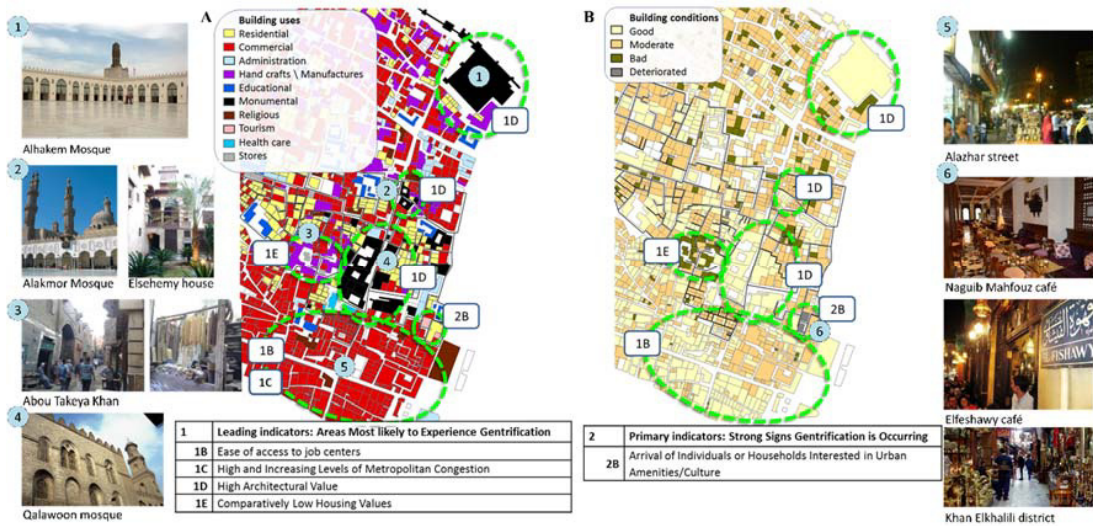


Fig. 4. (a) Ground floor Land use of buildings of the case study; (b) Conditions of buildings of the case study.

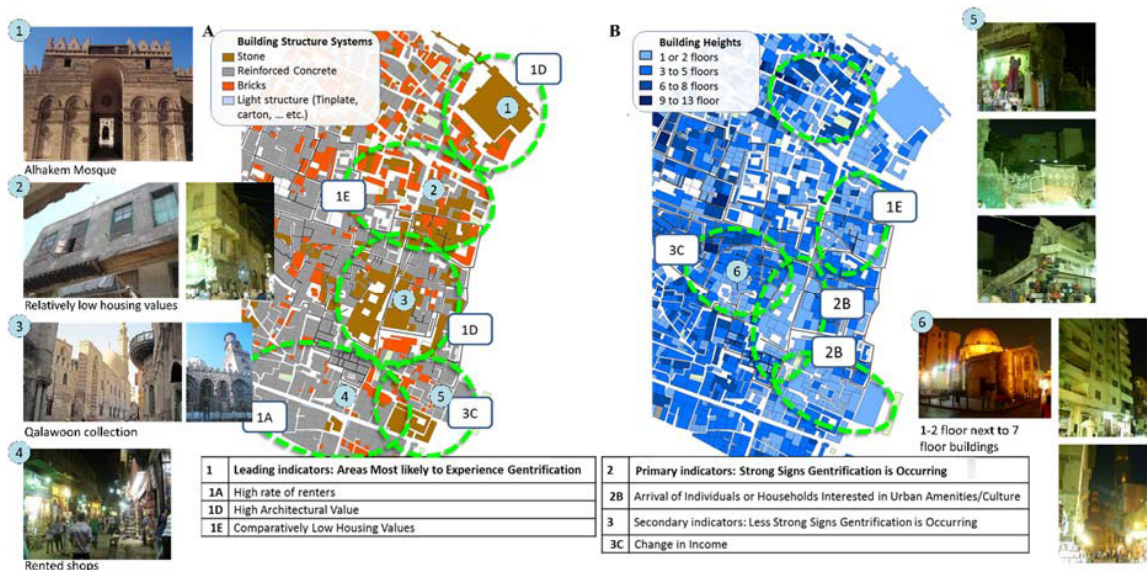


Fig. 5. (a) Structure systems of buildings of the case study; (b) Heights of buildings of the case study.

The examination of gentrification indicators' results answered all the doubts whether the Historic City of Cairo is exposed to gentrification or not, as shown above, while concerning leading indicators, the analysis result was YES to all leading indicators which mean that this neighbourhood is highly exposed to gentrification process. As this area enjoys very high architectural values back to the Islamic era, unique architecture style, and monumental buildings. On the other hand, this area has some deteriorated buildings (1E) as shown in figure 4, also high rate of renters due to the commercial activity nature which needs many facilities such as storage areas, show rooms and stores. So far the area is considered to be a big access to job centres as it is located in the city centre and old historic Cairo.

Concerning primary indicators, the analysis result was YES as well to all indicators. As mentioned before, the city is considered to be a touristic attraction for many tourists, households tend to change the use of their buildings to urban amenities in order to facilitate and attract tourists, such as urban culture centres (Beit Elsehemy), hotels, restaurants and cafes.

While concerning secondary indicators, the analysis result was YES for both change in occupancy rates and change in income, while it was NO to the change in racial composition, as all the inhabitants and workers belongs to same racial group, they share the same culture, same traditions and same habits. But this failure does not affect the examination results anyway.

## 5. Conclusion

According to the map analysis and examination of gentrification indicators used in the case study of Historic City of Cairo, it was found that, the Historic City of Cairo is highly exposed to gentrification process which needs more study to get to know how gentrification will evolve in the near future, especially with recent activities and actions the area may face after the renovations in the last 5 years. It is crucial to mention that gentrification is a recent discipline which performed by the 1980s, as gentrification process is under examination and exploration as more and more need to be discovered, especially in Egypt which is a virgin land to examine gentrification process, also, degentrification process.

It has been evident that, the case study needs more study using demographic analysis to monitor the demographic shifts in the last decades in order to clarify the changes in social structure, in other words, who moves where, when

and how in such neighborhood. Accordingly, more analysis needed to identify the different types of gentrifiers and the causes for gentrification. Also, psychological analysis should have been taken into consideration concerning murder and crime rates, and segregation factors. Also, a detailed economic analysis, income rates, tax payments, as well as socio-cultural analysis needed.

Field work primary data showed that, the examined indicators which were modified by Kennedy, missed some indicators related to culture and traditions by which what can be applied in a country could not by default be applied in another due to the factors related to religion, culture and traditions, these kind of indicators should be taken into consideration, as the researcher tried to conclude and examine some of these indicators during the case studies, but they are still under development.

Hence, using Geographic Information System as a tool for analysis and to deduce gentrification locations considered being useful and fruitful, and more are to be expected from the analysis tools it have.

Finally, as gentrification considered before being a haphazard process in some cases, it could be managed and controlled for the benefits of the inhabitants by this will overcome and decrease the negative consequences of gentrification and maximize the benefiting of its positive consequences.

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