Reviving Old Cairo's Majesty

Adham Koura

Adham Koura is a student interested in a variety of academic fields including business, history and biology. He is an avid guitarist, enjoys traveling and is trilingual.

Abstract
Historic Cairo is characterized by richness in Islamic heritage. Although attempts at conserving this heritage have been put forward in the past, efforts have been ineffective in some cases and, in most cases, unsustainable. Several problems and obstacles have been debilitating these efforts. This research project aims at providing practical insights on how these problems can be remedied and how the effectiveness of conservation efforts in Historic Cairo can be made more effective through the application of business concepts such as synergy and sustainability.

Purpose
This paper aims to analyze the problems impeding the progress of conservation efforts in the area of Old Cairo and propose practical solutions targeting the improvement of the effectiveness and efficiency of these efforts. Having limited expertise in the field of technical restoration, the sole focus of my work will be on the management related aspects of conservation. Restoration efforts are critical at the micro-level, but without proper organization and coordination of the entities involved in conservation at the macro-level, conservation efforts will not yield long term benefits.

Introduction
Deep within the heart of Cairo lies a magical city that has withstood the test of time and maintained a distinct character and individuality for more than a thousand years. Walking through mazes of mystical passages in Old Cairo, one is overwhelmed by strong sentiments of enchantment, fascination and pride. A cultural continuity existing within the urban fabric continues to manifest itself up to this day, intertwined with a multitude of invaluable monuments that have captivated the undivided attention of the global community. Founded in 969 CE by the Fatimid dynasty, Cairo is now home to the largest collection of Islamic monuments in the world (Aboukorah, 2005). This legacy of monuments has been the product of a variety of ruling regimes, including the Umayyads, Abbasids, Tulunids, Ikhshidids, Fatimids, Mamluks and Ottomans (Lamei, 2005). The streets and passages of Old Cairo are still in close resemblance to the city plan described by the French expedition of 1801. Customs, lifestyles and traditions of the city have experienced a great degree of continuity and much of the economic activities that were specific to the city still remain in practice (Speiser, 1995).

This is our blessing; historic and culture heritage that is unrivalled by any other city in the Islamic world – a living testament to the greatness of our ancestors and the heights of our cultural achievements. It is also our curse; a responsibility to ensure that this heritage is preserved for the generations to come and that it doesn't fade away with the passage of time. While the importance of pursuing future development is paramount, it is easy for us to
stray from the responsibilities of safeguarding our past when we are too preoccupied with the future – the very raison d'être of this paper. My focus centers upon the preservation of Islamic Antiquities in Old Cairo and the proposal of creative solutions aimed at solving the management-related conservation problems threatening the integrity of our living heritage.

Methodology
The research methodology I have adopted can be divided into three different phases. The initial phase of research involved an in-depth analysis of all the secondary data resources related to the conservation of Islamic Monuments in Old Cairo. A number of books and articles by prominent scholars in the field of restoration were analyzed meticulously in an attempt to gain a firm grasp on the core of conservation problems. The following phase entailed an extensive field survey of Old Cairo, with specific focus on the North-South spine of al Mu'izz Street, where a majority of government headed conservation efforts have been concentrated. Photographs taken during this field survey were used during my presentation at the Undergraduate Research Conference at the American University in Cairo in May 2006. In addition, employees assigned as overseers of some monuments were briefly interviewed and asked about issues related to their work such as community involvement. My work however, is in no way based on this on their comments and is strictly grounded in the works of knowledgeable scholars. Moreover, conducting a field survey in order to gain a practical perspective on conservation problems was important because it allowed me to refine the applicability of solutions to the actual real life situation. The final phase involved a number of interviews with experts that are actually involved in the restoration of specific monuments. Dr. Dina Bakhoun, an avid expert on restoration, currently a Side Manager working with the Aga Khan Foundation on the restoration of the Umm Sultan Sha'abab Mosque in Old Cairo, was interviewed. Seif El Rashidi, a Senior Planner at Aga Khan Cultural Services in Cairo, who has an extensive knowledge on urban design and architectural history, was also interviewed. Both interviewees are competent experts in the field of restoration with experience specific to Old Cairo. These interviews enabled me to discuss the applicability of the solutions I managed to formulate earlier and look at the problem from the perspective of those who are actually dealing with it on a day to day basis.

Current Efforts
The current efforts are headed by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and aim at the restoration of 149 monuments over a period of 8 years. This program of restoration, known as the 'National Program for the Development and Urban Conservation of Historic Cairo' was initiated in 1998 (Aboukorah, 2005). The current approach aims at restoring specific monuments. The problem with this approach is that it neglects the role of the community and tends to overlook the smaller, less prominent monuments (Speiser, 1995). Sutton and Fahmi advocate an approach that remedies these problems, one they term 'rehabilitation'. The core idea behind this approach is to revitalize the community surrounding the monument, while simultaneously restoring the monuments (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002). This approach has been favored by other scholars, but all that has been put forward is a theory on how
conservation should be carried out, with little or no reference to how they can be applied in a practical manner. Moreover, authors do propose ambitious plans for the development and enhancement of conservation efforts, but the likelihood that these plans will be implemented in reality is close to nil. This has been the case in almost every situation in the past. Perhaps even more ironic is the constant emphasis by scholars on the lack of funds needed for conservation, while simultaneously pushing for a complete overhaul of conservation efforts, a particularly expensive undertaking.

Problems at a glance
There is a crucial lack of organization and communication characterizing the arrangement of governmental establishments that supposedly have a stake in the good of the monuments being conserved or exist solely for their preservation. The result is a lack of coordinated efforts deprived of the brilliant fruits of synergy. The involved establishments also have jurisdiction over the same set of monuments while simultaneously having disparate agendas (Serageldin, 2000). At times, this has resulted in a vague relationship between establishments and at other times a direct conflict of interest. Furthermore, there is a general consensus among scholars with expertise in the field of technical restoration that government headed restoration efforts have actually been destructive to the monuments - total reconstructions frequently cause a loss of monument authenticity (Drummond, 2003).

There also appears to be a set of problems stemming from a lack of agreement over what constitutes heritage. While the current SCA effort seems to suggest that heritage is solely composed of the actual monuments, the general consensus among scholars stresses that the community is just as significant a part of heritage as the monuments themselves (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002). The fact of the matter is that Old Cairo is a living heritage – the conceptual change that most scholars are endorsing. Simply disregarding this is tantamount to the failure of the conservation efforts. This is because community participation ensures the future use and subsequent maintenance of the monuments themselves. Without a sustainable source of community participation, monuments are likely to experience further degradation.

Another core issue is that of sustainability. No scholar, to my knowledge, has addressed this issue in a practical manner. Most authors pay lip service to the issue by stating the crucial need for funds to restore and maintain monuments. Moreover, a fervent debate continues over whether restored monuments should be dedicated to tourist services or community reuse (Lamei, 2005). While some view tourism as a source of funds for restoration and maintenance, others argue that excluding community use signals the beginning of a break in the prized cultural continuity of Old Cairo and a threatening shift in the lifestyles of community inhabitants.

These problems will not be solved by a top-down or a bottom-up approach. The only way to ensure success is coordination between the higher authorities and establishments conducting the restoration works and the
grassroots; the community that lives in harmony with the monuments. Restoring a monument is only a short term solution; monuments need to be maintained on a regular basis. This means that the empowerment of the community to maintain these monuments is vital. The higher authorities themselves need to undergo reform. This reform would involve a reformulation of agendas to ensure coordination and the passing of legislation that ensures its application. The reform would have to take the issue of sustainability into account and should consider the provision of funds needed both to ensure the continuation of restoration efforts and maintenance support for monuments. The solutions that I have proposed are applicable and work within the current organizational framework of conservation. It is impractical to expect the government to institute a drastic change in their methodology for many reasons, including the costs of such an enterprise and the loss of time needed to save monuments that are structurally failing. That is why I have chosen to take realistic steps and work within the current framework.

**Coordination & Communication**

The conservation of Islamic monuments in Old Cairo has been one of the top international priorities for the past 35 years or so, yet little progress has been made. This is primarily due to a lack of coordination between the bodies implementing conservation efforts (Fowler, 1995). In 1980, UNESCO proposed a plan for the conservation of monuments but it remained at the theoretical level and was never implemented. This was attributed to an "overlapping of authorities" and "no overall control or policy" (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002). The SCA does not formally communicate with the other state departments, including the city planning authorities, governor, building authorities and the public water and electricity board (Speiser, 1995). Also, the municipality or the hay, knows very little of conservation efforts and has been responsible for the demolition of monuments of importance (El Rashidi, 2007). Not only has this had a profound impact on how conservation efforts are carried out, but has resulted in a paralysis of decision making ability at the higher levels of establishments.

Perhaps the major coordination problem lies between the SCA and the Ministry of Awqaf. The Arabic word *awqaf* is plural for *waqf*, which is essentially a property that is established as a pious foundation and that serves the community in a charitable manner. Owners of a specific property would register it as a *waqf* in order to prevent its taxation by government authorities, setting aside enough funds to ensure the upkeep, maintenance and repair of the property. The Ministry of Awqaf therefore attempts to ensure that these *waqf* properties are in use, either for residential or commercial purposes. After the formation of the Committee for the Conservation of Arab Monuments by the French expedition in 1801, much of the *waqf* properties became classified as monuments. Now that the Committee has been integrated into the framework of the SCA, the SCA has a responsibility to preserve these monuments that are also classified as *awqaf*. The current orientation of the SCA means that their goals are in conflict with those of the Ministry of Awqaf (Aboukorah, 2005).
The lack of coordination stems from this conflict of interest; the Ministry attempts to ensure the continual use and tenure of these properties by the community while the SCA attempts to limit the use of these properties by the community in order to preserve them from further dilapidation and dedicate them solely to the service of tourism. An ambiguous relationship between the two establishments therefore exists. Moreover, the yield resulting from waqf designation amounts to a very small amount of capital, even when used for commercial purposes, meaning that the awqaf cannot be maintained effectively and the result is dilapidation. Because the Ministry is not entitled to sell awqaf they are basically left to deteriorate (Vigier, 2000). The current system of financing involves a centralization of all funds in the hands of the treasury. The funds from tourist visitations to a monument are diverted from the SCA to the treasury, which provides the SCA with a fixed budget. Not only is this highly inefficient, but it does not take into account the monetary needs of restoration or maintenance and involves a great loss in time during the monetary circulation process (El Rashidi, 2007). Issues concerning capital provisions will be addressed in detail later on.

Organizational Reform
After researching the above, I managed to devise a system that would eliminate the vagueness of the relationship between the two authorities. All monuments that have waqf status remain under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Awqaf. Conversely, monuments that do not have waqf status would fall under the jurisdiction of the SCA, which would be entitled to fully reap the revenues of these monuments and use their funds as they see fit – either for further restoration or other tourism enhancing activities. The Ministry of Awqaf would be in charge of maintaining the monuments under its jurisdiction and would thus be entitled to acquiring funds from tourist activities in these monuments. However, it would be accountable to delivering excess funds not to be used for restoration to the SCA, which would invest them appropriately. The SCA would develop specifications for monuments (discussed in detail later), concerning the amount of capital needed to maintain the monument and this would be the amount that the Ministry of Awqaf would receive in order to maintain the monument regularly. Remaining funds would be directed to the SCA. Legislation would have to be devised and passed by the government to ensure that this relationship is implemented to the fullest.

Another practical solution would be the formation of a joint department between the SCA and the Ministry of Awqaf. Since about 40 percent of the land in Old Cairo is under waqf status (Vigier, 2000), this would be a collaboration of synergetic proportions. The joint department could decide which monuments would benefit more from being under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Awqaf and vice versa. It would also allow increased coordination between the two establishments and a pooling of resources if necessary. Moreover, collaborative decisions could be made regarding the participation of the community in regular maintenance and fund provisions for these activities. These benefits will be more evident as other practical solutions are proposed later on.

Re-use and Sustainability
One debate that has been proceeding with fervor discusses whether the monuments should be strictly used for tourist purposes or should resume community use after restoration. Numerous scholars support the notion that closing off the monuments and preventing public use is equivalent to depriving the monument from life, breaking the cycle of cultural continuity and community practice. On the other hand, tourism is perhaps one of the more obvious tools for sustainable development and a return on investment is likely to provide the funds needed to continue maintenance.

According to the 1976 UNESCO recommendations "every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings" (Lamei, 2005). There is no doubt that the community which engages in the use of a monument brings it to life and that this continued interaction between the monument and the community is a part of the living heritage we try to conserve (al-Minnabawy, 1995). Most monuments are in daily use by the community of Old Cairo up to this day and so preventing the use of such monuments would be detrimental to the community's practice and may involve a threatening change in lifestyle (Ouf, 1995). A majority of the mosques are still used for praying and the caravanserais in the area still play a prominent economic role (Maury, 2001).

One could argue that the continued use of these fragile monuments by community members would be detrimental to the monument. But the same argument can be made for tourist use. Monuments have been closed down in order to install protective measures before because of the damage caused by the sheer amount of tourists visiting the monuments annually (Hillenbrand, 2003). In the case of either tourist use or community use, monuments will sustain damage and the best way to counteract this is through regular maintenance. Conversely, tourism appears to be a feasible way through which to sustain financial support for restoration and maintenance efforts. The current efforts of the SCA are supposed to culminate in the creation of an open-air museum, where tourists are supposed to walk through the main North-South spine of al Mu'izz Street and enjoy a tour of the Islamic monuments. One particular problem with this approach is that these monuments are depended on by the community and still play a crucial role in community service. In this sense, tourism has been described as a "blunt instrument through which to finance conservation" (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002).

**Sustainable Fund Recycle**

Even though these two arguments are usually portrayed as conflicting and may appear to be so, in reality they are not. There can be no question of preventing the community from the use of the monuments, since they are an inextricable part of the living heritage. Also, tourism is undeniably a major source of income for the community as well as the SCA, and a fruitful opportunity to exploit. A compromise must therefore be reached. I have devised a system where this compromise would satisfy the needs of the SCA, the monument, the community and the Ministry of Awqaf. First of all, restored monuments that cannot resume their original use could be converted to tourist
servicing establishments such as museums and information centers because they are no longer relied on by the community. An example would be a sabil that is no longer used by the community to provide bathing and drinking water because local authorities provide those services. Strict jurisdiction over these monuments would remain with the Ministry of Awqaf. This is because all funds from tourist visitations should be poured into a single budget with a provisional amount for the maintenance of each monument. Funds from tourist visitations will then be acquired by the Ministry of Awqaf, which will be in charge of maintaining the building, while the actual restoration efforts would remain in the hands of the SCA, since that is their area of expertise. Not only will this be a significant source of funds, but also an aid to tourist activities.

As for monuments that still remain in use by the community, community use would continue but tourist visitations would also be allowed. Visitations would be allowed during times when prayer is not in progress. An example of where this is currently being implemented is the Mosque of Sultan Hassan (Bakhourm, 2007). A member of the community who wishes to pray may enter at all times, while a tourist is allowed to enter after the purchase of a ticket at the entrance. Jurisdiction would thus remain with the Ministry of Awqaf, which will be in charge of maintaining the monument. Another reason why a division of functions between the Ministry of Awqaf and the SCA in this manner would be beneficial is because it allows for a certain degree of specialization and frees up the SCA to dedicate its attention to restoration and not maintenance – the tasks it is supposed to carry out. Funds from tourist activities would then be acquired by the Ministry of Awqaf, which will direct the funds towards the maintenance of the monument on a regular basis, with remaining funds dedicated to the restoration of others in need of care. In the long term, the restoration of a majority of the monuments will mean that overall restoration costs will fall, providing surpluses that can then be directed towards activities that will either benefit the community or enhance the services provided to tourists as the Ministry of Awqaf sees fit.

To further advocate this approach, tourists visit Old Cairo to experience the living heritage that survives to this day and will be more interested in learning about a monument by seeing how the community uses it. The Egyptian government chose to represent the country in 1893 by having a replica of one of the streets of Old Cairo with all its monuments on display at the fair. Added to the replica was a series of live acts where the economic activities, community practices and processions were acted out. The section was one of the most popular in the fair, attracting approximately 27.5 million visitors during a six month period (Bierman, 1995). Therefore, it is actually in the best interests of the SCA to allow the continued use of the monument by the community, because it actually attracts more tourism. Likewise, the Ministry of Awqaf should not be intimidated by tourist use because it provides a source of income for the monument, which guarantees its maintenance and ensures its functionality in serving the community.

**Private Sector Involvement**
Another solution of importance is the encouragement of private sector involvement in restoration efforts. This involvement would be in the form of sponsorship. In order to make this happen, a spotlight has to be thrown upon the district of Old Cairo. Investors must be convinced that their sponsorship of the restoration of monuments in Old Cairo is both a fantastic way to generate publicity and gain positive public opinion as well as a fulfillment of their policies of corporate social responsibility/corporate philanthropy. The business community must therefore be made aware of the opportunities of investing in the sponsorship of restoration efforts. This relies on the Chairmen of the SCA and the Ministry of Awqaf as well as other high ranking government ministers to hold meetings with some of the major corporations in Egypt and discuss idea of sponsorship. Corporations are aware of sponsorship being a major source of publicity and will be willing to take such opportunities to improve their image in the eyes of their consumers. If the idea of public awareness does not prove appealing, perhaps a government tax break or a lax on trade restrictions in certain departments can be provided in exchange for an investment of funds.

Given that a major corporation decides to invest in the sponsorship of such restoration efforts, it will spare no effort to make its contribution visible to the public. This would most likely be in the form of articles published in newspapers, magazines and press conferences aired on television. This in turn means increased publicity for Old Cairo, both locally and internationally. This is likely to attract tourism in the international arena while simultaneously creating awareness about Old Cairo on a local level. The effects of investment and publicity augment each other, flowing in a cyclical fashion – similar to the 'virtuous circle' described by economists.

**Grassroots Support**

One of the major benefits of the use of a monument by the community is that it guarantees the monument’s maintenance. As explained earlier, most monuments are in use by the local community. In order to ensure their continued functionality, the community undertakes their maintenance – regardless of whether or not they are encouraged to do so by government authorities. The community takes initiative to protect its interests in the monument and has done so in the past when government authorities were incapable of intervening in a timely fashion. Even though the community may maintain the monument in a less than satisfactory manner because of their limited expertise and financial resources, the fact that they are willing to do so proves that the community is an underestimated source of manpower and funds that could be cleverly directed towards the conservation effort. The Fayruz Mosque is an example of this – the community actually constructed a new cement tiled floor and added cement plaster bases because of their refusal sed to see the building deteriorate (Ouf, 1995).

This idea of a connection between use and maintenance is widely advocated by scholars. The underlying theory is that the lower the maintenance and the lesser the cleanliness of a monument, the less visitors and tourists it receives. This in turn reduces the amount of maintenance the monument receives and results in the eventual closing down of the monument for safety reasons.
Once the monument is closed down, the process of deterioration is expatiated and the monument becomes a ruin. Another issue of importance is that of maintenance itself. The fact is, maintaining a monument regularly is on average about three times less expensive than postponed maintenance is of importance. The example given by Look is that of a leaking roof. If the roof is not fixed, materials below the roof are damaged by the particles of the roof structure that might break off or objects that leak through the roof. The cost of both repairing the damaged materials, in addition to the roof is much heftier than that of initially fixing the roof on its own (Look, 1995).

**Building Awareness**

Since the community is a vital source of support for the conservation effort, they must be actively involved. Awareness of the importance of the monuments must be generated. This means that a government sponsored media campaign, or perhaps even one sponsored by a corporation, could be directed at the inhabitants of Old Cairo in order to generate community awareness. According to Lamei, public awareness of antiquities is almost non-existent and there is a general feeling throughout the city that the builders of these monuments were foreign and therefore not Egyptian (Lamei, 2005). The social marketing campaign must therefore aim not only to create awareness, but to instigate a widespread change in community attitudes towards these monuments. A media campaign needs to be then supplemented by some sort of physical community involvement with these monuments to further foster a favorable change in attitudes.

The campaign should highlight two main factors. The first factor that should be highlighted is how the monuments are a part of the history and heritage of not the country at large, but that of the neighborhood in particular. This will be especially effective because of the fact that the community of Old Cairo tend to maintain strong ties amongst each other. These ties are usually based on kinship, ethnic and religious identity, a common place of origin, sectarian affiliation and even occupational group (Vigier, 2000). Using these ties as a focus of the campaign will be effective in establishing rapport among an audience receiving the message. Secondly, the campaign should highlight how these monuments are one of the major sources of income for the community and emphasize the connection between caring for the monuments and increased tourism levels. The logic behind this approach is that associating the message with the interests of the audience improves the chances that the viewer of the message will relate to the campaign and yield to its message. Funds for this media campaign could come from a number of sources – either sponsorship or the surpluses from funds coming from tourist visitations. What is particular impressive is the literacy rate in Old Cairo – 72.48% (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002), which means that if the media campaign costs are too high for the campaign to be delivered on television (and they probably will), they can be delivered through print media such as posters designed in an attractive manner and placed in the proper locations.

**Practical Involvement**

Changing community perceptions cannot take place solely through a media campaign. Practical involvement needs to be encouraged. The best way to do
so is to involve community members in maintaining the monuments used. Since the community has exhibited the willingness to do so, all that is needed is some form of organized direction. There are three things that the SCA can do in this case. The first is to develop a list of specifications for each monument, detailing how many times a month the actual monument needs to be maintained, the quantity of manpower needed to maintain the monument and the funds needed per maintenance session. The second is the development of a list of recommendations on what methods should or should not be used to maintain the monuments, which specific parts of the monument should not be maintained by the community and left to professional conservationists and details on how supervision would take place. The third would be the creation of a small scale training program for the specific neighborhoods where monument use is common and do-it-yourself maintenance techniques could be taught. Training on maintenance would take place on site, though instruction by the assigned overseers of the monuments.

Overall Applicability & Additional Recommendations
Taking into consideration all of the above, let us see how this system would apply to a mosque. The mosque falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Awqaf, and would have an overseer appointed to the monument and given proper training and guidance on maintenance. The Ministry would appropriate the funds from tourist visitations to the mosque in order to provide a budget for maintenance, while remaining funds could be diverted to the SCA for use in restoration. The budget for maintenance would then be provided to the overseer of the monument – who would organize the procurement of maintenance supplies and be accountable to the Ministry to provide payment records. It could be announced in the Friday public sermons of the mosque that participative maintenance is needed from the community. Given that the media campaign would have reached the target audience, the message would be received well. It should also hopefully garner support from the youth and religious members of the community who want to perform community service or even religious duty (if framed in such a way). The maintenance supplies would be provided to the volunteers, who would be trained on site and assigned specific tasks of maintenance. This also empowers the overseer and gives them a sense of job satisfaction that usually lacks in such jobs.

Further, budget provisions can be made to benefit the community and encourage participation in the future. Perhaps during the future, maintenance funds can be used to employ workers that are out of jobs on the short term to help out on maintenance during specific times of the month. This would both provide incentives for community members to participate and would, at the same time, benefit the community strongly by providing a source of income and short term employment. Since unemployment in Old Cairo is approximately 14.56%, (Sutton and Fahmi, 2002) it should not be difficult to find workers who would be willing to maintain monuments for small payments. In a sense, two objectives are achieved through a single strategy. It would also reinforce the belief that these monuments directly provide a source of income for community members.

Other Initiatives
Scholars have also put forward a number of ideas that are worth consideration. Given the importance of increasing public awareness, Lamei advocates the inclusion of Islamic architectural studies in the curricula at universities and cultural heritage in the curricula of schools, complemented by visits to the monuments of Old Cairo. He also supports the establishment of schools for craftsmen, training them on the use of traditional restoration techniques (Lamei, 2005). The shortage in trained craft labor is well known in Cairo, so the establishment of schools for craftsmen would be a step in the right direction (Speiser, 1995). This approach has been strongly supported by other scholars. Nelson and Rghei, who have researched the similar madina in Tripoli, Libya have proposed that such an approach would be particularly effective because it would also strengthen other economic activities within the medina (Rghei and Nelson, 1994) – not only do restoration efforts benefit from a skilled labor force, but the crafts industry within Old Cairo can experience a revival similar to that which took place so many years ago.

**Conclusion**

The solutions I have proposed are practical because they are realistic. They can be implemented within the current framework, at relatively little cost, since they rely on sustainability and the ability to obtain financial investments from lucrative external sources. I realize that every scholar has some idealistic vision within their mind, but efforts will only be successful if this vision is put aside for the pursuit of realistic objectives that consider the needs of parties involved. This means sustainability, speed, low costs and perhaps even profit enticements. However, ensuring continued success means a follow up on the conservation efforts and a continued monitoring and evaluation of these solutions and their effectiveness. I hope to have contributed work of usefulness to the improvement of conservation efforts in the much treasured city of Old Cairo.
Bibliography


