Introducing a New Methodology to Deal with Gentrification in Urban Neighborhoods: Case study of Fatimid Cairo and Heliopolis

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CAPMAS	Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
CMR	Cairo Metropolitan Region
CPI	Consumer Price Index
GAFI	Ministry of Tourism, General Authority For Investment and Free Zones
GCR	Greater Cairo Region plans
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GIs	Gentrification Indicators
GIsL	Gentrification Indicators List
GIS	Geographical Information System
GOPP	Governmental Organization of Physical Planning
HBRC	Housing and Building National Research Center
HHD	Heliopolis for Housing and Development
HHI	Heliopolis Heritage initiative
LGIs	Leading Gentrification Indicators
MOH	Ministry of Housing
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NOUH	National Organization of Urban Harmony
PGIs	Primary Gentrification Indicators
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SGIs	Secondary Gentrification Indicators
UNESCO	United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization
WTO	World Tourism Organization

1 INTRODUCTION

For more than five decades, since the word "gentrification" was coined in 1964, academics used to deal with gentrification as a haphazard process (Slater, 2011). The origin of the word 'gentrification' derives from the word 'gentry' which means "upper class", a word which comes from the old French word "genterise" (Onions, 1966; Harper, 2001-2015). The dictionary definition of gentrification is the *"buying and renovating of houses and stores in deteriorated urban neighbourhoods by wealthier individuals, which in effect improves property values but also can displace low-income families and small businesses"* (Dictionary, 2015). The term 'gentrification' firstly appeared in an essay on the urban dynamics in Islington Borough, in Inner-London by Ruth Glass in 1964. She describes gentrification as the invasion of the middle class who replaced the working class because of the renovation of residential neighbourhoods. She points out how rapid the appearance of the whole changes in such neighbourhoods is. Glass noticed how gentrification is spreading to other surrounding and neighbouring neighbourhoods. In terms of demography, economy and politics, the pressure gentrification puts on central London reflects the kind of changes took place (Glass, 1964).

Gentrification is *'the transformation of space for more affluent users. To narrow down the concept for analysis, the definition will be supplemented with three points: actors of transformation, type of space, and social consequences'* (Hackworth, 2002: p. 815-843). Moreover, gentrification is about making places safer and more liveable in respect to property developers and real estate companies exploiting opportunities to sell expensive new condos, leading existing residents, often renters, to move out of their neighbourhoods (Brouillette, 2009). Gentrification studies have long incorporated critical analysis of contemporary urban changes (Calafati, 2014). Gentrification is a sort of relative re-urbanization which implies the substitution/displacement of low-income populations and the formation of selective residential enclaves (Piccolomini, 1993). Some other scholars have described the phenomenon as a soft process of social change arguing that gentrification is occurring without displacement (Diappi et al., 2008; Diappi, Bolchi and Gaeta, 2007). Sometimes, the phenomenon is also seen as a vector of cultural and creative local economy (Bovone and Mazzette, 2005).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, many urban authors argued that gentrification has not been perceived as a haphazard process but rather as a planned well-defined and organized process (Lees, 2008; Slater, 2011; Smith, 2011; Shetawy, 2016). After reviewing urban practitioners' work and authors' literature, it has been recognized that gentrification does not process the same in different cities' neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods exposed to the gentrification process witness physical, economic, social and cultural changes (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2010; Criekingen, 2012; Brown-Saracino, 2016; Grotefendt, 2017; Steinmetz, 2017). These changes reflect the gentrification's positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, there is a common agreement, between urban planning scholars and practitioners, that gentrification leads to the improvement of urban life, increases urban facilities, reducing the likelihood of future demolition, and provides a practical solution for deteriorated neighbourhoods to live longer (Atkinson, 2005; Lees, 2008; Immergluck, 2009; Papachristos, 2011;

Steinmetz, 2017). In some cases, it leads local inhabitants to leave their own neighbourhood seeking calmness and more open spaces in nearby neighbourhoods as a result of suburbanization waves. On the other hand, gentrification also has some negative consequences such as displacement, social network devastation and segregation (Atkinson, 2005; Lees, 2008; Marcuse, 2013; Helbrecht, 2017).

In the meantime, there are some differences between the gentrification process and other urban models (e.g. regeneration, renewal, rehabilitation, and upgrading) that are used in the urban development projects (Foot, 1981; Albeverio, 2008; Hutton, 2008; Longa, 2010; Longa, 2011). This confusion may result in an unclear vision and strategy to deal with the process of gentrification in Egypt. This research aims to understand and interpret the gentrification process, then to measure to what extend neighbourhoods are exposed to gentrification. This will lead the research to identify a clear comprehensive approach to deal with gentrified neighbourhoods in Egyptian cities; cities that did not get adequate chances to be well thought-out in gentrification literature, apart from the typical core cities of gentrification, namely, London and New York (Islam, 2003; Atkinson, 2005; Lees, 2008).

1.1 The Research Problem

The arrival of wealthy residents to historical neighbourhoods due to new urban development is an increasingly common phenomenon around the globe (Law, 1992; Plaza, 2000). More urban planning and geography authors demand that the city adopts regulations to help long-time residents to avoid displacement and replacement due to rent and property value increase that may affect public assets (Smith, 1996; Hammel, 1999; Hatz, 2009; Lind, 2015; Lee, 2016). While literature has widely described the negative effects of urban neighbourhoods' social displacement and replacement, only limited studies have investigated the comprehensive approaches (Lin, 2002; Freeman, 2005; Kahn, 2007; Grube-Cavers, 2015; Dawkins, 2016; Anguelovski, 2016; Rothenberg, 2017).

The historic districts of Cairo, Egypt witness many changes regarding demographics and economic activities, which sometimes cause replacement of one social class by another (higher or lower). These districts consider the improvement of urban environment to be a better built environment. However, most of these improvements have focused on distributing different social classes - that contributed to gentrifying neighbourhoods - around those districts. The content analysis of media highlights the missing aspects, such as social and culture aspects, that the decision makers attribute to the community participation (Hamed, 2012; Serag, 2015; Design Indaba, 2017; Mahmoud, 2017).

Moreover, the general tendency of individuals even to marry less or to marry in late ages and increasing the percentage of divorce which reached 60.7 % in Egyptian cities, generating more possibilities of relocation to single and divorced population within cities (Fieldwork, 2017; CAPMAS, 1976-2006, Shawky, 2017 - Deputy Minister of Health). Also, among the contributing factors; that forms the research problem, is the decrease in the family size in urban settlements (CAPMAS, 1976-2006), and the tendency to have fewer children for better education and opportunities, which gives more opportunities for income increase thus produce possible gentrifiers (Curran, 2017; Huang, 2017; Bunio-Mroczek, 2017). The other unbright side is that people manage to spend more on entertainment and leisure activities. Therefore, this collective situation increases the demand and stresses more on urban facilities and infrastructure. This

attracts inhabitants to move from their origin to get closer to downtown facilities (clubs, parks, malls, etc.). Those different types of individuals, singles and divorced population, young and relatively small families, are different types of gentrifiers who are; the main activists of the gentrification process (Burnett, 2014; Gant, 2015; Pinkster, 2017; Pratt, 2018).

Accordingly, cities become more attractive and competitive, thus getting more complicated and denser in terms of urban life (Cracolici, 2009; Ferri, 2017; Matos, 2017). As a result, the investors and stakeholders compete to develop the city lands to fulfil the population's needs and demands towards urban facilities, leisure and entertainment (Zhou, 2017). This appears in land-use conflicts between the different beneficiaries to control and run their businesses. Therefore, municipal facilities sometimes overtake the residential land uses, and the in-between empty plots are soon developed to be denser than the neighbouring buildings (Quastel, 2009; Németh, 2014; Hudalah, 2016). Consequently, investors tend to rent their properties instead of selling them so they can achieve accumulative profit and obtain other lands in other locations (Beauregard, 2013; Hulse, 2017; Pineda, 2017). Moreover, the government develops many projects in the downtown Cairo, especially in the highly-deteriorated neighbourhoods (Maspero project, Dahab island, Merry-land Park, Andalusia Park, Al-Azhar Park, Fatimid Cairo, Khedive Cairo development, slum development, etc.) (Yousef, 2009; Shakran, 2016; Amer, 2017). This creates a good environment for the capital to be cycled, and the neighbourhoods witness different waves of economic changes: investments, disinvestments, and reinvestments (Squires, 1997; Smith, 2001; Lees, 2013; Alarabia, 2014; Ghertner, 2014; News, 2015, Zuk, 2015).

The neighbourhoods of the city - which may witness gentrification - became more and more accessible to job opportunities, attracting different social classes to use and live in the developed areas, while higher social classes continue to maintain and keep up with the living standards (Kloosterman, 1999; Freeman, 2004; Curran, 2004; Maurrasse, 2006; Aka, 2010; Acolin, 2017). The change shows an increase in diversity but at the same time an increase in the possibilities of segregation and exclusion of specific social classes, which strengthens the probabilities of enclaves (Atkinson, 2005; Lees, 2008; Mehdipanah, 2017; Ghaffari, 2018). On the one hand, the decision makers agree to consider and accept the urban development because it provides more job opportunities and increases economic activities. On the other hand, although the gentrification process approves the development of urban neighbourhoods, it ignores the affordability conditions of the original inhabitants to keep up with the better living conditions of these developed areas (Kovács, 1998; Atkinson, 2000; Güzey, 2009; Matsumoto, 2016). This process sometimes harms the social networks and decreases the feeling of belonging, which obliges highly skilled workers to move to other locations where these workers risk losing their clients and business in such historic districts (e.g. Bab Al-Sheriya market, carpenter and shoe workshops in middle districts of Cairo, etc.) (Asmar, 2012) (Ibrahim, 2014), (Farag, 2016).

Moreover, in Egyptian historic districts which attract different development projects (tourism investments, conservation, regeneration, and renewal projects) to provide a more liveable urban environment for tourists, gentrification is more obvious. This case puts the neighbouring buildings in a

situation whether they have to choose to either develop their properties or put them at the peril of deterioration and demolish. Not only are the buildings trapped in this situation, but the inhabitants may also lose their homes in attempt to be relocated somewhere else. In this case, the process may snowball for an extended period (Caulfield, 1994; Atkinson, 2000; Egypt, 2012; Arabia, 2014; Kahn, 2015; CLUSTER, 2015; Webb, 2017; Piguet, 2018).

Consequently, the lack of a comprehensive approach to deal with the gentrification process, in the urban neighbourhoods in Egypt, necessitates an approach to understand and deal with the gentrification process. Also, it was determined from the interviews that both the decision makers and the inhabitants disclaim the gentrification process's generation of more advanced problematic consequences which will need more time to solve. In which calls for a clear comprehensive approach first to understand and interpret the gentrification process, then to detect and identify different aspects and indicators behind the process. This provides a tool to measure and to deal with the gentrification process in a comprehensive approach in Egypt. This clarifies the research's problem which aims to understand and investigate the gentrification process in Cairo.

1.2 The Research Objectives

The research has both theoretical and analytical objectives, that is illustrated in the following points:

- First, to formulate a framework to understand the process of gentrification: what it means, where it happens, why it happens, how and where. This provides a theoretical base to investigate, interpret and analyse the process of gentrification from various aspects and dimensions (social, economic, cultural, etc.). From one side, the relationship between the different mentioned aspects, after the 1973 when the Egyptian economy was welcoming the international economy with the Open-Door policy and the liberalization of the Egyptian economy in 1974 (Waterbury, 1985; Abouelhassan, 2016; Wilgus, 2018). This analysis helps to have a clear, comprehensive framework for the Egyptian context to deal with gentrification in Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

  Second, to formulate an analytical framework to detect and represent the effects of the different economic and social changes from the national to the local level throughout specific economic and political decisions. Since urban development projects work to provide a better living environment, where people live and work (Chan, 2008; Dittmar, 2012), any change in the social, cultural, economic and political aspects that affects the urban environment in positive and negative consequences require research and investigation. Apparently, these changes affect the urban planning process and decision-making outcomes in the Egyptian districts, especially historic districts. Focusing on the different aspects of gentrification from four main geographies namely, financial, ethnic, migration and urban policies, is an attempt to find the way to two new geographies has been made (Lees, 2000; Phillips, 2004; Lees, 2012; Ley, 2012; Lees, 2016; Shin, 2018). It is the 'geography of gentrification' that emerges for both the recent changes in the gentrification process and the holes in the gentrification literature (Ley, 1996). The new geographies of historic/cultural and real estate/contracting

gentrification, proposed by the research, which are more relevant to the Egyptian historic districts contexts, regarding the historic sites in the historic districts of Cairo (Shetawy, 2018).

- Third, to measure the level of exposition of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods in Cairo. This formulates the research to produce a tool which can apply the methodology to deal with gentrification in urban neighbourhoods in Cairo, which opens further research opportunities for urban practitioners in developing countries in general and in Egypt in specific.
- Fourth, to bridge the gap in gentrification literature focusing on the developing countries in general and Egypt in particular, to understand the differences between East and West (Lees, 2000; Islam, 2003; Pillay, 2008; Murray, 2018). Thus, to deal with gentrification process with theoretical and applied backgrounds, giving more opportunities to explore gentrification in other different countries to intensify and maximize the contribution to the gentrification literature worldwide.

Moreover, for analytical objectives, the research is considered explanatory analysis, seeking a critical understanding of economic, socio-cultural, and urban policy changes which affect the physical appearances of Elgamalia and Heliopolis. This understanding helps to identify the main beneficiaries of the gentrification process (gentrifiers). While the research is not about concluding that gentrification process is a good process or not, it is important to understand the causes and consequences leading the process that produces physical changes according to economic, socio-cultural and urban policies. This understanding helps to confront the research problem and assist in taking more clear decisions to deal, on theoretical and practical bases, with urban neighbourhoods exposed to gentrification. Furthermore, the research also explores the different indicators which flatten the way for gentrification to take place. Therefore, the contribution opens further research opportunities to examine other case studies using the same criteria to know the level of exposition to gentrification those cases may have.

1.3 Research Questions and hypothesis

This justification extends to explore the following questions:

1) What are the main aspects of the gentrification process (social, economic, etc.)?

Such aspects will provide in detail theoretical background for the research, which is essential to provide a base for the coming research parts.

2) How, why, when and where does gentrification take place?

As gentrification evolves it takes place differently thus searching behind the main reasons for the gentrification process provides more understanding to the process.

3) Who are the gentrifiers benefiting and facilitating gentrification to happen in urban neighbourhoods?

After knowing how, why, when and where gentrification takes places the research has to identify the main beneficiaries and facilitators who are providing the suitable urban environment for gentrification to take place in urban neighbourhoods.

4) How to measure gentrification in urban neighbourhoods?

Meanwhile, some scholars tried to measure the gentrification process are reviewed and the research illustrates different measuring methods used to make the gentrification process more understandable and clearer for the reader.

5) How to measure and deal with gentrification in Cairo?

While, reconsidering the gentrification process in western countries gentrification processes in Egypt differently, in which will be explored and identified in details in the two case studies of Cairo.

6) What are the level of exposition of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods?

As a result, the research provides a tool of measuring urban neighbourhood exposition to gentrification process, by which the user can locate the gentrification and know how to deal with the process using a scientific method and list of indicators as concluded in this research.

The research problem illustrates the lack of a comprehensive approach to deal with gentrification in Egypt. This approach helps decision makers to measure, detect and deal with gentrification in urban neighbourhoods, if provided. The researcher hypothesis stems from, that if the Egyptian decision makers have the know-how of measuring, detecting and dealing with the gentrification process different aspects, it will be possible to manage the gentrification process, get the maximum out of its positive consequences (benefits) and minimize its negative consequences.

Accordingly, the research supposes that the gentrification process can be controlled, managed and expected if a theoretical framework was defined to know how, why and where the gentrification process happens in Egypt. Hitherto, the social and cultural differences were not clarified in the geographies of gentrification, namely, financial, ethnic, migration and urban policies, regarding the gentrification in developing countries' cities. Thus, the research assumed that, if the decision makers have the tool (Gentrification Indicators List - GIsL) to detect and predict gentrification locations, it is possible to manage and expect the gentrification process, get the maximum of its positive consequences (benefits) and minimize its negative consequences. They can also provide the possible strategies and regulations to deal with the gentrification process in gentrified urban neighbourhoods in Cairo.

1.4 The Theoretical Scope

The research recounts extensive range of theoretical and applied disciplines of urban planning and practices, urban demographics, architecture, economic, cultural and social development, political science, political economy and finance. Due to time and limited resources, the focus was given to the socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of the urban planning development practice. The aim is to bridge the gap in literature with respect to the relation between the urban planning theory and practice to formulate a comprehensive approach to deal with the process of gentrification in neighbourhoods exposed to gentrification that may lack harmony and balance between different social classes.

Another reason is to define the dividing lines between the different stakeholders and investors' economic interests, with probabilities of harsh and unreasonable decisions to happen. In the meantime, the decision-making process needs to balance the social, cultural and economic needs of the people from one

side and investors' interests from the other side. The research investigates some questions which are essential when dealing with urban neighbourhoods exposed to gentrification in Egypt.

The theoretical context of the research addresses the essential need to develop an analytical framework that can be applied on cities in the developing countries such as Cairo, Egypt (non-core; non-western cities that witnessed gentrification). The literature on the gentrification process in western developed countries cities' is available and accessible, covering the different social, cultural, economic and political aspects, while literature on developing countries is limited. Egypt is a case study of the developing countries that witness the gentrification process hiding under different urban models of development projects (rehabilitation, renewal, upgrading, etc.) (Lees, 2008; Longa, 2011; Smith, 2011). (see Chapter 2)

The historic/cultural, social, economic and political differences shaped the gentrification process in different contexts. The gentrification process occurred in London and New York, cannot be applied in Cairo with the same procedures. This inquires an applicable analytical framework adapted to the context of developing countries sharing similar conditions like Egypt. Attention has to be given to the national and international factors that shaped the competitive economic aspect in Egypt as well. This realizes the research aims and objectives to fulfil the gap in literature and applied research towards Cairo as a case study from a developing country, Egypt.

1.5 Research Methodology

The research methodology is divided into three main parts. The first includes the research literature review. The second part includes formulating the theoretical framework and concluded remarks from core cities that experienced gentrification geographies, (Lees, 2012): namely financial as in London (Gonzalez S, 2017), third world migration as in Brussels (Vandenbroucke, 2017), urban policies as in Vienna (Doucet, 2017), and ethnic as in Philadelphia (Nicholas J. Kleina, 2018). The four cities represent the four different geographies of gentrification (Lees L., 2012) (Lees L., 2000). The third part includes the applied research of comparative analysis for the two case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis. The research used Geographic Information System software (GIS – Arc Map) as a tool to represent the typology maps of physical appearances; used to detect and map the gentrification process in different urban neighbourhoods.

The research explores some methodological explanations in connection with the analytical procedures. It requires an understanding of the process of gentrification from different perspectives of different stakeholders represented in the study population, with the involvement of primary, secondary and tertiary data sources. The research linked both the analytical framework and the case studies through a sequence of steps starting from reviewing the literature in connection to the gentrification process as well as setting discussions with experts, decision makers, locals, and visitors on the subject influenced by the research problem. This involved dealing with both qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (official and non-official statistical data) data analysis.

1.5.1 The Research Strategy

The most common research strategies used are the experiment, survey, history, computer analysis, archival records and case study research (Yin, 1994). Each strategy has a different way of collecting and analysing evidences following its own expectations. According to the research questions (mentioned in section 1.3), the research is located between both exploratory and experimental strategies (Yin, 1994; p.7). The research relied on archival records and documentation which represent a specific historic period, with respect to primary, secondary and tertiary documents, corelated to social, cultural, economic, political and physical appearances. In terms of experimental data, the case study strategy uses analysis, arguments and discussions, direct observations, and interviews, adopted to the case studies strategy to collect and analyse empirical evidences.

1.5.2 The Research Methodology Approach

The case study strategy is based on both qualitative and quantitative evidences using mixed techniques and methods. The qualitative research method investigates the gentrification process by comparing and analysing the responses of the interviewees. The quantitative research method seeks the facts about situations, roles, and events to have an in-depth understanding of gentrification in real-life. Therefore, the combination of adopted quantitative and qualitative research methods formulates an approach to collect and analyse data regarding the gentrification process in the case studies.

1.5.3 Study Population

Hence, the study population includes interviews with total of 132 interviewees. The study population interviews has four main categories: 18 interviewees from the governmental organisations, 8 from the non-governmental organizations, 4 from the private companies and investors, and 102 from the users. Governmental organizations are represented in: The Ministry of Housing (MOH), the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), National Organization of Urban Harmony (NOUH), Heliopolis for Housing and Development (HHD) and the Housing and Building National Research Center (HBRC), Ministry of Tourism, General Authority For Investment and Free Zones (GAFI), Ministry of Interior (Police stations), and the Registry Office (Ma'zon).

In addition, non-governmental organizations and experts, Darb 1718 in Elgamalia Heliopolis Heritage initiative (HHI) in Heliopolis are interviewed as well as urban planners, architects, and experts in the social, economic and cultural fields. Private companies include real estate developers (Palm Hills), investors, business owners and, finally, users such as visitors, residents, workers, local investors, business owners and renters. Likewise, tourists and passersby users are interviewed. The data collected from the four different sources of interviews; governmental, non-governmental, private companies and users; gives the research more richness. The table (1-1) shows the study population groups, methods and sampling techniques.

Table 1-1: Study population, and methods.

Study population	No.	Methods	Sampling techniques
Governmental organizations (public sector)			
Heliopolis for Housing & Development	1	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful
National Organization for Urban Harmony	2		
Local authority	1		
Housing & Building National Research Center	2		
Ministry of Housing	3		
Supreme Council of Antiquities	2		
Ministry of Tourism	1		
General Authority For Investment and Free Zones (GAFI)	1		
Police stations	2		
Marriage Official (Ma'zon)	2		
Total	18		
Non-governmental organizations			
Darb 1718,	1	Structured and Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful then snowballing
Heliopolis Heritage initiative (HHI)	1		
Experts, urban planners, etc.	6		
Total	8		
Private companies (private sector)			
Real estate developers	2	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful and Random stratified
Investors and business owners	2		
Total	4		
Users			
Apartment owners	23	Structured and semi-structured interviews	Purposeful and Random stratified
Shop owners	14		
Apartment renters	18		
Shop renters	13		
Users, Passersby, others, etc.	33		
Total	102		

1.5.4 The Fieldwork Constraints and Limitations

There were some fieldwork constraints. First, due to the devaluation of the Egyptian currency in November 2016, and the economic changes, the study population group of residents and visitors felt pessimistic towards any real development that could benefit the real middle-class population.

Second is the difficulties towards understanding and clarifying the gentrification process for the different study population groups which was clear from the feedback and comments they mentioned. The study population groups usually relate gentrification to the common urban development notions of renewal, regeneration, rehabilitation and upgrade (see Chapter 2). The term is recent to the Egyptian context which partially proves the research hypothesis claimed in the beginning of this chapter.

Third, the census date conducted by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) was limited to the latter four decades of 1976, 1986, 1996 and 2006 only, while the 2017 census for Cairo districts was not revealed until this dissertation's final chapter has been written in March 2018.

Fourth, the researcher worries when trying to ask the residents about social and economic conditions, due to the lost trust between the interviewees and the researcher which has to be built after exchanging some

conversation. Usually it consumes more effort and time than usual conversations during the field work. There was also the fear of taking photos and showing survey maps, especially in Heliopolis where the Egyptian president palace is located nearby, which the researcher overcame during the research through official and sometimes unofficial ways. This feeling of insecurity was raised after the unstable political strategies since the revolution of the January 2011 until the new presidential elections in May 2014. Adding to that few other constraints related to time and self-financial supports of the research conducted.

1.6 Conducting the Case Study: Collecting the Evidence

The research methods include multi-data sources operated and analysed to articulate the research provided. The empirical evidence relies on documentation, archival records, interviews, and direct observation.

Documentation

The documentation of scientific research data is unlimited. The forms of used documentation vary between books, articles, reports, PhD dissertations, working papers, case study evaluations, newspapers, libraries and research centres in Budapest, Vienna, Brussels and Cairo. This research uses most of the documentation resources to collect sufficient base of data and literature. The research excluded unqualified and biased documentations targeting specific interests.

Archival Records

The archival records are presented in the satellite images provided by Google Earth maps which showes the progress and the urban transformation of the case studies overtime. Also, using maps from the Cairo municipality have been used for the case study boundaries and limitations. Hence, the archival records provide precise and unbiased quantitative data in this research. The economic archival records rely on the international data sources from the World Bank and the published reports of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) census records for the 1976. 1986, 1996, and 2006 with some of year 2017 predictions based on real data.

Study population interviews

The research uses structured and semi-structured interviews depending on the study's population preferences. Semi-structured interviews are used where interviewees feel more open and helpful if they are answering to open-ended questions. This helps to make the interviewees feel confident and helpful when they answer to questions related to the research topic. The research used semi-structured interviews with government organizations, structured and semi-structured interviews are used with non-governmental organizations and experts. Semi-structured interviews are used with private companies and finally, structured and semi-structured interviews are used with users and pasersby.

The study population was done in regard to different sampling techniques; purposeful, purposeful then snowballing, and purposeful and random stratified. Purposeful sampling technique interviews are used with governmental organizations as they are a well identified group who are playing an essential key role in the urban planning process in general and gentrification process in specific, representing the political

and social aspect of the gentrification process. While purposeful then snowballing technique are used with the non-governmental organizations, they are chosen to cover the social and physical aspects of urban planning development and urban conservation of historic buildings, which snowballed ideas and gave more opportunities to involve experts and urban planners who are interviewed. Those experts are concerned and involved with urban planning development projects in Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

Furthermore, purposeful and random stratified technique are used with private companies representing the private sector which is involved in the urban planning process in Cairo. Real estate developers and investors and business owners play an essential role to energize the economic and physical aspects of urban planning process generally and gentrification specifically. In addition, purposeful and random stratified technique are used with apartment owners, shop owners, apartment renters, shop renters, users, and passersby in correspondence to the economic activities distribution of each case study.

The interviewees are selected and classified according to the different age groups and economic activities. The research covers all age groups from students (between 12 to 20 years old) to young labourers (from 20 to 30 years old and from 30 to 40 years old) and old people (from 40 to 65 years old). The interviewees' economic activities varied between labourers who work in services, construction, industry, transportation, hospitality and tourism. Also, the questions addressed to property owners and renters of apartments, shops, and restaurants are considered to attain answers for the research queries. Those questions specified, nevertheless, the situation of where they are living: whether they currently live in the case study area, left the case studies, have family ties, and/or they are not living in the case study anymore (see Chapter 5 and Appendix B). This covers the social, culture and economic aspects of gentrification process in Elgamalia and Heliopolis. Evidences are collected from different study population groups using different sampling techniques mentioned to illustrate the different aspects of the gentrification process, and its different indicators.

The interviews with users and visitors are designed and formatted beforehand to collect evidence from different users and residents in the case study regardless to their age group and economic activities. This technique gives a general overview on the aspects of the gentrification process in each case study. All interviews were designed according to the gentrification indicators and its aspects developed by several academics and authors in gentrification research (Kennedy, 2001; Hart, 2003; Smith, 2015; College, 2015; Shetawy, 2016; Chapple, 2016; Noonan, 2017). The questions are sometimes asked to make a general discussion and to give ground for the interviewees to enunciate during the interviews, especially with semi-structured interviews (see Chapter 5 and Appendix C). The interviews were conducted to form the other side of collected data, believing that the different points of view had to be seen from different perspectives since the interviews include government, non-governmental, private companies and users. Therefore, interviews will essentially confirm the likely point of view from the other data sources and prevent the research from any possible data bias.

Direct Observation

The researcher used observation for two main reasons: first, observation is most likely to be involved in qualitative research methods, and second, it gives more sufficient results which cannot be concluded through other research tools and methods. Direct observation is used to observe six main aspects, namely the social, cultural, economic, political, architectural, and urban aspects that affect the gentrification process in different means. Those aspects are used to define and guide the gentrification's indicator list by the end of Chapter 4.

The observation process was conducted over a period of 6 months during different periods of time (i.e. two / day) between 07:30 to 11:00. One visit would take place during the afternoon between 12:00 to 17:00. Another one visit would be between late afternoon and night between 17:00 to 21:00, which is usually the peak hours of leisure and entertainment activities for young people aged between 20 to 40 years old. Finally, one would take place at night to understand how the night activities are working between 21:00 to 23:00.

Site Survey

The site survey was conducted to prepare the physical appearance analysis based on real data from the site. The observation and record of all architectural and urban planning essentials that affect and interact with the gentrification process in the case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis. Architectural essentials explored were architectural style used, ornamentations, material used, date of construction and property prices. Urban planning essentials explored are, urban spaces, transportation, urban fabrics, streets conditions, landscape, buildings (uses, heights, conditions and structures), land and property prices. Also, to define the conflict borders between different land uses, and different economic, social, cultural and physical interests for different stakeholders in the study area in site.

1.7 Data Validity and Reliability

The following measures were provided to strengthen the validity of the data collected (Shetawy, 2004: p. 19-20).

1- *Triangulation of data:* The researcher used different sources of data evidence of documentation, archival records, interviews, and direct observation.

2- *Creating a case study database:* A database of the case study was created, recording personal implications, ideas and notes on the different data evidence collected during the fieldwork and survey.

3- *Repeated observations:* This was done over a period of 6 months of site visits and photographing.

4- *Participatory modes of research:* The researcher was thoroughly involved in the different research phases, starting from designing the fieldwork, data collection, then analysing the data collected, presenting them and the final outcomes and conclusions.

5- *Peer examination:* The researcher's supervisors worked as peer examiners, assisting to sustain the empirical evidence to reduce sampling and non-sampling errors.

6- *Carry out several pilot trips:* The researcher made many pilot trips to the study areas to assist in conducting precise and reasonable questions related to the research topic.

7- Fieldwork plan: The plan was set before the fieldwork started to organize and form the main target of the fieldwork.

8- *Clarification of the researcher's bias:* A defined criterion was set to avoid the researcher's bias towards the case study selection.

1.8 Data Analysis Procedures

The procedures use the data analysis to understand and interpret the dynamics of change for the gentrification process in urban neighbourhoods, and to define the scope and context of gentrification in Egypt. Furthermore, it proves the existence of the gentrification process in the case studies since it is unrecognized by academics, authors and decision-makers. Then it explores the different aspects of gentrification in the Egyptian context and identifies the type of gentrification and gentrifiers in the case studies. Therefore, it finds the tool to measure gentrification's exposition in urban neighbourhoods giving the opportunity for decision-makers to deal with the process in respectable manners based on scientific data. Finally, the research concludes a comprehensive approach to deal with the gentrification process in Egypt. Data analysis procedures and thesis organization describe the research methodology and takes full advantage of the research data, statistics, and information used by means of analysis. This analysis brings together the theoretical and applicable approaches used by discovering urban and architectural appearances of the case studies, which is essential to trace the real effects of the gentrification process.

Data Analysis

The criteria for the case study analysis are recognised by the four interrelated geographies of the gentrification of financiers, ethnic minority gentrification, third world immigration, and urban policy. This also includes the two proposed geographies suggested by the researcher, the historic/cultural tourism, and contracting/real estate development gentrification. Therefore, the methodology of the case study uses the following tools and methods identified as following:

1. **Demographic Analysis**

Since the demographic studies are the most important to identify in the main structure of the population in such case study, the researcher used the demographic, socio-cultural and economic analysis, using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), archival records, interviews and survey. The demographic analysis analyses the population's development, annual growth rates, the population pyramids, migration, family size, and overcrowding rates. This analysis deal with the social and culture aspects of the gentrification process in the case studies.

2. **Housing Circumstances/Conditions**

The real estate development deals with the notion of real estate and contracting activities which facilitate the gentrification process in the case studies. So, the main purpose is to understand the housing

development and connectivity to the main infrastructure networks, the increase or decrease in the number of buildings in general, the number of residential units built, the number of buildings according to ownership nationalities, percentage of owned and rented apartments, and housing types (villa, houses, apartments, etc.). Then is followed by identifying more details about how developed the infrastructure for families and its connection to electricity, clean water and sewage systems. Also, to declare the utilities availability in families' apartments, kitchen, bathroom, and toilets. This analysis uses the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), historical maps and surveys. This analysis deal with the socio-cultural, economic and physical aspects of the gentrification process in the case studies.

3. **Socio-Cultural Analysis (social classes living in the case studies' neighbourhood, traditions, cultural habits, mentality, identity, etc.)**

While observation, interviews, demographic analysis and housing real estate developments are not the only perspectives of gentrification, and the argumentation of the research was based on the social and cultural differences between the gentrification processes in the core cities and developing countries, it is essential to have a deeper analysis of social and cultural analysis of Egyptian case studies. Therefore, the analysis illustrates the labour professions, education status, unemployment rates, hence the understanding of the social and cultural composition using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), observations, surveys and interviews. This analysis deal with the social and culture aspects of the gentrification process in the case studies.

4. **Economic Analysis – census of income, taxes payers, and car rates, economic activities, census of tenants, and owners, etc.)**

Gentrification proceeds with the economic changes in the city due to the movement and flow of capital. Therefore, the economic analysis is essential to understand gentrification in Cairo. According to many authors, urban planners and geographers, the method of economic analysis is a way to determine the distribution of resources while giving an insight to how markets are operating to expect how the market will behave in the future regarding the different events and actions (Lees, 1994; Gamper-Rabindran, 2011; Goetz, 2011; Uitermark, 2013; Hausman, 2016). Economic analysis can be illustrated within the economic activities of labour, working sectors (public and private sectors), and participation of women in economic activities. This is to understand the economic composition of the case studies and investigate the feasibility of the economic environment to attract investments. Economic analysis is presented as a classified number and percentage of labour, using charts and tables, to compare the development of the different economic activities from the year 1976 until 2006. This uses a collective data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), observations, surveys and interviews. This analysis deal with the economic aspects of the gentrification process in the case studies.

5. **Physical Urban Planning Analysis - typology, morphology, urban planning analysis (overlapping the changing of buildings uses, heights, conditions, skyline, etc.)**

The urban studies monitor the different aspects of economic services, social, cultural, and entertaining activities, physical architecture and urban practices to balance between the human needs and economic

interests, leading to human and economic development. The role of the physical studies and analysis focuses on the physical elements of the different aspects, namely, culture, social, economic, and political. One of the aims of physical planning is to increase the income of people by distributing different economic spots to attract investments (Sandstro, 2002; Elwakil, 2006; Lorentzen, 2009; Sýkora, 2017). It also provides housing facilities, transportation, and infrastructure, which accommodate the social, cultural, environmental and economic needs of the inhabitants providing a well-organized and efficient connected network between them. GIS software was used to present data analysis on geographical maps with graphs to understand and analyse the gentrification dynamics. It was also used to compare the case studies through different periods of time to understand how gentrification evolves overtime.

Such analysis helps to deeply understand what is happening in urban neighbourhoods exposed to gentrification. It provides some indicators that assure or reject the existence of degentrification in such neighbourhoods. All indicators are given equal weight (from 1 to 4 points depending on the strength of each indicator) to identify the effective indicators which need higher ranks, classifying those indicators according to the analysis criteria. Thus, the indicator list (ruler) comes out to measure gentrification in the case studies' urban neighbourhoods. The analysis also defines the level of exposition urban neighbourhoods have (e.g. highly exposed to gentrification, medially exposed to gentrification, undergoing gentrification, or lowly exposed to gentrification), thus, expecting future gentrification locations which help the decision-makers to predict and mitigate gentrification's negative consequences. The analysis uses a collective data from the observations and architectural surveys. This analysis deal with the physical and economic aspects of the gentrification process in the case studies.

1.9 The National Context

Egypt is a country of almost 95 million inhabitants and increasing annual growth from 2.04 % between 1996 till 2006 to 2.56 % from 2006 till 2017 (CAPMAS, 2017). Accordingly, the need for housing and utilities increases; as the population increased almost 20 million inhabitants in the last 10 years. The percentage of people living in urban settlements reached 43% in 2017, which requires providing smart solutions to current and recent urban problems in cities. One third of the population is under 15 years old, which is a potential human resource that can lead to a real development and provide a wide base of labour force. Accordingly, the country faces many challenges to provide houses, work and education for the increasing population along with providing means of transportation and stabilize social and cultural networks. The total population lives on around 8% of the total area of the whole country, creating population distribution imbalance in Egypt. Some of the challenges that face Egypt are: providing economic development in terms of work and income, providing suitable housing units, building strong social and economic networks, solving the increasingly rural migration to urban areas, solving the expansion of illegal settlements, resolving the expansion of urban settlements on agricultural lands, and disengaging the mismatches and conflicts between local municipalities, districts and government authorities, which altogether stress the need for housing and services (CAPMAS, 2017; MOF, 2005).

1.10 The Case Study Context

The case study allows the research to understand the dynamics of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. Cairo was chosen to be the case study for many reasons. On the national level, first, Cairo represented 9.5 million inhabitants in 2017, about 10% of the population of Egypt (CAPMAS, 2017), the biggest share among the other governorates. Second, it hosts the concentration of both economic and political powers as the capital of Egypt. Third, Cairo has the biggest share in economic, social, cultural and political welfares. Fourth, is the time and budget constraints for field work period and self-funded research commitments.

Meanwhile, a well-defined criterion provides an answer to the question of why these case studies were chosen. The justification refers to identify what Lees argued regarding the 'geography of gentrification'. This, certainly, includes the analysis of different aspects of the gentrification process, physical urban planning analysis, demographic data analysis, and economic, social and cultural data analysis. Those aspects have been recognized by many researchers (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2010; Lees, 2000; Davidson and Lees, 2005; David Ley, 1996; Ley, 1996).

The case studies are used for investigating the gentrification dynamics of the evolving gentrification process in Egyptian urban neighborhoods. The four main reasons for choosing the historic districts of Fatimid Cairo and Heliopolis to be the research case studies are; first, to have an in-depth analysis to the gentrification process in two different historic districts, since Fatimid Cairo is one of the oldest historic districts in Cairo, built in the beginning of the 11th century (Cairo.gov; 2017). On the other hand, Heliopolis, which was built in the beginning of the 20th century, is the first new city in modern history in Cairo (Elmesnshawy, 2006; NVIC, 2006). Another reason is the high architectural and urban values both districts have. Second is to have the chance to compare the results from both cases to perceive the process from two different point of views. This comparison gives the research a wider perspective to the gentrification process and its consequences in both cases on comparative analysis bases.

Third, the spatial location of Fatimid Cairo, in the downtown middle district of Cairo is where different economic, social, cultural and political aspects take place. It is also an essential transportation hub connecting different transportation lines in Cairo. Elgamalia is the district which includes Fatimid Cairo, as an example of a historic district with long history. This district was characterized by accommodating high classes for many years since it was established in the beginning of the 10th century until the middle of the 15th century when the district started to deteriorate and lose its importance (UNESCO, 2012; Alsharif, 2013; Dewidar, 2015). It was only until the year 1979 when it was finally recognised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) to be on the world heritage list (UNESCO, 2012) (see Chapter 6).

Heliopolis was established in the beginning of the 20th century as a response to the urbanization wave to accommodate the increasing population and aristocrats beside the workers who work and live in a self-sufficient community. The different zones of Heliopolis land use provided different types of housing, villas, apartment houses, residential buildings and lands as well as providing different kinds of services to

meet the requirements of the different dwellers (NVIC, 2006). The newly built architectural style of Heliopolis attracted users to live in the new settlements since the 1910s until now, looking for more green and open spaces, with leisure and entertainment activities, which was what they lacked the most in the city centre. Heliopolis was one of the new cities in north east Cairo since it was built in the beginning of the 20th century, which nowadays is one of the essential terminal hubs in east Cairo and a destination for leisure and entertainment (Elmenshawy, 2006). Nowadays, Heliopolis works as a city centre in the semi periphery region of Cairo in a multinuclear city centre (Friedmann, 2002) (see Chapter 7).

On the one hand, the urban regeneration projects for historic Cairo, which were initiated in 2009, aim to prepare the tools of planning and management to conserve the heritage value and revitalize the socio-economic aspects with the environmental upgrade of the historic Cairo (UNESCO, 2012) (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, urban renewal and rehabilitation projects in Heliopolis which convey high class inhabitants and investors to the district, lead to an increase in the gentrification's possibilities in Heliopolis, especially in 2009, 100 years since the establishment of Heliopolis. Even before that time, non-governmental organizations considered the heritage of Heliopolis as a local identity of the district and a national identity to modern Cairo (see Chapter 7) (Amedi, 2009; Elshater, 2012; Kunz, 2018).

1.11 Annotated List of Chapters

First, the literature review is represented in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2, titled 'Gentrification Philosophy and Consequences', includes the gentrification definition, concepts and its essence, to answer the four main queries about gentrification and its (positive and negative) consequences, how gentrification evolves, where spatial gentrification takes place, when it takes place, and who are the stakeholders and gentrifiers are (Smith, 1986) (Loretta Lees, Hyum Bang Shin and Ernesto Lopez-Morales, 2015). Gentrification affects the social, economic and political decisions (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2008), and geographies of gentrification (Less, 2000) (Lees, 2012). Meanwhile, the literature will vary between authors pro- and against the gentrification process as gentrification is opposed sometimes according to its negative consequences, especially displacement.

Then, Chapter 3 titled 'Gentrification in a Global Context', includes the previous experiences of the gentrification processes in the four core cities that witnessed gentrification as mentioned above (London, Brussels, Philadelphia, and Vienna). This leads to conclude the different main aspects of the process from different viewpoints. Aspects of the gentrification process are widely described by authors; the researcher concluded those aspects to develop a theoretical framework adapted to the Egyptian context. Aspects of the gentrification process are present in urban neighbourhoods, socio-cultural, economic, political, architecture and urban planning as well. Also, the research adds more aspects according to the concluded remarks from the previous experiences.

Therefore, to conclude the definition of gentrification and to pave the road for a theoretical framework to be conceived in Chapter 4, it is worth mentioning that the theoretical framework embraces the data collections and sources used in the research. This relies on documentation and archival records from the public press, even paper or electronic press such as documentary movies and archives, the census of the

Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) for the last previous census from 1976 until 2006. This is used to define the different social classes, ownership and renting records, and other methods illustrated in Chapter 4. The tools and methods used are: observation, interviews and questionnaires, demographic analysis, housing circumstances, socio-cultural analysis, economic analysis, and physical analysis, respectively. Meanwhile, using direct observation and discussions during the comparative analysis is essential to conclude the theoretical framework paving the way to the applied research method.

Accordingly, Chapter 4 identifies the study area for the two case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis. This is to prove that the two new geographies of gentrification's study areas must include historical monumental buildings with high architectural values, real estate development and contracting activities. The criteria for the previous experiences of gentrified neighbourhoods was identified by the four interrelated geographies of gentrification of financiers as in London, ethnic minority gentrification as in Philadelphia and third-world immigration as in Brussels, the urban policy as in Vienna. Then by adding to them the two proposed geographies by this research, the historical/cultural tourism, and real estate/contracting gentrification, the study areas include the potentials to allow them to ensure and show the research hypothesis.

Then, the researcher categorizes and classifies the gentrification's indicators and their types by combining different and previous work of researchers and authors interested in the gentrification process. The researcher's contribution to knowledge stems from three aspects: first, the theoretical (two new geographies of gentrification), second, the comparative-applied research (comparative analysis of two case studies in Cairo) and, third, the concluded model of Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL). This presents a tool for urban professionals and decision-makers to measure the level of exposition of urban neighbourhoods to the gentrification process. This combination of several indicators together creates the 'measuring system', or the model, that provides valuable information about previous trends, current realities and future paths to aid decision-makers take the right decisions (Phillips 2003) (Hart, 2003) (Oleari, 2000).

Consequently, this is to prove the social, economic, urban planning, political, culture and architecture indicators that lead to the gentrification process as well as detecting leading, primary and secondary indicators and recategorise them to focus on the main reasons of gentrification exposition. Then, other gentrification indicators customized to the case study of Egypt have been added (Kennedy, 2001) (LISC, 2002) (Galster, Quercia and Cortes, 2003) (Nesbitt, 2005) (Mathon, 2006) (Twigge-Molecey and LeFlore, 2010) (Fouch, 2012) (College, 2015). Gentrification indicators categories include social, cultural, economic, political, architecture and urban indicators, concluding the preliminary gentrification indicators list (GIsL), that is applied on Elgamalia and Heliopolis in Chapters 6 and 7. In order to do that, first it was important to ensure that the gentrification process already takes place in the two case studies, thus the indicators introduced by Kennedy in 2001 and others were applied with the research tools and methods. Second, the preliminary gentrification indicators list was applied to find out the level of

exposition to gentrification in the case studies. By the end, Chapter 8 concludes the final gentrification indicators list and identifies their application to know the level of exposition to the gentrification process in Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

Chapter 5 exemplifies the causes of gentrification in Egypt; as for any process, the environment must be ready to conceive the activities of this process. Therefore, this chapter explores the main causes of gentrification in Egypt with special focus on Cairo (Neil Smith and Peter Williams 1986) (Loretta Lees and David Ley, 2008) (Lana Alisdairi and Matt Kelley, 2011) (Jackelyn Hwang and Jeffrey Lin, 2016) (Nelly Grotefendt, Malve Jacobsen, Tanja Kohlsdorf and Lina Wegener, 2017). The main causes that lead to gentrification in urban neighbourhoods are: Suburbanization and the emergence of a rent gap, deindustrialization, spatial centralization and decentralization of capital, falling profit and the cyclical movement of capital, and the Changes in demographics and consumption patterns respectively.

Then, Chapters 6 and 7 of this dissertation include the comparative analysis of the research case studies Elgamalia and Heliopolis. It also compares between the behavior of gentrification in both cases using the research tools and methods introduced in Chapter 1 and explained in Chapter 4, as well. This helps to clarify the existence of gentrification. Also, by applying and overlaying gentrification indicators concluded from the framework, with the physical appearances of each case study. Consequently, the gentrification process identifies the different types of each of the gentrifies and stakeholders from one side. On the other side, the type of gentrification existing in the case studies could be residential, commercial or another type gentrification.

Finally, Chapter 8 represents the final outcomes of the research and the concluded remarks by introducing the final gentrification list including all explored and concluded aspects of the gentrification process. It also represents the application of this list on Elgamalia and Heliopolis to evaluate the level of exposition of the gentrification process. Then, it takes the scope to open further research opportunities for urban planning professionals to explore more about the process and defines the two proposed geographies of gentrification, giving an adapted definition for the Egyptian context. This way, the research has been viewed from an external eye to try to find out the different aspects that the research may neutralize. Accordingly, the researcher’s intention does not stop at finding the knowledge and scientific reality only, but also at applying and experimenting this knowledge on the case study. The application relies on the research hypothesis and assumptions to prove these assumptions. The proposed approach will be applied to the case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis to predict the possible (future) locations of gentrification. This way, it will help decision makers to mitigate the negative consequences of gentrification in cities. Accordingly, the coming part illustrates the case study criteria and the tools and methods used in detail in this research.

This research is organized as the following figure explores the research structure, which is divided into three main parts and eight chapters. The first part includes chapters 1, 2 and 3: the introduction, gentrification philosophy and consequences, and gentrification in a global context; and the previous experiences of London, Philadelphia, Vienna and Brussels (literature review). The second part consists of

one chapter: chapter 4, which includes the theoretical framework and the concluded remarks and preliminary gentrification indicators list. The third part contains three chapters: chapters 5, 6 and 7, with an introduction of the main causes of gentrification in Egypt in Chapter 5.is followed by the applied case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis in chapters 6 and 7. This leads to the research ‘s conclusions and recommendations as well as the final remarks and outcomes from the research which will open new further fields for research in urban planning in Egypt by the end of the research in Chapter 8.

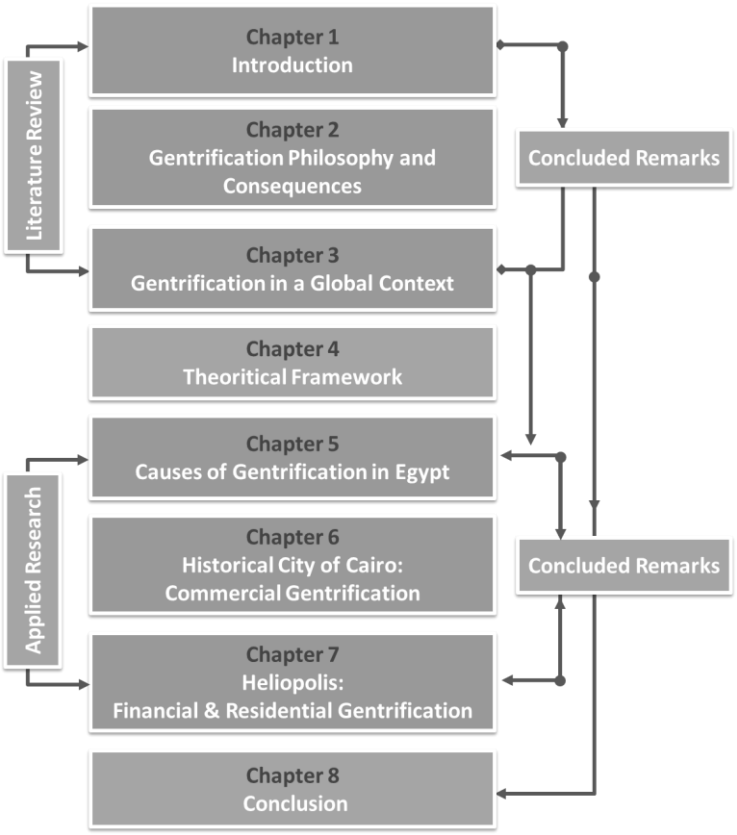


Figure 1-1 shows the research contents and structure
Source: developed by the researcher

2.1 Introduction

The Gentrification Debates is centred on four key areas of disagreement in the gentrification literature. These include debates about 1) how to define and recognize gentrification, 2) how, where, and when gentrification occurs, 3) gentrifiers' characteristics and motivations for engaging in the process, and 4) the gentrification's outcomes and consequences.

(Neil Smith, 1986)

Thus, this chapter identifies the four main key areas to understanding the process of gentrification. It provides an introduction to gentrification and how the process works, where gentrification occurs and when, by identifying the geographies of gentrification, the people responsible for gentrifying certain neighbourhoods/the people behind the gentrified neighbourhoods, who the gentrifiers are, and finally the outcomes and consequences of gentrification.

Gentrification started as a local process in New York City while progressing as a global process (Mumbai, Beijing, Mexico City) (Smith, 2010). In the Conference of Gentrification which was held in Gothenburg in 2010, Neil Smith announced that '[g]entrification is a generalized process, not any more as a random process that could happen in different places haphazardly. It is now a systematic, planned and considered process; gentrification could be political or economic decision'. Loretta Lees, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly (2008: P. 196) argued that, on the one hand, gentrification has positive consequences such as reducing the likelihood of future demolition and improving associated streets and infrastructure which means the improvement of urban life as well (Immergluck, 2009) (Andrew V. Papachristos, Chris M. Smith, Mary L. Scherer, Melissa A. Fugiero, 2011) (Madeleine Steinmetz, Rania Wasfi, George Parker, Lisa Bornstein, Jean Caron and Yan Kestens, 2017). However, on the other hand, it has its negative consequences such as the increase in the number of homeless people and the crime rates, while the most significant negative consequence is displacement; not only for displacing lower middle-class inhabitants for higher ones, but also for cultural and social displacement, concerning identity and mentality (Marcuse, 2013) (Helbrecht, 2017).

The origin of the word 'gentrification' derives from the word 'gentry' – meaning 'upper class' – which comes from the old French word "genterise" (Onions, 1966) (Harper, 2001-2015). Gentrification is 'a general term for the arrival of wealthier people in an existing urban district, a related increase in rents and property values, and changes in the district's character and culture. The term is often used negatively, suggesting the displacement of poor communities by rich outsiders. But the effects of gentrification are complex and contradictory, and its real impact varies' (Grant, 2003).

Meanwhile, the gentrification process could happen in a reverse way, instead of improving urban life and replacing lower-middle-class inhabitants by higher-middle-class inhabitants. The so-called 'degentrification' could take place through the deterioration of the urban life and the replacement of higher-middle-class inhabitants by lower-middle-class inhabitants. Then, degentrification could be defined as 'the replacement of a wealthier social middle class with a lower social middle class in an

existing deteriorated urban neighbourhood. This is due to the decrease in rents and property values, by which the neighbourhood's character and identity change. Thus, it deteriorates urban life on the different levels (i.e. economic, social and physical)'. The figure below illustrates the difference and two opposed notions between the gentrification and degentrification processes.

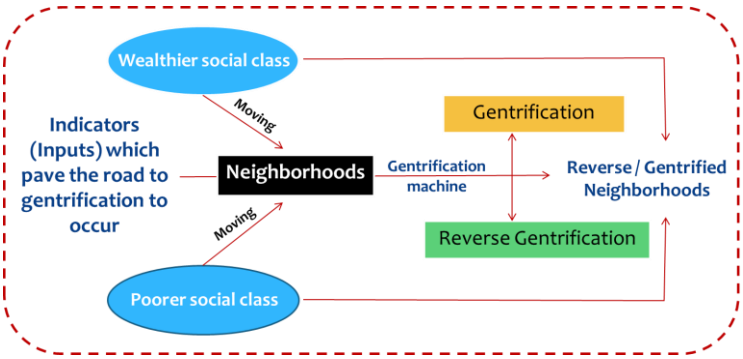


Figure 2-1 illustrates the relation between the two notions of 'gentrification and reverse gentrification'. Source: (Eldaidamony, 2016)

Displacement is considered one of the most noticeable negative consequences of gentrification. Accordingly, displacement is defined as the 'forced disenfranchisement of poor and working-class people from the spaces and places in which they have legitimate social and historical claims' (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2010). While measuring displacement seems to be a very hard task for many researchers due to the rapid changes in urban neighbourhoods, Ley, 1996 pointed out that, in order to re-energize the study of gentrification, it is important to focus on the 'geography of gentrification'. It is the 'geography of gentrification' that emerges as the common denominator for both the recent changes in the gentrification process and the holes in the gentrification literature she identified. There are four (interrelated) 'new wrinkles' which research into the 'geography of gentrification' that needs to address: 1) financifiers – super-gentrification; 2) third-world immigration – the global city; 3) black/ethnic minority gentrification – race and gentrification; and 4) liveability/urban policy – discourse on gentrification (Ley, 1996; Ley, 2012; Loretta Lees, Hyum Bang Shin and Ernesto Lopez-Morales, 2015).

However, according to the Egyptian case, the researcher would address also two more wrinkles that are significant in the case studies to widen the scope of gentrification's geographies to include developing countries like Egypt. These proposed wrinkles, which require investigation in the Egyptian context, are 5) historical-tourism gentrification and 6) contracting gentrification. Thus, gentrification needs more research to be adapted to go along with Egypt's culture and history, considering cultural differences which were omitted from the geography of gentrification. The research explores the four geographies of gentrification. So far, super-gentrification will likely occur in global cities such as London and New York (Brown-Saracino, 2013) (Gonzalez S, 2017). Moreover, looking to the capital of Europe, Brussels, it is clear that it attracts many third-world immigrants who live in a global city, which addresses the second geography (Criekingen, 2012) (Vandenbroucke, 2017). The geography deals with ethnic gentrification, especially against black African American inhabitants in Philadelphia (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2010: p.108-112) (Nicholas J. Kleina, 2018). Also, the government in Vienna is using

gentrification as a slogan of urban renewal Vienna (Doucet, 2017). As written in the official website of the city of Vienna, 'Vienna: For the 6th and 9th time in a row, the world's Most Livable City" (Wien.info, 2015 and 2018). Finally, Cairo is witnessing gentrification in the different urban neighbourhoods (Ahmed Shetawy and Muhammad Eldaidamony, 2016) such as Fatimid Cairo and Heliopolis. As one of the developing countries, gentrification is recent in Egypt, with cultural and social differences which may not be included under the so called 'new wrinkles' of gentrification. Not only that but also Cairo is witnessing both gentrification and degentrification as well. Therefore, there is a hard need to explore, understand and study the Egyptian case in order to know how gentrification changes over time in Egypt and especially in the capital city of Cairo.

Since gentrification is usually mixed with other urban models such as upgrading, renewal, revitalization, and other terms (Longa, 2011), this mix rises based on the spatial and social perspectives and differences about which every author argues. Hereby, the researcher will try to differentiate between the main urban models to identify the main path of the research, and not to mix gentrification with other urban models, which sometimes may be misleading and cause confusion with the gentrification process. It is essential to mention that the research is focusing on the gentrification process to find a clear and focused approach for the process in Egypt. Upgrading, or slum improvement as it is sometimes called, is basically an urban project for 'slum improvement in low-income urban communities' [which] is many things, but at its simplest, it has come to mean a package of basic services: clean water supply and adequate sewage disposal to improve the well-being of the community. But fundamental is legalizing and 'regularizing' the properties in situations of insecure or unclear tenure' (MIT, 2018). Here, urban upgrading provides a package of improvements in streets, footpaths and drainage as well as solid waste collection, along with street lights for security and night activity, electricity to homes, providing clinics and health education programmess, school facilities and teacher training, and lastly programs which are offered to increase income-earning opportunities and the general economic health of a community. Urban upgrading is broadly defined as physical, social, economic, organizational, and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively among citizens, community groups, businesses, and local authorities to ensure sustained improvements in the quality of lives for individuals. Meanwhile, gentrification is basically starting within a neighbourhood which already has the main facilities, but it works on improving those facilities. Gentrification comes first with economic factors while upgrading takes economic factors lightly.

Meanwhile, Robin Richards (2014) referred to urban renewal as 'a set of plans and activities to upgrade neighbourhoods and suburbs that are in a state of distress or decay' (Richards, 2014). More often, urban renewal programmes address the physical aspects of urban decay. Urban problems, e.g. deteriorating housing, poor physical infrastructure and poor community services such as sports and recreational amenities, are addressed through urban renewal programmes. Moreover, urban renewal can be distinguished from urban regeneration. As urban regeneration is a wide-ranging, it involves more holistic policy intervention that incorporates physical, social, and environmental regeneration (Lang, 2005). Urban renewal was considered as an alternative to the unpopular policy of 'slum clearance' involving

demolishing decaying housing and slum areas and relocating the people living there in other parts of the city. While the urban renewal's main negative consequences are social segregation and social equity, gentrification's main negative consequence is displacement. Moreover, Neil Smith (2010) argued that urban renewal, like rehabilitation, occurs where a rent gap has been opened, but in the case of renewal, either the run-down property is structurally unreliable, or the remaining structures are unsuitable for new uses.

Moreover, urban revitalization is a process by which a part of the city in social, urban or economic crisis undergoes a deep transformation to reverse the declining trend (IGI, 2017). On the other hand, gentrification has worked its way into the planning manifestos of urban policy agendas to improve the economic, physical, and social outlook of disinvested central-city locations around the world. Often masked as regeneration, renaissance, revitalization, or renewal, gentrification has become, in the words of one renowned gentrification scholar, 'a global urban strategy' and 'the consummate expression of an emerging neo-liberal urbanism' (Smith 2002). Thus, it is hard to be against revitalization, regeneration, or renaissance, but much easier to be against gentrification.

The different notions of urban development projects mentioned that the struggle over words might seem obscure or tedious, stranding us 'on the desert island of terminological debate' (Smith, 1996) (Longa, 2011). Moreover, this terminological struggle blurred in to a second set of more conceptual disputes. Gentrification is a term of class conflict that raises questions of equity and fairness; it is critical to challenge the political movements of those who are trying to displace the term in favour of other soft synonymous terms (e.g. regeneration, revitalization, renaissance, re-urbanization, residentialization, etc.) as well as those who may try to redefine the term as a badge of honour for gentrifiers (Andres Duany, 2001). One of the lessons of the sociology of knowledge is that words are not passive; indeed, they help to shape and create our perceptions of the world around us (Longa, 2011) (Eldaidamony, Shetawy, Serag and Elshater, 2018).

2.2 Gentrification Process - What and how?

The study of the city should pay heed to this complexity *'In the end, the "why" of gentrification is less important than the "how" and the repercussions of the process'* (Lees, et al., 2010). The main concern of the research is to understand how gentrification occurs, but for the meanwhile and before understanding how, it is essential to know what, when and where – what gentrification is, when it started and where. The following lines will discuss the definitions and different concepts of gentrification since it started in 1964 until the recent debates in 2014. Then, they will represent the positive and negative consequences of gentrification – authors who are in fond of or against gentrification. They also review the gentrification gap theories such as the rent gap, value gap and functional gap theories as well as study the geographies of gentrification, gentrification dynamics, and then the birth of degentrification and its consequences, finally concluding the whole theoretical background of gentrification.

2.2.1Overview

Generally, gentrification was not recognized until the end of the 50s, and there was no textbook dealing with gentrification until 2008 when the Gentrification (Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, 2008) was published, then, two years later, the Gentrification Debates (Japonica Brown-Saracino, 2010). Fifty years ago, gentrification has processed in different cities around the world, sometimes hidden under many terminologies. Being against gentrification can create many media and public attention, but it is hard to find anyone who could be against urban renaissance, urban regeneration or urban sustainability. Even they may have some negative impacts as well as gentrification. Sometimes authors refer to gentrification as a political term in urban studies, and losing the term would mean to lose the politics and the political purchase of the term (Lees, et al., 2010).

So far, as gentrification maybe a political term with an impact on urban studies, urban planning's concern of gentrification has been attracting many researchers even to implement the gentrification process or to legitimize the process in order to understand how the process starts and develops in urban areas. Gentrification in urban neighbourhoods or urban gentrification in Egypt and the research case studies are the main concern of the research.

The last six decades have witnessed a large deformation economically, socially and with regard to urban policies. Economically, disinvestment took place after the Second World War in the 1950s and 60s, then de-industrialization in the seventies after the so-called oil economic crises. Urban policies appear especially in the large cities where reinvestment includes the restoration of neglected housing built in the 18^{th} and 19^{th} centuries requiring the eviction of the low-income tenants. Socially, the change from lower- to higher-class residents as well as the change of many factories and industrial lofts to either large luxury apartments – by middle- or higher-class inhabitants – or administrative large company offices or what is known, from a decade ago, as the creative industry, which Ruth Glass, a British sociologist, named as classic gentrification in the 1960s. This was recognized as the real birth of gentrification as the invasion of the 'gentry' – people more affluent and educated than their working-class neighbours and whom she presumed to be the offspring of the landed gentry – buying and renovating old mews and cottages in certain neighbourhoods in inner London. She wrote: 'Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed' (Glass 1964, xix).

2.2.2Definition

The origin of the word 'gentrification' derives from the word 'gentry' which means 'upper class', a word which comes from the old French word *'Genterise'* (C. T. Onions, 1966) (Harper, 2001-2015). The term 'gentrification' first appeared in an essay on the urban dynamics in Islington Borough, in Inner-London by Ruth Glass in 1964. She described gentrification as the invasion of the middle class which replaced the working class and the renovation of residential houses. She pointed out to how rapid the appearance of the whole changes in such neighbourhoods and states was. Glass noticed how gentrification is spreading to other surrounding neighbourhoods. In terms of demography, economy and politics, it is

clear that gentrification puts pressure on central London as it was clear that Glass 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 centre' movement. This kind of gentrification was called 'classical gentrification'.

However, gentrification occurs when '[a] back to the city movement by capital, not people' (Smith, 1979) takes polace. Smith's argument was based on the movement of capital back to the inner city, designed to produce space for an affluent class of people, expressed in the spatial fix after the war period, investments located in the suburbs and disinvestments in the city centre going hand in hand, as well as the increase of the rent gap. Three years later, Neil Smith generates a more specific definition indicating that 'by gentrification I mean the process by which working class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle class home-buyers, landlords and professional developers; I make the theoretical distinction between gentrification and redevelopment. Redevelopment involves not rehabilitation of old structures but the construction of new buildings on previously developed land' (Smith, 1979).

Even by dictionary definition, gentrification is the buying and renovation of houses and stores in deteriorated urban neighbourhoods by wealthier individuals which, in effect, improves property values but can also displace low-income families and small businesses (Dictionary, 2015) as gentrification is a common and widespread controversial topic and term in urban planning (Hamnett, 1991). In the 21st century, gentrification became more understandable as it is no longer limited to renovating housing and selling them to the wealthy inhabitants but it bypassed that to build new townhouses and high-rise apartments, as gentrification can be seen also in rural and coastal townships as well as cities.

In 2003, Benjamin Grant mentions that Gentrification is a general term for the arrival of wealthier people in an existing urban district, a related increase in rents and property values, and changes in the district's character and culture. The term is often used negatively, suggesting the displacement of poor communities by rich outsiders. However, the effects of gentrification are complex and contradictory, and its real impact varies (Grant, 2003). No one can deny the effort of gentrification to improve urban life in terms of reducing the likelihood of future demolition of the infra-structure but one cannot also deny that pushing away the low income tenants and housing workers to other unknown places drives them further into poverty, increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. In such case, Tom Slater, 2006 poses the argument of whether '. . . people [are] not moving, not because they like the gentrification around them, but rather because there are no feasible alternatives available to them in a tight/tightening housing market (i.e. that so much of the city has gentrified that people are trapped)?' (Slater, 2006). People are trapped between the heaven of their neighbourhoods' improvement and the hell of displacement. We can also say that may be a little amount of them will be included by taking the jobs created by the new middle-class residents in personal service and retail trade, but the majority will be displaced (Vigdor, 2002).

Thus, the urban development or renewal projects should have many alternatives, not only physical ones concerning which buildings to renovate or renew but also social and mental ones concerning the displaced inhabitants. Anyhow, gentrification will happen even if we want it or not, so, we should stop

for a while with the consequences of gentrification and think more about them/reflect on them. Some authors argued that gentrification led and paved the way to social segregation and breaking the entire social structure or what they call the reformation of middle class or the new middle class. Gentrification destroys the urban life while the urban development or the renewal project goes hand in hand with the urban and social destruction process.

The broad definition of Hackworth (2002) for gentrification mentioned that gentrification is 'the transformation of space for more affluent users. To narrow down the concept for analysis, the definition will be supplemented with three points: actors of transformation, type of space, and social consequences'. Sarah Brouillette (2009) argued that gentrification at once is about making places safer and more liveable, and about property developers and real estate companies exploiting opportunities to sell expensive new condos, which leads to existing residents, often renters, moving out of neighbourhoods they've come to see as integral to their communities and identities.

However, Manzo (2012) argues that even if displacement does not occur as in Britain and the USA, due to the specificity of housing tenure, the aestheticization of a place resulting from gentrification produces a sort of moral displacement. On the other hand, G. Calafati (2014) argues that gentrification studies have long incorporated critical analysis of contemporary urban changes. Gentrification is a sort of relative re-urbanization (Piccolomini, 1993) which implies the substitution/displacement of low-income populations and the formation of selective residential enclaves. Some other Italian scholars have described the phenomenon as a soft process of social change (Diappi et al., 2008; Diappi, Bolchi and Gaeta, 2007), arguing that it occurs without displacement. This seems to be evident in Milan where the phenomenon is also seen as a vector of cultural and creative local economy (Bovone and Mazzette, 2005).

2.2.3 The Birth and Emergence of Gentrification

More than fifty years passed since the term 'gentrification' was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. As gentrification is a slippery term, the birth of gentrification could be viewed as a visible urban process. To some extent, the coinage of the term and the birth of the process are contemporaneous (Clark, 2005). The following is an introduction of the process and the classical face of it, within the case studies of London and New York.

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower, shabby, modest mews and cottages. Two rooms up and down have been taken over when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupations – have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being subdivided into costly flats or 'house lets' (in terms of the new real estate snob jargon). The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once gentrification starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed (Glass 1964).

The replacement of an existing population by gentry makes fun of the snobbish pretensions of the affluent middle-class households that would still prefer a rural, traditional way of life if given the chance; namely 'rustification' rural gentrification. Glass identified gentrifications as a complex urban process that included the rehabilitation of old housing stock, tenurial transformation from renting to owning, property price increases, and the displacement of working-class residents by the incoming middle classes. While the cores of other large cities in the world, especially of those in the United States, are decaying, and are becoming ghettos of the ‘under-privileged’, London may soon be faced with an embarrass de richesse in its central area, and this/which will prove to be a problem too (Glass, 1964). Glass lacked the needed knowledge of gentrification in the United States at that time. For the 2001 UK Genus (National Statistics, 2001), data shows that most of central London is now gentrified or gentrifying.

However, the emergence of gentrification properly contradicts with what Clark 2005 argued – it began in post-war, advanced capitalist cities. Its earliest systematic occurrences were in the 1950s in large metropolitan cities like Boston, Washington, D.C., London, and New York City. In both the United States and in Britain, post-war urban renewal meant the bulldozing of old neighbourhoods to be replaced by modern housing and highways. As the destruction spread, so did the rebellion against it. In the beginning, the protesters were mainly historians and architecture buffs, but slowly these were joined by young, middle-class families that bought and lovingly reconditioned beat-up, turn-of-the-century houses in 'bad' neighbourhoods. In New York City, this was called ‘brown stoning’, in Baltimore, 'homesteading', in Toronto, 'white painting' or 'white walling', and in San Francisco, 'red-brick chic'. As Williams (1986:65) argued, many American analysts have been uncomfortable with the term ‘gentrification’ (with its class connotations), preferring instead labels such as ‘back-to-the-city movement’, ‘neighbourhood revitalization’, and ‘brown stoning’, all of which were indicative of underlying divergences in what was believed to be central to this process.

Each term has its own little history. The term 'brown stoning', for example, came from the brown stoning movement in New York City. A brownstone is a building constructed of, or faced with, a soft sandstone which weathers as a chocolate brown colour. The pro-gentrification group, the Brownstone Revival Committee, was founded in New York City in 1968 by Everett Ortner, a pioneer gentrifier in Park Slope. The committee's magazine, The Brown Stoner, advocated brownstone living, provided historical analysis and rehabilitation tips, and voiced news and issues surrounding brownstones and their gentrification. Brown stoning was stylized as an act of love. However, what is particularly interesting is how the state in both the United States and the United Kingdom, for some time now, refused to use the term 'gentrification', even when their policies were exactly that, as Neil Smith (1982: 139) has argued, in New York City, as in the 1970s the term 'homesteading', was often used in place of gentrification. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Urban Homesteading programme transferred vacant and abandoned single-family houses to the city, that offered them up for sale back then, at a nominal sum, to families willing to rehabilitate them and live in them for at least three years.

2.3 Geographies of Gentrification – Where? Spatially?

2.3.1 Four Geographies (Wrinkles) in the Gentrification Studies

Loretta lees, 2000 had argued that, since the mid-1990s writing on gentrification has been much less energetic and much less adversarial, and some real analytical progress has been made. The analysis of class and gender has become much more sophisticated (Butler, 1997; Bondi, 1999a) and the issue of race is becoming more prominent (Jacobs, 1996; Smith, 1996; Eade and Mele, 1998). More recently, gentrification researchers have begun to question how we have conceptualized gentrification to date (Butler, 1997; Redfern, 1997a, 1997b; Bondi, 1999a; Lees, 1996; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; Hamnett, 2003), as such the gentrification literature is moving forward. It is the aim to try to increase the pace of this momentum by outlining many important research avenues for researchers to think about. Lees believed that the way to re-energize the study of gentrification is to focus on what Ley (1996) has called the 'geography of gentrification'. It is the 'geography of gentrification' that emerges as the common denominator for both the recent changes in the gentrification process and the holes in the gentrification literature. She identified four (interrelated) 'new wrinkles' which research into the 'geography of gentrification' that needs to address: 1) financifiers – super-gentrification; 2) third-world immigration – the global city; 3) black/ethnic minority gentrification – race and gentrification; and 4) liveability/urban policy – discourse on gentrification.

In addressing the issue of *financifiers*, gentrification researchers must return, as Bondi (1999a) did though inadvertently, to a consideration of temporality. The notion of urban community has changed, making studies such as Caulfield's (1994) less useful for studying the contemporary gentrification process. Gentrifiers moving into Brooklyn Heights and Park Slope in the end of the 1990s, for example, are quite different from those who moved into these two neighbourhoods in the 1970s. As a result, the neighbourhoods' identities are changing. Wyly and Hammel (1999) have also found that capital flows are being redirected and focused on a few highly desirable neighbourhoods. The outcome is that the gentrifiers who starred in Caulfield's and Ley's books, those who embraced tolerance and diversity, like the hippies in 1970s Park Slope, for the most part no longer star. Park Slope's gentrifiers are well-to-do folk from Manhattan, lawyers and financial consultants; financifiers who buy houses and apartments as city residences. They often also own properties in suburban Long Island, Up-State New York or in 'the country' – Connecticut, etc. – where they spend their weekends. The whole concept of urban community is in transition – the financifiers' ties to the community, to the neighbourhood, are much weaker than those of the gentrifiers of old.

The financifier has a much less deeply rooted relationship with his or her neighbourhood – as with the highly mobile capital they work with, these super-gentrifiers are more mobile too. Their identity is arguably more fluid than rooted. As such, the term gentrifier may not even be appropriate for these new, well-heeled renovators. These *super-gentrifiers* have displaced sweat equity by employing their own architects, interior designers and builders. A variety of questions emerge: Are financifiers gentrifiers as such? Are they members of the new middle class? Are there conflicts between financifiers and the new

middle class? What are the similarities and differences between this type of gentrification and earlier gentrification? And so on. Wyly and Hammel's (1999) study of post-recession gentrification in the USA echoes some of these questions for they, too, emphasise the importance of looking at it temporarily. Their essay reveals the important questions on the historical continuity between the current processes and previous generations of neighbourhood change that the resurgence of the gentrification process poses. Contextuality, for super-gentrification, will likely only occur in global cities, such as London and New York, where the financial and information industries are primarily located, or perhaps in capital cities, such as Edinburgh and Scotland, which have a similar employment structure to London. Even more, in other cities which are not even capital cities, such as in Frankfurt-Maine in Germany, the city transformed to be the capital of finance and banks headquarters for the European Union.

Contextuality and scale are also relevant to a consideration of *third-world immigrants and the gentrification process*. Global cities, racially/ethnically segregated cities and multicultural cities higher up the urban hierarchy, will feature prominently in studies of gentrification that consider the juxtaposition of people from radically different cultural backgrounds – that is, third-world immigrants with gentrifiers. Jacobs' (1996) study of Spitalfields in London outlines the conflictual politics of race and nation. Her study underlines the fact that 1) gentrifiers are not always liberal and tolerant; 2) gentrification is not a benign process; and 3) gentrifiers do not hold a monopoly on proactivity.

As in the case of third-world immigrants has scarcely been researched either (Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Taylor, 1992; Smith, 1996). Black gay gentrifiers in the Castro District of San Francisco came up against racism in the 1970s. This distorts the image of gentrification as liberal tolerance. It also points out to the complex intricacies within the social cleavages – black, gay and middle class and white gay racist gentrifiers. Blacks (and other ethnic groups such as Latinos), as seen in Smith's (1996) 'revanchist city thesis', are often portrayed as the 'victims' of the gentrification process. However, blacks can also be the 'agents' of gentrification (Taylor, 1992; Lees, 1996; Downer, 1999) and black gentrification is not without its problems. As Taylor (1992) outlines, black gentrifiers in Harlem are confronted with a 'dilemma of difference' as they alternate between their work in a white downtown and their home in a black uptown, and the class differences between themselves and the less wealthy Harlem residents. In 1986, Schaffer and Smith predicted that, because the number of wealthy households in Harlem were relatively small, continued gentrification would likely lead to white in-migration and the displacement of blacks. This prophecy seems to be coming true elsewhere – although, Park Slope, Brooklyn, was a magnet for black gentrification in the early 1990s, by the end of the decade, the neighbourhood had grown predominantly white. The racial/ethnic issues associated with the gentrification process take on a different guise according to the communities involved. For example, Ley (1995) discusses the cultural conflicts between Hong Kong Chinese immigrants and the Anglo middle classes in gentrified Kerrisdale, inner Vancouver. Mitchell (1997) discusses the political repercussions of large-scale immigration from Hong Kong on the pre-existing Chinese community in downtown Vancouver.

The issues surrounding race/ethnicity and gentrification are much more complex than black/Latino versus white (gentrifier). As gentrification spreads outwards from the inner city towards the suburbs (Smith and DeFilippis, 1999), these issues will continue to be significant. Research into the sociology of academic knowledge production on gentrification will tell us as much, if not more, about the literature on gentrification as a literature review that compares authors' theoretical frameworks, conceptual ideas and empirical research. As part of a consideration of discourse and the construction of knowledge, the importance of methodology has rarely been stressed in analyses of gentrification, despite the considerable interest in the differing outcomes of the different theoretical frameworks (Redfern, 1997a; 1997b). Different methodological frameworks obviously produce quite different accounts of gentrification.

As Lees argues, the deconstructing discourse on gentrification is important and is nowhere more so than when considered recent urban policy statements/initiatives by governments in both the UK and the USA. As the British Urban Task Force's report *Towards an urban renaissance* (DETR, 1999) and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development's *The state of the cities* (1999) report, both interweave urban regeneration policy with gentrification practices and environmentalism. They subtly and not so subtly promote gentrification as a blueprint for a civilized city life. Gentrification in the guise of urban liveability/sustainability is constructed as the medicine for the problems endured by British and American cities. Analysis of how far gentrification has become, as a state-driven process and in this a consideration of the context of wider political forces, is certainly worthwhile. Wyly and Hammel (1999) indicated, in an obvious play on Berry's (1985) maxim 'islands of renewal in seas of decay', the new urban reality may well be 'islands of decay in seas of renewal'. However, this vision of a new urban reality by both British and American urban policy-makers is premised on a 'one size fits all' remedy. In other words, the successes of gentrification strategies in global cities such as London and New York are being offered as blueprints for cities further down the urban hierarchy.

These strategies are unlikely to work for the Liverpool's of the UK and the Lowell's of the USA. For example, urban policymakers, in the declining north-eastern city of Portland, Maine, USA, have adopted the types of strategies which promoted both explicitly and implicitly in the two reports. These strategies have included a plan for liveability and sustainability – *Downtown vision: a celebration of urban living and a plan for the future of Portland* (City of Portland, Maine, 1991): a plan for an Arts District; the upgrading of the Old Port; the gentrification of the city's older residential neighbourhoods; the construction of a $5-million Portland Public Market; new downtown office blocks; and so on (Knopp and Kujawa, 1993). As a medicine, this had mostly failed to cure Portland's urban (economic) illness, but like the British Urban Task Force and American Housing Urban Department (HUD), Portland's urban policy-makers still have the kind of faith that sees boarded-up buildings, empty piers and abandoned storefronts as opportunities. Both context and temporality are side-lined in *Towards an urban renaissance* and *The state of the cities* report, as indeed they have been by urban policy-makers in Portland, Maine, too. Much remains to be learnt about the 'geography of gentrification'. Eade and Mele (1998) have begun 'to open up this Pandora's box' by comparing gentrification in the East Village of New York City with that in Spitalfields and Docklands in London.

The ‘geography of gentrification’ works on many different levels – international, intranational, and citywide comparison. The differences between Caulfield’s more utopian perspective on gentrification and Smith’s more dystopian perspective are partly rooted in their respective research sites – the relatively liberal and benign Canadian inner city and the ‘combat zone’ of the visceral and dangerous US inner city. Moreover, in the literature on gentrification, we can see that even within a single city, the gentrification of a similar time has a quite different geography depending on its site. Butler (1997) produces a much less conflictual account of gentrification in London, specifically Hackney, than does Jacobs (1996), who discusses Spitalfields. More detailed research into the ‘geography of gentrification’ would enable us to say whether the gentrification of Detroit is the late 1990s version of the gentrification of Harlem for Harlem was, and Detroit is, a seemingly unlikely target for gentrification (Wyly and Hammel, 1999). It would also enable us to consider the merits or dangers of cities further down the urban hierarchy, taking on board the gentrification practices of cities higher up the urban hierarchy; cities with a very different geography.

The contemporary geographies of gentrification seem to have become more complicated, involving intricate tensions between local and global, old versus new, and cultural versus economic. Considering this complexity, Lees, 2000 mentioned that most observers acknowledge that both production and consumption perspectives are crucially important in explaining, understanding, and dealing with gentrification. For many analysts, the acknowledgment ends there, with no serious effort to address the substantive differences between the two perspectives. But for many others, the production-consumption dichotomy has been set aside for very different reasons. This duality may have contributed to the advance of the urban theory in the 1970s and 1980s, but in subsequent years, it became clear that the differences between the two camps had been exaggerated. Even so, we cannot ignore fundamental incommensurability in the abstract concepts of the rent gap (rent gap will be illustrated later in this chapter with measuring gentrification), cultural-lifestyle, and post-industrial economic base explanations (Clark 1994).

However, since the 1960s and until the 2000s, gentrification has been sustained in many kinds of cities around the world. We no longer put all our efforts into painting the 'grand coherent picture' that answers the question of 'Why?'. Instead, more researchers are concerned with the question of 'So what?', and with this shift, many researchers are less troubled by the real and apparent tensions between production and consumption narratives. Both provide crucially important, and quite different, ways of understanding the dimensions of contemporary gentrification. Perhaps the most progressive way to deal with both production and consumption theories in the gentrification literature is to recognize the remarkable theoretical sophistication that has developed over three decades of research and debate, whilst at the same time, acknowledge that the finer details of such theories can quite easily become victims of history and need to be brought into contemporary geographies of gentrification. Thanks to Hamnett's (1991) influential review of the sophisticated work of Smith and Ley, many urbanists saw gentrification in terms of a stark 'either/or' choice: supply or demand, capital or culture, structure or agency. An entire generation of students, reading through equally compelling explanations under separate headings for

'production' and 'consumption', responded as best they could: both explanations matter, many students replied, while others embraced one side or another based on personal experience or the style of writing they found most convincing.

Moreover, it became clear that the production-consumption dichotomy was fundamentally flawed and that it had obscured the ongoing influence of neoclassical urban thought on public policy. Throughout most of Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia, neoclassical principles exerted a powerful influence on the way policymakers selectively used research on urban poverty and housing markets to justify sweeping shifts in urban policy. Important contextual differences certainly mattered in shaping varied trajectories of policy, but the general trend was to favour market processes and public interventions that encouraged gentrification. It is now clearly recognized that production and consumption cannot be understood in terms of simplistic dichotomies. But there is also a growing recognition that the political and economic developments of the last decade have accentuated many of the polarizing tendencies at the heart of both production and consumption theories. In response, a new generation of gentrification research has moved beyond these limited binaries to analyse the new patterns and processes sustaining inequality in cities around the world.

2.3.2 Two new geographies in the gentrification studies according to the Egyptian case study

Meanwhile, the researcher suggests two new geographies of gentrification to fill the gap in the gentrification literature towards the new gentrification lands outside the core cities – New York and London. Cairo has been witnessing gentrification (as it will be shown in Chapter 3, with the two case studies of Historic Fatimid Cairo and Heliopolis), tourism and real estate development, each of which has a long history in Cairo. Egypt reached around 11 and a half million tourists in the year 2012, according to the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 2018). This number decreased to 5 million in 2016. Tourism, as an essential economic sector which relies on many other different industries, opens the field for many urban projects to take place. As tourists flow and their number increases, the need for a liveable and comfortable urban life and environment increases. Hereby, the urban development projects come to pave the road for tourism since gentrification is one of the tools for creating such environment. Beforehand, gentrification was not known is Egypt – as in many other countries, gentrification is hidden under the umbrella of urban regeneration and revitalization and sometimes urban renewal as well.

Moreover, the real estate development in Egypt has been working since the beginning of the 1970s to fulfil the need of housing due to the baby boom in the mid-1970s. Later, it flourished with the Open-Door policy in the beginning of the 1980s and the privatization policies in the 1990s. According to Egypt Business website, construction and Real Estate Development represent around 11% of the companies in Egypt. On the other hand, in a study done by Hisham Mousa in 2014, he argued that the real estate industry consisted of 9,759 companies operating inland with a total investments of USD 26.58 billions of which 302 companies with total investments of USD 1.48 billions in housing, 4150 companies with total investments of USD 10.5 billions in contracting and 5305 companies with total investments of USD 14.58 billions in urban development. As for housing units' needs, they are estimated to be 7.5 million

units during the period from 2007 to 2022, and by adding current housing needs, this number is expected to reach 8 million units in 2022.

A. Historical / Cultural - Tourism gentrification

Tourism is about consumption-led growth and the increasing importance of the production of cultural goods, heritage image and other simulacra. Also, tourism development is a dynamic process involving social interactions, relations and conflicts that are global in scale and highly complex in character. As contemporary cities increasingly turn to tourism as a means of economic development, and as gentrification expands in many cities, the need for more critical accounts of the nexus of tourism and gentrification increases. Indeed, tourism study can contribute much to on-going debates of urban ethnic transformation, globalization and gentrification (Eldaidamony, Shetawy, Serag, and Elshater, 2018).

Tourism gentrification refers to the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues (Gotham K.F., 2005). Gotham argued that, historically, Vieux Carre (the French Quarter in New Orleans, USA) had been the home of diverse groups of people. During the period from 1985s and 2005s, however, median incomes and property values have increased, escalating rents have pushed out lower-income people and African Americans, and tourist attractions and large entertainment clubs now dominate much of the neighbourhood. It is argued that the changing flows of capital into the real estate market, combined with the growth of tourism, enhance the significance of consumption-oriented activities in the residential space and encourage gentrification. Gentrification worked as an expression of consumer demands, individual preferences or market laws of supply and demand. It examines how the growth of securitization, changes in consumption and the dominance of large entertainment firms manifest through the development of a tourism industry in New Orleans, giving gentrification its own distinct dynamic and local quality.

Scholars have noted that gentrification is a ‘chaotic concept’ (Lees, 2003b, p. 2491) that lacks theoretical and empirical specificity. In a critique of the empirical literature on gentrification, Wyly and Hammel (1999) observed that ‘recent criticisms of the coherence of theories of gentrification, ... and methods for assessing its extent and significance have cast doubt on the utility of further research on the subject’ (p. 303). Five years later, in a comprehensive review of the literature on gentrification, Atkinson (2003a, p. 2343) noted that the ‘map of gentrification appears to be extending steadily’ with dozens of scholars around the world undertaking a variety of case studies, comparisons and statistical analyses of gentrification. Following Wyly and Hammel (1998, p. 302), Gotham K.F., 2005 argued that research on tourism gentrification is warranted not by the intensity or magnitude of gentrification, ‘but by the *distinctiveness* of the patterns inscribed by the *process*’ (original emphasis). Specifically, there are at least two reasons to consider the nature of tourism gentrification.

First, tourism gentrification highlights the twin processes of globalization and localization that define the modern urbanization and redevelopment processes. The reason is that tourism is a 'global' industry dominated by large international hotel chains, tour operators, car rental agencies and financial services

companies. In addition, tourism sustains many occupations, advertising campaigns, recognizable attractions and diverse forms of financial investment. On the other hand, tourism is a 'local' industry characterized by grassroots cultural production, spatial fixity of the tourism commodity and localized consumption of place. Chang and colleagues' research on Singapore and Montreal suggests that various public agencies, private firms and tourism interests deploy locally specific images, themes and motifs to stimulate the tourists' demand to buy and consume local products and services (Chang, 2000a, 2000b; Chang *et al.*, 1996). These points buttress studies by Teo and Lim (2003) and Teo and Yeah (1996) who find that, while tourism may be a 'global' force, it is also a locally based set of activities and organizations involved in the production of local distinctiveness, local cultures and different local histories that appeal to visitors' tastes for the exotic and unique. At the same time, the growth of tourism has an 'elective affinity' with widespread cultural and aesthetic changes including the emergence of style as identity, the proliferation of advertising images and media, and development of sophisticated marketing schemes that seek to create demand for gentrified housing (Ley, 1996, 2003).

Secondly, the concept of tourism gentrification presents a challenge to traditional explanations of gentrification that assume that the demand-side or production-side factors drive the process. During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars developed differing explanations of the process and consequences of gentrification. Clay (1979, pp. 57-60), Berry (1985; 1999, p. 783) and Kasarda (1999, p. 779) outlined a series of demand-side factors, including demographic and economic factors, individual preferences and consumer choice for gentrified housing. A second production side perspective emphasized the importance of state policy and regulation, the role of disinvestment and the actions of powerful actors and organized interests in the gentrification process. This latter approach focused on the 'capitalist roots of gentrification' (Smith, 1996, p. 41) and viewed gentrification 'as part and parcel of the class dynamics of urban transformation associated with capital investment and disinvestment' (Betancur, 2002, p. 781). The example of tourism gentrification provides the conceptual link between the production-side and demand-side explanations of gentrification while avoiding one-sided and reductive conceptions. On the production side, for example, tourism is about shifting patterns of capital investment in the sphere of production, new forms of financing real estate development and the creation of spaces of consumption. On the demand side, the socio-physical spaces associated with gentrification are also the 'highly visual expression of changing patterns of consumption in cities' (Carpenter and Lees, 1995, p. 288). Analysing tourism gentrification sheds light on the complementary nature of the differing explanations, provides an important opportunity for theoretical development and offers a unique perspective on tourism and urban redevelopment dynamics. While the analysis was specific to New Orleans and the Vieux Carre, it has broader theoretical generality and applicability to understanding gentrification.

As a result, gentrification and tourism are largely driven by mega-sized financial firms and entertainment corporations who have formed new institutional connections with traditional city boosters (e.g. chambers of commerce, city governments, and service industries) to market cities and their neighbourhoods. As local elites use tourism as a strategy of economic revitalization, tourism services and facilities are incorporated into redevelopment zones and gentrifying areas. In this new urban landscape, gentrification

and tourism amalgamate with other consumption-oriented activities such as shopping, restaurants, cultural facilities and entertainment venues. That blur of entertainment, commercial activity and residential space leads to an altered relationship between culture and economics in the production and consumption of urban space (Gotham K.F., 2005). Tourism analysis can shed light on the causes and consequences of gentrification better than existing accounts that focus on identifying the population and demographic variables responsible for residential and commercial change in cities.

Meanwhile, according to a previous study in 2016 (Shetway and Eldaidamony, 2016), the gentrification process was driven by historical tourism in Fatimid Cairo; historical tourism development was the potential for gentrification to take place. As the gentrification spots started to be active, the buffered building around it started to change dynamically by which the neighbouring buildings' owners seek to benefit as well from the development around them. It is argued that the changing flows of capital into the real estate market, combined with the growth of tourism, enhance the significance of consumption-oriented activities in residential spaces and encourages gentrification. So far, gentrification is an expression of consumer demands, individual preferences or market laws of supply and demand. It examines how the growth of securitization, changes in consumption and increasing dominance of large entertainment firms manifest through the development of a tourism industry, giving gentrification its own distinct dynamic and local quality. This can happen not only in New Orleans but also in the case studies in Cairo as well.

B. Real estate development / contracting gentrification

According to Smith and DeFilippis (1999, p. 651), 'the frontier of gentrification is more than ever coordinated with the frontiers of global capital investment', making the newest wave of gentrification in cities 'one part of a larger spatial restructuring of urban areas associated with the transformations of production, social reproduction and finance'. Real estate is property comprised of land and the buildings on it as well as the natural resources of the land, including uncultivated flora and fauna, farmed crops and livestock, and water and mineral deposits. Although media often refers to the 'real estate market', according to Investopedia, 2018 (see also: https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gentrification.asp) from the perspective of residential living, real estate can be grouped into three broad categories based on its use: residential, commercial or industrial. Examples of residential real estate include undeveloped land, houses, condominiums and town houses; examples of commercial real estate are office buildings, warehouses and retail store buildings; and examples of industrial real estate include factories, mines and farms. Real estate is a special instance of real property. Real property, a broader term, includes land, buildings and other improvements – plus the rights of use and enjoyment of that land and all of its improvements. Renters and leaseholders may have rights to inhabit land or buildings that are considered a part of their personal estate but are not considered real estate. As for the land that has no owner (e.g. land in certain regions, such as Antarctica, or on the moon), it is not considered real estate.

Unlike other investments, real estate is dramatically affected by its surroundings and immediate geographical area, hence the well-known real-estate maxim, 'location, location, location'. Apart from a

severe national recession or depression, residential real estate values are affected primarily by local factors such as the area's employment rate, economy, crime rates, transportation facilities, quality of schools and other municipal services, and property taxes. There are key differences in residential and commercial real estate investments. On the one hand, residential real estate is usually less expensive and smaller than commercial real estate and so, it is more affordable for the small investors. On the other hand, commercial real estate is often more valuable per square foot and its leases are longer, which theoretically ensures a more predictable income stream. With greater revenue comes greater responsibility. However, commercial rental real estate is more heavily regulated than residential real estate and these regulations can differ not only from country to country and state to state, but also vary in each county and city. Even within cities, zoning regulations add a layer of unwanted complexity to commercial real estate investments (Eldaidamony, Shetawy, Elshater, and Serag, 2018).

The real estate activity is an essential sector worldwide and specially in Egypt as well. Housing supply was mostly by the private sector until the late 1950s when rent control laws were applied. A sizeable proportion of developers in the housing market, as a result, shifted their investment to other fields. After that, the public sector assumed a major role in housing supply through central and local government, development agencies, and public housing companies. The semi-public agencies helped in the production of housing units through housing cooperatives, the El-Awkaf Authority, banks, insurance companies, and the construction of housing for individual workers. The private sector diminished to a few individual landlords, owner-occupiers, and small development companies. Provision of infrastructure remained the responsibility of the government. According to real data published by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), the total number of housing units built per year by both public and private sectors decreased from 56,000 units in the 1950s to fewer than 30,000 in the 1960s. The change in the economic policy in the second half of the 1970s caused drastic changes in the housing market. The annual number of units built increased steadily to reach more than 180,000 in 1990. The role of the public sector diminished and was limited to the provision of low- and medium-cost units, mainly in the new towns and settlements around the Greater Cairo Region. Private investment in the housing and real estate sectors has increased continuously in the past two decades, even though these sectors are, in theory, tightly regulated, rent-controlled and suffer from credit shortages. According to estimates by the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction, the private sector’s gross investment in housing grew from EGP 732 millions in 1982/83 to EGP 2,950 millions in 1991/92, representing more than 25% of the total private investment in Egypt. On the other hand, public gross investment in housing fluctuated from EGP 67 millions in 1982/83 to EGP 370 millions in 1986/87 and back to EGP 91 millions in 1991/92, representing less than 1% of the total Egyptian public investment.

Similarly, gross value added in private sector housing rose from EGP 350 millions in 1982/83 to EGP 2,223 millions in 1991/92, whereas it increased only from EGP 62 millions to EGP 127 millions in the public sector housing over the same period. In 1991/92, the private sector contributed 97% of the total investment in housing and 95% of the total value added in the housing sector. Factors that explain the burgeoning private sector investment in housing include the high levels of demand resulting from the

urban population growth. In addition, private sector developers find ways around the rent control laws such as the build-to-own arrangements and cash advances paid to developers. The illegal/informal housing that represents a large portion of the Egyptian housing market is completely financed by private investments. Given the limited choice of alternative investments in the Egyptian market (especially during periods of recession), real estate is a major outlet for domestic savings and especially for the remittances of Egyptians working in oil-exporting Arab countries (World Bank, 1994).

Since the 1960s, the national and Greater Cairo Region plans (GCR), the concentrations of population, economic activities, wealth, and power have led to serious urban problems, resulting in several attempts to manage and reorganize the growth of the GCR and to decentralize population and activities. As a result, in 1982, the national policy identified several goals (Advisory Committee for Reconstruction, 1982). First, it was suggested that Cairo's urban growth be redirected to an east-west orientation on vacant desert areas in proximity to the current built-up area. Secondly, it was recommended that the de-concentration of central Cairo should be pursued through the establishment of secondary and tertiary commercial, financial, industrial, and administrative centres. Thirdly, it suggested policies to promote an improvement in the general quality of life. Fourthly, it advocated the creation of appropriate instruments of governance aiming at guiding and controlling an integrated set of spatial, economic, social, and financial programmes. In fact, those policies succeeded to create an east-west urban settlement and to have more commercial, administrative and financial services in the existing built areas. However, due to the high demand of housing in the existing areas, the private sector's real estate provided housing as well with a mixed-use high density and high-rise buildings, as a compromise to what the urban policy and the market needs, which increased the pressure on Cairo's infrastructures.

2.4 Gentrification timing – When?

The argument that Smith, 1979 puts forth in his article, 'A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People', is that disinvestment in properties in certain central city neighbourhoods produced a gap between current and potential land rents and, therefore, enabled investors, from individual gentrifiers to investment in firms to profit by investing in or speculating on such properties. This is arguably among the most influential pieces of gentrification scholarships to date. Others demonstrate how supply and demand factors conspire to create markets. For instance, in a selection from his book on the gentrification of New York's East Village, Christopher Mele, 2000 suggests that city government and investors built on a first-wave gentrifiers' art scene to increase demand for residence in the gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Regarding the relative influence of market conditions versus government policies and practices, Neil Smith argues that gentrification is 'an expected product of the relatively unhampered operation of the land and housing markets' (1979: 538). This acknowledges the government's import, but nonetheless emphasizes the role of the economic processes. In the section's final reading, Kevin Fox Gotham builds on this by suggesting that, in some instances, such as in the gentrification of New Orleans' French Quarter that he details, large corporations play a central role in gentrification (2005). In contrast, several readings in this section suggest that coalitions of politicians, policymakers, media, developers, and

financial institutions work together to ensure the gentrification of certain neighbourhoods. In a selection from their highly-acclaimed book, *Urban Fortunes,* John Logan and Harvey Molotch refer to these as 'growth machine coalitions' (1986).

Virtually, all commentators on urban America over the past fifty years had agreed on one thing: Cities had lost much of their historic economic function and were in an irreversible decline. As George Gilder once put it: 'Big cities are leftover baggage from the industrial era'. Both companies and people were moving away from the city into the new suburban enclaves and what Joel Garrean aptly dubbed 'Edge Cities'. However, urban centres have long been crucibles for innovation and creativity. Now they are coming back; their turnaround is driven in large measure by the attitudes and location choices of the Creative Class. Florida, 2002 argued that cities' technological and organizational changes had made them irrelevant as economic bases. The rise of large-scale mass production had brought about a shift in the kinds of space required for modem manufacturing. While early manufacturing could be accommodated in multi-storey buildings of the sort found in many older neighbourhoods, these kinds of buildings and these kinds of neighbourhoods were made obsolete by the shift to large-scale factories in greenfield locations. Manufacturing was moving to giant horizontal factories in the suburbs – that offered the advantages of mass production and economies of scale. People were following suit, leaving for bigger homes on bigger lots in the suburbs. Government policies helped fuel the shift by encouraging home ownership and constructing extensive freeway systems.

City leaders tried to stanch the trend by buttressing the one economic activity left in cities: building taller and denser central business districts, often increasingly filled with government or non-profit activities. Others simply decided that some neighbourhoods were beyond salvation and bulldozed them in the name of 'urban renewal'. The replacement of the once-bustling mixed-use neighbourhoods with office buildings created the familiar skyscraper ghost towns filled with workers by day but empty and dangerous at night as the middle-class workers climbed into their cars and drove to their lives in the suburbs, leaving only the underclass in the city. However, from the 1990s until the present day, suburbs have seen a dramatic turnaround in the fortunes of urban America. In the face of expert pessimism, cities are back. The 2000 Census documents the dramatic resurgence of cities from New York City to Oakland, California, with the latter ranked as one of Forbes magazine's top twenty places for high-tech business in 2000, and among the top twenty on the Milken High-Tech Index, as well. Even less-established places have bounced back such as Jersey City which ranked sixth on the 2000.

A city like Newark stopped losing people. It has even seen the rise of a new performing arts centre, downtown restaurants and a local art scene. At the June 2000 meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors, the *New York Times* reported that '[t]he mayors complained about too many high skilled jobs, and not enough people to fill them; too many well-off people moving back to the city, and not enough houses for all of them, driving up prices for everyone else; and too much demand for parks and serenity, and not enough open space to offer the new city dwellers appalled by sprawl.' Furthermore, Florida, 2002 argued that several forces had combined to bring people and economic activity back to urban areas.

First, crime is down and cities are safer. In New York City, couples now stroll city blocks where even the hardiest urban dweller once feared to tread. Cities are cleaner. People are no longer subjected to the soot, smoke and garbage of the industrial cities of the past. In Pittsburgh, people picnic in urban parks, rollerbladers and cyclists whiz along trails where trains used to roll, while water-skiers jet down the once toxic rivers. Second, cities have become the prime location for the creative lifestyle and the new amenities that go with it. Gary Gates and Florida compared their back-to-the-city findings to the indicators of creativity and diversity. It was found that downtown revitalization is associated with the same lifestyle factors that appeal to the Creative Class and that thriving downtowns are associated with vibrant high-tech industries. The Milken High-Tech Index, for instance, is positively correlated with the share of a region's population living downtown.

Third, cities are benefiting from powerful demographic shifts. With fewer people living as married couples and more staying single longer, urban areas serve as lifestyle centres and as mating markets for single people. Cities have also benefited from their historic role as pons of entry. Like most cities, New York lost native-born Americans in the last census, but it more than made up for the loss by adding nearly a million new immigrants. Fourth, cities have re-emerged as centres of creativity and incubators of innovation. High-tech companies and other creative endeavours continue to sprout in urban neighbourhoods that were once written off in cities from New York to Chicago and Boston. The 2000 *State of the Cities Report* by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development found that cities have become centres for high-tech job growth. High-tech jobs made up almost 10% of all jobs in central cities according to the report, which is nearly identical to the percentage found in the suburbs. Further high-tech job growth in cities increased by 26.7% between l992 and 1997, more than three times their overall increase.

Fifth, the current round of urban revitalization is giving rise to serious tensions between established neighbourhood residents and newer, more affluent people moving in. ln an increasing number of cities, the scales have tipped from revitalization to rampant gentrification and displacement. Some of these places have become unaffordable for any but the most affluent. In February 2000, the *New York Times* reported that even employed people making $50,000 a year could not find affordable housing in Silicon Valley where the average housing price was more than $410,000 and the average monthly rent for a two-bedroom apartment was $1,700. More than a third of the estimated 20,000 homeless people in Santa Clara County (the heart of Silicon Valley) had full-time jobs. In their 2000 book *The Hollow City*, Rebecca Solnit and Susan Schwartzenberg argued that rising rents were undermining San Francisco's unique image as a creative centre by driving out artists, musicians, small shopkeepers and people with children. While the technological downturn of the last few years relieved some of this pressure on urban housing markets, gentrification in major urban centres continues to threaten the diversity and creativity that have driven these cities' innovation and growth in the first place. As these pressures continue to build, the prospect of a new set of ‘place wars’ threatens to overshadow the development and politics of leading cities across the nation.

Finally, in one of the most ironic twists in recent memory, both sprawling cities and traditional suburbs happen to seek to emulate the elements of urban life. Cities like Atlanta, Los Angeles, Phoenix and San Jose have all undertaken major efforts to increase density in and around their urban centres, develop downtown housing and redevelop their downtown cores. San Diego has embarked on an ambitious $2.5 billion 'City of Villages' initiative to generate more compact, community-oriented development by rebuilding its older neighbourhoods as pedestrian-friendly centers where homes are close to shops, parks and public transit. Under the plan, neighbourhoods would get upgraded services and facilities such as parks, libraries and underground utility lines in exchange for higher-density housing development. The San Diego plan also seeks to reduce traffic congestion and sprawl by inducing people to shop and work either a short walk or bus ride from where they live.

Furthermore, many formerly buttoned-down suburbs have sought to recreate some of the urban-style amenities that members of the Creative Class desire by developing pedestrian-friendly town centres filled with coffee shops, sidewalk cafes, designer merchants and renovated office lofts. The new urbanist architect Andres Duany has worked with developers to create new suburbs that are denser and more pedestrian-friendly and that have town centres. Also, Don Carter of UDA Architects has worked with cities and suburbs around the country to remake their town centres and neighbourhoods to more authentic places, and with major corporations to transform their surplus industrial land into mixed-use new urbanist communities. These examples illustrate not only how far the cities have come back, but how truly pervasive the demand for quality of place has become. Now, even the suburbs are trying to emulate aspects of the quality of place associated with larger urban centres. They do so for hard-nosed economic reasons – to attract the talented people and thus the companies that power growth in today's economy.

2.5 Gentrifiers' Types – Who?

The crucial point is that 'gentrifies' are not the mere bearers of a process determined independently of them. Their constitution, as certain types of workers and a people, is as crucial an element in the production of gentrification as is the production of the dwelling they occupy.

Rose (1984:56)

At the end of the 1980s, the decade when the term 'yuppie' came into widespread use on both sides of the Atlantic, John Short (1989:174) summarized the emergence of what he called 'the new urban order'. There has been a loss of manufacturing employment and an increase in service employment all against a background of rising unemployment. The social effects had been a reduction in the power of the traditional male working class, an increase in female employment and the emergence of a 'new middle class'. These trends have been given popular recognition in the terms yuppie and yuffie, themselves part of a plethora of new words coined in the 1980s including yuppies, swells and, sometimes, lombards. A yuppie is a young upwardly mobile person, while Yuffies are young urban failures, as Lees, et. al., 2008 defined them. If the yuppies are the successful new middle class, yuffies are the stranded and blocked working class. Other terms such as 'buppie' is the yuppie's black equivalent, while 'swell' is a single

woman earning lots in London, a term which summarizes the rise of the female executive and perhaps the beginnings of senior and responsible positions. Lombard is lots of money but a right dickhead, a term of abuse whose real quality is only recognized if you know that one for the main streets in the city of London is Lombard street. Back to the 'yuppie' who had proven to be remarkably tenacious, not least because it is a key weapon in struggles against gentrification used to identify unwelcome new arrivals in neighbourhoods whose spending power threatens community, the longevity of affordable housing, and valued local amenities. However, the most famous critic of gentrification, Neil Smith, had warned that 'the difficulty in identifying this new middle class, especially in economic terms, should give us pause before we glibly associate yuppies and gentrification' (1996a: 104).

On the other hand, consumption side theories explained gentrification because of the change in the industrial and occupational structure-advanced capitalist cities. This is the 'loss of manufacturing employment and an increase in service employment' which led to an expansion in the number of middle-class professionals with a disposition towards central-city living and the associated rejection of suburbia. Lees, et. al., 2008 argued that gentrifiers seek to locate in previously disinvested neighbourhoods. This is a surprisingly complex issue, and the reasons vary from place to place/from one place to another. Over the years, there had been increasing theoretical sophistication in research undertaken in many different countries that seeks to understand middle-class gentrifies – a very diverse, ambivalent group that cannot be reduced to conservative, self-interested yuppies, not least because the negative connotations of that term are at odds with the 'marginal' position of some gentrifiers (Rose, 1984) and the left-liberal politics that many gentrifiers espouse (Ley 1994). If one thing above all was clear from the 1970s debates over a back-to-the city movement across North America, it was that more sophisticated theoretical treatments of the production of gentrifiers were needed if the consumption aspects of gentrification were to have explanatory merit.

2.5.1 Producing Gentrifiers

1) The post-industrial thesis by Daniel Bell, 1973.

In the year 1972, after Ley arrived in Vancouver, the American sociologist Daniel Bell theory published the coming of post-Industrial society (Bell 1973) which became extremely influential to Ley's interpretation of gentrification. Bell's work was subjected to intense criticism, especially by scholars who questioned the politics of an account which emerged to challenge Marxist theories of societal development. In one scathing critique, Walker and Greenberg (1982) called the post-industrial thesis 'a rather broad and vacuous set of generalizations' stemming from 'a fundamentally empiricist approach to social history in which overt "facts" are taken as the whole of reality, rather than as the products of casual mechanisms or structural relations which give rise to sensible phenomena' (pp. 17-18). In 2008, however, it would take a brave voice not to accept that many of Bell's arguments were remarkably prescient. The growth of professional and managerial employment is now a well-known fact; even David Harvey (1989a), one of the highest-profile Marxist voices, conceded that Bell's treatment of cultural

transformation was ‘probably more accurate than many of the left attempts to grasp what was happening’ (p. 353).

Daniel Bell’s post-industrial thesis argued that there are four key features of a ‘post-industrial’ society in emergence: 1) a shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy; 2) the centrality of new science-based industries with ‘specialized knowledge’ as a key resource, where universities replace factories as dominant institutions; 3) the rapid rise of managerial, professional, and technical occupations; and 4) artistic avant-gardes-led consumer culture rather than media, corporations, or government. Ley, 1996 argued that gentrification represented a new phase in urban development where consumption factors, taste, and aesthetic outlook towards the city from an expanding middle class saw an ‘[i]magineering of an alternative urbanism to suburbanization’ (p. 15) which could not be captured by explanations of the process that privileged structural forces of production and housing market dynamics.

In the 1990s, Ley’s arguments were further advanced by another geographer, Chris Hamnett, who was impressed by how Ley’s post-industrial thesis was ‘clearly rooted in the deeper changes in the structure of production, the changing division of labor, and the rise of a locational concentrated service class’ (Hamnett 1991: 177). Hamnett (1991) argued that, ‘[i]f gentrification theory has a centrepiece it must rest on conditions to produce potential gentrifiers’ (p. 187). Soon after this 1991 article was published, Hamnett began a sustained assault on Saskia Sassen’s renowned work on global cities (Sassen, 1991) with the production of potential gentrifiers playing a lead role. He was bothered by Sassen’s thesis of ‘social polarization’ in global cities, which holds that changes in the industrial and employment structure have produced growing occupational and income polarization which, as Sassen’s (1991) mentioned, has ‘a high-income stratum and a low-income stratum of workers’ (p. 13), with fewer jobs in the middle. Hamnett argued that this thesis not only was ‘slave’ of New York and Los Angeles, but also contradicted other (and, in his view, more theoretically and empirically valid) work on urban social change, especially Bell’s arguments on the emergence of a post-industrial society and Ley’s grounding of those arguments in Canadian cities. Using evidence from London, one of Sassen’s global cities, Hamnett came up with a ‘professionalization thesis’ to counter Sassen’s polarization thesis.

2) Professionalization thesis by Chris Hamnett, 1991

According to Hamnett's prediction of further professionalization evidence from 1991, UK Census was indeed accurate (Hamnett 1996) – but how is this often rather numbing debate relevant to gentrification? The answer can be found in the fact that these professional and managerial workers are gentrifiers and a rapidly expanding group exerting huge influence on housing markets and neighbourhoods. In Hamnett's view, gentrification is a product of the transformation of western cities from manufacturing centres to centres of business services and the creative and cultural industries where associated changes to the occupational and income structure produce an expanding middle class that has replaced (not displaced) that industrial working class in desirable inner-city areas. In 2003,

Hamnett explained that it is not surprisingly in a market economy that the increase in the size and purchasing power of the middle classes has been accompanied by an intensification of demand pressure in the housing market. This has been particularly marked in inner London as it is here that many of the new middle-class work and this, combined with a desire to minimize commuting time, and a greater ability to afford the cultural and social attraction of life in the central and inner city, have been associated with the growth of gentrification (Hamnett 2003b: 2424).

Ley's post-industrial and Hamnett's professionalization theses are tightly linked and had proven very important in consumption explanations of the process. With increased recognition that any explanation of gentrification must incorporate both production and consumption side explanations (Clark 1992), it would take a determined structuralist not to grapple with the theses. At this stage in our discussion, we know why the new middle class is an expanding group, and that many of them are not returning from the suburbs but choose not to locate in the suburbs. However, what we need to examine now is that vast body of literature which seeks to explain why gentrifiers gentrify.

2.5.2 The New Middle Class

In 1991, the British sociologist Alan Warde observed that the fragmentation and fluidity of the middle-classes are a structural base for a great variety of consumption practices. To tie down the details of consumption behaviour to closely specified fractions of these classes is probably impossible (p. 228). While Warde was correct to note a great variety of consumption practices among a differentiated middle class, the second part of this quotation today seems a bizarre statement as so much work has appeared since 1991 along precisely the lines that argumentation was thought impossible. A newcomer to the gentrification literature will soon encounter a substantial literature on the characteristics of the different types of gentrifies and their reasons for gentrifying – often expressed in gentrifiers' own words as a number of researches that have undertaken qualitative work to track the movements and aspirations of the new middle class. Thus, the following different themes reflect the literature on the gentrifying new middle class.

1) **Countercultural Identities, Politics, and Education.**

In April 2002, Air Canada's monthly magazine, enRoute, ran an article entitled 'Canada's Top Ten Coolest Neighbourhoods'. The criteria for entry in the top ten coolness, selected by a panel of thirty-eight prominent Canadians, were set out as follows:

When today's archetypal young graphic designer leaves home, he [sic] is looking for something different than what his parents may have sought. Often, he will look for a "young" place inhabited by his peers. He will seek out a "fun" place, where he can indulge in his favourite leisure activities. But most of all, he will look for an area that makes him feel distinct and at home at the same time, a neighbourhood that reflects his tastes – a place that is cool. (p.37)

(enRoute, 2002)

Thus, dispensing with the arbitrary association of graphic designers with coolness, the striking feature of this list is the fact that every single neighbourhood on it has experienced gentrification. In addition, arguably the two most famous gentrified neighbourhoods in Canada occupy the top two slots (Queen Street West, Toronto and Le Plateau Mont Royal, Montreal). These ten neighbourhoods, where gentrification is generally well advanced, have interesting and unique histories, but for just purposes, what they share must be noted. As Lees et. al., 2008 argued, from the late 1960s onwards, they became arenas for the expression of the countercultural politics of the emerging new middle class. Thus, a suitable starting location for exploring the characteristics of gentrifies is Canada, and particularly the work of Jon Caulfield, 1994 and David Ley, 1996.

For the best part of two decades, Toronto's gentrification was in every sense a deliberate operation of resistance to everything that characterized urban development in the 1960s, and thus a practice 'eluding the domination of social and cultural structures and constituting new conditions of experience' (Caulfield 1989:624). In his interviews with the gentrifies of Toronto, Caulfield observed that their affection for Toronto's 'old city neighbourhoods' was rooted in their desire to escape the mundane, banal routines that characterized suburbia as an old city's places which offer difference and freedom, privacy and fantasy, and possibilities for carnival. These are not just matters of philosophical abstraction but, in a carnival sense, '[a] big city is an encyclopaedia of sexual possibility', a characterization to be grasped in its wider sense; the city is 'the place of our meeting with the other' (Caulfield 1989:625). Here, it is necessary to register that Caulfield's point was that gentrification could not be separated from the reform-era middle-class resistance to political and structural domination (Lees et. al., 2008).

Similarly, an argument emerged from Ley's (1996) coverage of the intertwining of gentrification and reform-era urban politics, post 1968, the year when the student protests against the repressive colonization of everyday life by an overregulated society reached their peak all over the world (Watts 2001). Many centrally located neighbourhoods in urban Canada saw their social and economic status elevate as the central city became the arena for countercultural awareness, tolerance, diversity, and liberation. This occurred in the context of a laissez-faire state, the rapidly changing industrial and occupational structure (where 'hippies became yuppies', as Ley so tellingly put it, in the shift towards a post-industrial city), welfare retrenchment, a real estate and new construction boom, the advent of a postmodern niche marketing and conspicuous consumption (Ley and Mills 1993), and the aestheticization and commodification of artistic lifestyles (Ley 2003). In the 1970s, neighbourhoods such as Yorkville and the Annex in Toronto, Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes in Vancouver, and Le Plateau Mont-Royal in Montreal became hotbeds of 'hippie' youth reaction against political conservatism, modernist planning, and suburban ideologies. However, it is the politics of these youth once they grew up and became gentrifies that is the most interesting as well as their voting behaviour as social status rises. Suspicious of the empirical accountability of arguments from the United States which alluded to a conservative 'adversarial politics' among the middle class. Ley (1994) provided evidence from 1980s electoral returns in the three largest Canadian cities (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) to demonstrate

that the principal gentrifying districts in each city in fact contained an electorate which predominantly sided with more left-liberal reform politics.

In all three cities under examination, there was 'no significant tendency overall for social upgrading in the city centre to be associated with [adversarial] conservative politics' (Ley 1994:70). As Ley argued that values of the countercultural youth movements of the late 1960s 'diffused and evolved among receptive and much larger segment of the professional middle class along an identifiable occupational continuum' (1996:210), and these are not the self-interested yuppie conservative values commonly attributed to gentrifiers. For Ley (and Caulfield), collective new middle-class disdain for the monotony of suburbia, and for the mass organization and repetition of post-war Fordism and its crushing of individualism and difference (and entire neighbourhoods, through freeway construction), could not be divorced from the explanation of gentrification in general, and the politics of gentrifiers, in particular. Furthermore, this discussion should not be treated as specific to the changing social status of Canadian urban neighbourhoods. There is evidence from cities in other parts of the world that left-liberal politics characterize the new middle-class professional, not least in Melbourne, Australia (Mullins 1982; Logan 1985), and in many British cities (Savage 1991). In London, the gentrifiers were interviewed by Tim Butler (1997) who, in Hackney, demonstrated a Guardian-reading, Labour-voting, leftist ideological orientation. Back then, there was a commonly held view 'that a high level of consumption is acceptable but that one should be taxed to pay for a safety net', as evidenced by gentrifiers.

These accounts challenge popular assumptions of gentrifiers as yuppie ‘space invaders’ (N. Smith and Williams 1986) and thus, as the quotation from Robert Beauregard, 1986 highlights, demonizing gentrifiers for the process is probably unwarranted. As Rofe (2003) has shown in a study of Sydney, the gentrifying elite are cosmopolitan, politically progressive, and supportive of antiracism, aboriginal rights, and social justice movements. Indeed, many ‘lamented a growing backlash of bigotry and xenophobia perceived to arise from a fear of global integration thereby distancing themselves further from a myopic mainstream Australian culture’ (Rofe, 2003: p.2520). Butler, along with Robson (2003), looked at six different neighbourhoods in London and found that these take on different meanings and associations that attract potential residents and then act on those who settled there, terming this the formation of ‘metropolitan habitus’. They researched how gentrifiers ‘acted in different ways to ensure their hegemony over the localities in which they have settled’, and how, because of living in unstable economic times and facing various structural constraints, gentrification should be a middle-class ‘coping strategy’ (p. 27).

Moreover, education is explained as a parental strategy deployed to ensure that children will also be middle class – will also become ‘people like us’ – and thus plays ‘a fundamental role in processes of cultural and social class reproduction’. Gentrifiers are usually well-educated, but these authors showed that it is through looking at the education of their children that we can understand the process of gentrification. In the contemporary global city, the housing market trajectories, which Butler (2003) has

most recently called the ‘embattled settlers’, are governed by ‘the imperatives of everyday life (work and consumption) and intergenerational social reproduction (schooling and socialization)’ (p. 2484).

2) Gender & gentrification

In the early 1980s, it was recognized that, through their increasing participation in the labour force, women played an active and important role in bringing about gentrification (Markusen 1981; Holcomb and Beauregard 1981). This was first noted by Damaris Rose in a pathbreaking article published in the 1984. Rose is a socialist-feminist urban geographer who, along with many others at the time, was involved in a long struggle to get 1970s Marxists (Castells, 1977) to take the issues of social reproduction more seriously rather than conflate them with issues of consumption, which had the effect of ‘obscuring the active work of household members in reproducing both labour power and people’ (Rose 1984: 54). Rose thus argued that it was ‘crucial to explore the relationship between gentrification, social and spatial restructuring of waged labour processes, and changes in the reproduction of labour power and people’ (p. 48). This was the first attempt, albeit tentative at the time, to explore these relationships.

Rose emphasized the growing importance of both single women professionals and dual-earner couples in gentrification and argued that inner cities may be more propitious spaces than suburbs for working out equitable divisions of domestic labour. This followed up a claim first made by Ann Markusen, 1981, arguing that gentrification is, in large part, a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household. Households of gay people, singles, and professional couples with central business district jobs increasingly find central locations attractive. The reason is that they correspond to the two-income (or more) professional household that requires both a relatively central urban location to minimize the journey to work costs of several wage earners and a location that enhances efficiency in household production (stores are nearer) and in the substitution of market-produced commodities (laundries, restaurants, child care) for household production (Markusen 1981:32). Later on, Rose coined the phrase of ‘marginal gentrifier’, later bolstered by empirical research in Montreal (Rose and LeBourdais 1986; Rose 1989).

Meanwhile, marginal gentrifier refers to the fact that marginally employed professionals, prominent among whom were women, single parents, and those receiving moderate incomes, were attracted to central city neighbourhoods due to the range of support services they offered which were unavailable in the suburbs. For example, the worry of precarious employment could be eased by networking and holding more than one job; and by minimizing space time constraints, lone female parents could combine paid and unpaid (domestic) labour with greater ease than in suburban locations. Rose was one of the first scholars to note that ‘gentrifiers’ were a differentiated group, and she concluded her article by calling for an approach to gentrification which explores ‘the actual processes through which those groups subsumed under the category “gentrifiers” are produced’ (p.69). In 1986, a paper documented the importance of professional women who were single parents in the process of gentrification, from research undertaken in Lower Outremont in Montreal (Rose and LeBourdais 1986). This was followed by an attempt to develop a theoretical framework that linked wider economic restructuring at the metropolitan scale (Rose 1989),

showing how the latter is mediated by the restructuring of social and economic relations at the household and individual scale.

These efforts were paralleled by those of Robert Beauregard (1986) who, like Rose, viewed gentrification as a 'chaotic' concept, with so many themes and issues vying for attention that just one or two factors could not possibly explain the process. Beauregard viewed it as essential to link the consumption practices of gentrifiers with their decisions on biological reproduction. The postponement of marriage facilitates this consumption, but it also makes it necessary if people are to meet others and develop friendships. People without partners, outside of the milieu of college, must now join clubs and frequent places (e.g. ‘singles’ bars) where other singles (both the never-married and the divorced) congregate to make close friends. Couples (married or not) need friendships beyond the workplace and may wish to congregate in ‘public’ places. Moreover, these social opportunities, though possibly no more numerous in cities than in suburbs, are decidedly more spatially concentrated and, because of suburban zoning, tend to be more spatially integrated with residences. Clustering occurs as these individuals move proximate to ‘consumption items’ and as entrepreneurs identify this fraction of labour as comprising conspicuous and major consumers. Both the need to consume outside home and the desire to make friends and meet sexual partners, either during the now-extended period of ‘search’ before marriage or lifetime of fluid personal relationships, encourage the identification with and migration to certain areas of the city (p. 44).

As the literature on gender and gentrification grew, it became characterized by research that looked at gender as a social relation in the context of the gentrifying household. Alan Warde (1991) argued that ‘to explain "who are the gentrifiers?" the best approach is by way of understanding gender divisions, rather than class divisions’ (p. 223). For Warde, gentrification was less about class expression and landscape aesthetics, and more about household composition and organization in the context of patriarchal pressures and the ways in which women adapt to new patterns of employment. For the two types of ‘gentrifier’ household – one single, the other dual-earner/family – he claimed that, among the former, ‘access to commercial alternatives to services typically provided by women in family households can be readily obtained [in gentrifying neighbourhoods]’, and the location of the latter ‘is a solution to problems of access to work and home and of combining paid and unpaid labour’ (p. 229).

Warde believed that both kinds of living arrangement are best understood as a function of women reorienting their behaviour to domestic and labour market pressures. This was also the tenor of an important intervention by Liz Bondi (1991) who believed that further research on gender and gentrification needed to move beyond its treatment of gender relations as primarily economic and consider how ‘changes in the sexual division of labour in the workplace, the community and the home are negotiated through cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity’ (p. 195), and how gender positions are expressed and forged through gentrification. The arguments of Warde were called into question by Butler and Hamnett (1994) who were bothered by how he ‘dispensed’ with the key role of class in gentrification. Butler research in the late 1980s of Hackney in east London and was used to challenge Warde’s argument. Butler and Hamnett (1994) used evidence from Hackney to assert that it is

the intersection between class (governed by both occupation and education) and gender which is crucial to the explanation of gentrification in that neighbourhood. These authors concluded that gentrification is ‘not solely a class process, but neither is it solely a gender process. It involves the consumption of inner-city housing by middle-class people who have an identifiable class and cultural formation, one of whose major identifying characteristics centres around the occupational identity of its female members’ (p. 491). The basic point being made was that social class background is vitally important in gentrification, and heavily influences the role played by gender.

Bondi (1999b), who has significant work on gender and gentrification, argued that contra Butler and Hamnett, gender practices cannot simply be ‘read-off from socioeconomic or demographic variables’ (p. 263), and that the London inner-urban experience is not easily transportable to other contexts. She, instead, focuses on the centrality of the patterning of life courses in the articulation of class and gender practices, drawing on a mixed-method study conducted in three neighbourhoods in Edinburgh (two inner urban and one suburban). Three key issues emerged from this research: 1) Gentrification is not just about a strand of the professional middle class – more significance needs to be accorded to financially independent middle-class women whose occupations are not classified as ‘professions’ but whose lifestyles and outlooks are broadly the same as those of professional middle-class men; 2) Local context is crucial to the relationship between gender and gentrification – it was only in one of the neighbourhoods studied (higher status, inner-urban Stockbridge) that proximity to family was not of much importance to interviewees, so there is much differentiation between middle-class professional women in that city; and 3) Perceptions of future life courses were woven into gentrifiers' discussions of their prospective housing careers and were anchored in intergenerational class mobility. In the other inner-urban neighbourhood, some gentrifiers had working-class backgrounds upward social mobility that had enabled them to return to their place of origin after residence elsewhere.

3) Ethnicity and gentrification

Unquestionably, Lees et. al., 2008 argued that the most neglected area of inquiry in research that asks, 'Who are the gentrifiers?' is the existence of gentrifiers who are non-white but share all the other characteristics of the new middle class. The image most people have of gentrifiers is of white yuppie 'pioneers' moving into low-income neighbourhoods with dense concentrations of ethnic minorities. This image was neatly captured by a satirical magazine entitled American Gentrifier, with a picture of a white professional couple on the front, with a baby, accompanied by amusing contents listings such as 'Bed Stuy: Still Too Black?'. (Bed-Stuy is Bedford-Stuyvesant, a onetime highly segregated and very poor African-American neighbourhood in Brooklyn, New York City.) As far as the black middle class is concerned, the majority of it possesses precisely the same educational, occupational, and income characteristics as gentrifiers. In the United States, the demographic expansion of the black middle class is very well-documented, but usually in the context of their mass exodus from ghetto neighbourhoods to suburban areas, with devastating consequences for those left behind (Wilson, 1996). Until recently, very few studies have looked at the black middle class that remained in, or moved into, central-city

neighbourhoods and contributed to the gentrification process, which has been happening in many cities across the USA. An exception is the work by Bostic and Martin (2003), who provided a useful (quantitative) scoring technique for identifying gentrified neighbourhoods in the United States and found that, during the 1970s, black home owners were of significant gentrifying influence, but less so in the 1980s (due to the impact of fair-lending and antidiscrimination efforts that allowed black home owners into more affluent suburban areas, rather than gentrifying areas). However, whilst valuable in a broad sense, quantitative longitudinal studies do not help to learn about the local (neighbourhood) impacts of black gentrification, for which the need to turn to the smaller-scale work of a more qualitative nature appeared/has been deemed necessary. Furthermore, Bostic and Martin's (2003) findings sit uneasily with work that does show that black gentrification greatly affected some high-profile neighbourhoods in the 1980s.

The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, a local flowering of art, literature and music that had international influence, was followed by decades of systematic disinvestment poetically captured by Kenneth Clark's Dark Ghetto (1964). So devastated was Harlem that a ripple of astonishment was felt when Richard Schaffer and Neil Smith (1986) pointed to it as a candidate for gentrification, albeit with a question mark. A key finding was that, despite prominent press reports featuring individual white gentrifiers in Harlem, the vast majority of people involved in rehabilitation and redevelopment in Central Harlem are black (p. 358). Monique Taylor (1992), a graduate student when Schalfer and Smith's article was published, decided to research the black middle class in Harlem from 1987 to 1992, and found that gentrifiers were ‘strongly motivated by a desire to participate in the rituals that define daily life in this (in)famous and historically black community’ (p. 102). Taylor found black gentrifiers confronting what she called a ‘dilemma of difference’ during their transition from outsider to insider in a place where their class position and lifestyle are so distinct from those of other blacks, but also when constructing a black identity distinct from the white world of the workplace. Particularly relevant is how the black middle class paved the way for accelerated gentrification by the wealthier, white middle class that followed, making the words of Schaffer and Smith (1986) very prescient. The process might well begin as black gentrification, but any wholesale rehabilitation of Central Harlem would necessarily involve a considerable influx of middle- and upper-class whites.

Michelle Boyd (2000, 2005) has shown, in the South Side of Chicago, an ethnographic study of the creeping black gentrification of the Douglas/Grand Boulevard neighbourhood, a place even more devastated by institutional racism and disinvestment than Harlem, revealed that many existing residents and community organizers (and the powerful local planning commission) were receptive to the idea of attracting the blade middle class to an economically impoverished part of the city. Indeed, it was a strategy for ‘racial uplift’ to elevate the status and self-esteem of the black community, best exemplified by renaming the area 'Bronzeville', the name the area was given by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton in their monumental 1945 study, Black Metropolis. Not only was the black middle class expected to interact with all community members, but it was also assumed that the tax-base improvements brought by the black middle class would benefit all black people in the neighbourhood. However, as Boyd (2005)

pointed out, by homogenizing the needs and interests of the black poor and the black elites, promoters of black gentrification mask the extent to which their strategies differently and disproportionately threaten lower income residents. It created the illusion that gentrification strategies are implemented both in the interests of, and with the approval of, the poor black residents it displaces (pp. 285-286).

2.6 Gentrification Perspectives and Consequences

Gentrification is a frontier on which fortunes are made. From the perspective of working-class residents and their neighbourhoods, however, the frontier is more directly political rather than economic. Threatened with displacement as the frontier of profitability advances, the issue for them is to fight for the establishment of a political frontier behind which working-class residents can take back control of their homes; there are two sides to any frontier.

(Smith, 1986: 34)

2.6.1 Gentrification Perspectives

Since the process of gentrification started to flourish and gain more attention, the literature on it started to boom as well. Most of this literature concerns the contemporary processes or their effects: the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of immigrants, displacement, the role in redevelopment, benefits to the city, and creation and destruction of community. Little attempt has been made to construct the historical explanations of the process to study causes rather than effects. Instead, explanations are very much taken for granted and fall into two categories: cultural and economic (Todaro, 2011).

Culture and Gentrification

Culture, popular among revitalization theorists as the notion that the young, usually professional, middle-class people have changed their lifestyle. According to Gregory Lipton, these changes have been significant enough to ‘decrease the relative desirability of single-family, suburban homes’ (1977, p. 146). Thus, with a trend towards fewer children, postponed marriages, and a fast rising divorce rate, younger homebuyers and renters are trading in the tarnished dream of their parents for a new dream defined in urban rather than suburban terms. Other researchers emphasize the search for socially distinctive communities as sympathetic environments for individual-self expression (Winters, 1978), while still others extend this into a more general argument. In contemporary ‘post-industrial cities’, according to D. Ley, white-collar service occupations supersede blue-collar productive occupations, and this brings with it an emphasis on consumption and amenity not work. Patterns of consumption come to dictate patterns of production: ‘the values of consumption rather than production guide central city land use decisions’ (Ley 1978).

So far, Tim Butler, 2010 argued that inner-city gentrification permits a style of life that is still considered positively attractive. Thrift (1989) has also argued that service-class culture is 'an important starting point for understanding the service class’. In his view, consumption and lifestyle are important indicators of self-identity amongst the service class ('You are what you see'). Although this is over-emphasized, he perceptively identifies service-class aspirations with ‘traditional values’ which are subject to subtle, and

not so subtle, manufacture and manipulation by the marketing industry. Thrift identifies ‘heritage’ and ‘the countryside’ as preeminent bearers of traditional values. These are manifested by appropriate images of country houses and their accoutrements (Barbour jackets; Range Rover, etc.). Oldness, or images of oldness, are important to a new class that is trying to emphasize its ‘place’ in the social structure; just as the industrial middle class married and bought its way into the aristocracy in the early nineteenth century, the service class is doing so in the late twentieth century (Wiener 1985; Thrift 1987). What matters most for those gentrifying the inner city is that their houses are moulded from ‘real history’ and are not pale imitations designed by Barratts, Laings and their ilk (Jager 1986; Wright 1985a, l 985c).

A class of people with this ‘cultural capital’ can come together to protect ‘historical authenticity’ and, at the same time, fight for their future. ln other words, the fight for preservation is a focus for relatively isolated middle-class people to unite together to promote their individual and collective interests (Butler, 2010). It is an indirect way in which a group of middle-class individuals can identify not only with each other but also with a series of values connected with history and heritage to give themselves and their class a ‘place’ in the urban social order. Whilst these have been important issues for respondents and residents, in general, in the two areas, it may not necessarily account for why they came to these areas, although it is likely to be the case that they wanted to live in an ‘old house’ in an area with a history (Wright 1985a).

In a study done in 2010 by Tom Butler, the respondents were asked why they had moved from their previous residence. The results proved that there was no single dominant reason for moving into either of the gentrifies areas, but strictly labour or housing market induced reasons such as ‘trading up’ in the housing market or moving for job-related reasons, were relatively unimportant. The single most important reason was simply that people wanted a bigger house; if they were already owner-occupiers, they were moving to get a larger property. In practice, this often meant they wanted to move out of a flat into a house, although in De Beauvoir, where many of the houses were quite small, it often meant moving to a bigger house. If they were not already owner-occupiers, their reasons were a combination of a desire to move in to a space they could call their ‘own’ and the fear that they would be left behind by a property market that seemed (in 1988) to be spiralling upwards out of control. No single reason emerged for why respondents had moved into the area. ‘By accident’ was a common response, although frequently such people had moved within the area.

Economy and Gentrification

As the cost of newly constructed housing continues to rise and its distance from the city centre to increase, the rehabilitation of inner- and central-city structures is seen to be more viable economically. Old but structurally sound properties can be purchased and rehabilitated for less than the cost of a comparable new house. In addition, many researchers stress the high economic cost of commuting – the higher cost of gasoline for private cars and rising fares on public transportation – and the economic benefits of proximity to work (Butler, 2010).

These conventional hypotheses are, by no means, mutually exclusive. They are often invoked jointly and

share, in one vital respect, a common perspective – an emphasis on consumer preference and the constraints with which these preferences are implemented. They share this with the broader body of the neoclassical residential land use theory (Alonso 1964; Muth 1969). Butler (2010) argued that, according to the neoclassical theory, suburbanization reflects the preference for space and the increased ability to pay for it due to the reduction of transportation and other constraints. Similarly, gentrification is explained as the result of an alteration of preferences and/or a change in the constraints determining which preferences will or can be implemented. Thus, in the media and the research literature alike, the process is viewed as a 'back to the city movement'. This applies as much to the earlier gentrification projects, such as Philadelphia's Society Hill (accomplished with substantial state assistance under urban renewal legislation), as it does to the later schemes such as Baltimore's Federal Hill or Washington's Capitol Hill (mainly private market phenomena of the 1970s).

Schill and Nathan (1983: 15) argued that economics would say that, in such neighbourhoods, the bid rent curve of the inmovers must be steeper than the curves of both the poor who live in the central city and the inmovers' suburban counterparts. Following this logic, gentrification is believed to be the natural outcome of shifts in the trade-offs between accessibility and space that make inner-city locations more attractive for wealthier households. It's just a new spatial equilibrium.

Lees et al., 2010 argued for recalling that urbanization involves massive capital investments that, once committed, are tied up in buildings and other facilities for long periods of time, creating barriers to new kinds of investment in these places. Geographical expansion provides a 'spatial fix' to this dilemma, allowing capital investment to gravitate to new markets in new places that can be built with the most current and advanced (and thus most profitable) technologies. But this spatial expansion accelerates the devalorization of previous investments in older parts of the urban fabric: 'The movement of capital into suburban development', Smith observed, 'led to a systematic devalorization of inner and central city capital, and this, in turn, with the development of the rent gap, led to the creation of new investment opportunities in the inner city precisely because an effective barrier to new investment had previously operated there' (N. Smith 1982: 149). As it turns out, new investment opportunities are crucially important in the periodic crises that punctuate the boom-and-bust cycles of capitalism.

When rates of profit begin to fall in the major sectors of industrial production – the 'first circuit' of capital investment – investors and financial institutions seek out more profitable opportunities in other sectors. At this point, the 'second circuit' – real estate and the built environment – becomes an especially attractive vehicle for investment. Capital switches away from goods- and service-producing industries into construction and real estate, driving building booms and rapid inflation in real estate markets until here, too, overaccumulation drives down the rate of profit (Harvey 1978; Beauregard 1994; Charney 2001, 2003; Lefebvre 1991). In the most extreme cases, property booms are leading indicators of recession, appearing as a 'kind of last-ditch hope for finding productive uses for rapidly over accumulating capital' (Harvey 1985: 20). Recessions and depressions ultimately require and allow a spatial restructuring of the urban economy. On the one hand, suburbanization created an unprecedented

spatial fix for the crisis of the Great Depression in the 1930s, with government-subsidized investment in highway construction and cheap mortgages encouraging massive new residential development-creating additional new markets for automobiles, consumer durables, and petroleum products (Walker 1981).

On the other hand, inner-city devalorization created rent gaps, creating the conditions for a locational switch of capital that seemed to accelerate gentrification during times of recession in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States and Canada. For Smith, then, 'the gentrification and redevelopment of the inner city represent a linear continuation of the forces and relations that led to sub urbanization' (N. Smith 1982: 150). Ultimately then, gentrification is tightly bound up with much larger processes: it is the leading edge of the spatial restructuring of capitalist urbanization, and it is part of a larger redevelopment process dedicated to the revitalization of the profit rate. In the process, many downtowns are being converted into bourgeois playgrounds replete with quaint markets, restored townhouses, boutique rows, yachting marinas, and Hyatt Regencies. These very visual alterations to the urban landscape are not at all an accidental side-effect of temporary economic disequilibrium but are as rooted in the structure of capitalist society as was the advent of suburbanization (N. Smith 1982: 151-152). This also means that the negative consequences of gentrification – the rising housing expense burden for poor renters, and the personal catastrophes of displacement, eviction, and homeless – are not simply isolated local anomalies. They are symptoms of the fundamental inequalities of capitalist property markets, which favour the creation of urban environments to serve the needs of capital accumulation, often at the expense of home, community, family, and everyday social life.

For instance, singular attention to how gentrification reproduces and extends economic inequalities distracts us from a series of debates about how longtime residents respond to gentrification (Martin 2007, Pattillo 2007, Brown-Saracino 2009), gentrifiers' understanding of their role in the process (Caulfield 1998, Taylor 2002, Pattillo 2007, Brown-Saracino 2009), and the everyday, local decision-making processes that contribute to the economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics of gentrifying places (Betancur 2002, Martin 2007). Furthermore, to suggest that there is a single gentrification debate – that the only question or debate worthy of attention is between those who regard the process as a harbinger of renaissance and those who view it as a destructive extension of broader economic and political shifts (Smith 1986, Slater 2006, Lees et al. 2008) – is to deny many grey areas within the literature and the overlap between these two dominant positions.

Social Perspective and Gentrification

Gentrification often results in neighbourhood revitalization, indicated by the rising housing costs and infrastructure transformations geared towards gentrifiers. Improvements facilitate the physical displacement of lower- and working-class residents. This displacement is sometimes accidental, while in other instances it is the opposite, as in the case of a Vermont restaurateur who paid the homeless to leave town (Smith, 1996, p. 27). In addition to physical displacement, old-timers often face social displacement – 'the replacement of one group by another, in some relatively bounded geographical area, in terms of prestige and power' (Chernoff, 1980, p. 204), embodied by the replacement of cultural, social, and eco-

nomic institutions of the poor and working class by those of the gentrifiers who tend to be racially, educationally, economically, and occupationally distinct from the original inhabitants of the neighbourhoods to which they move (Spain, 1980, p. 28). Typically, real estate agents and gentrifiers seek to snip urban space from its 'historical association with the poor immigrants' (Smith, 1996, p. 8) who once lived in the central city or, in Elijah Anderson's words, 'the emerging neighbourhood is valued largely to the extent that it is shown to be separate from low-income black communities' (Anderson, 1990, p. 26). Although, in some cases, gentrifiers preserve aesthetic vestiges of the neighbourhood's past, these practices are distinct from social preservationists as they do not aim to preserve residents.

Urban scholars agree that the economic factors alone cannot fully account for and cannot explain the impetus for gentrification. At the forefront of such cultural attributes was an ideology that supported gentrification – the 'frontier and salvation' mentality. This mentality glamorized personal sacrifice and 'sweat equity' as methods for 'settling' the untamed central city. Brown-Saracino, 2010 argued that the two groups, the gentrifiers and social preservationists, remained ideologically distinct. They diverge in the impetus for their relocation to the central city or small town as well as in their vision of the future of such space. For instance, the ideology of gentrification often underlines historic and landscape preservation as the cornerstone of revitalization (Zukin, 1987, p. 133), while social preservationists, on the other hand, are more interested in preserving the presence and practices of old-timers. According to a social preservationist who resides near the University of Illinois, Chicago campus, historic preservation encourages rising property values and the displacement of original residents and, therefore, is antithetical to real preservation.

As Logan and Molotch, 2010, argued, the social meaning of gentrification is increasingly constructed through the vocabulary of the frontier myth, and at first glance, this appropriation of language and landscape might seem simply playful and innocent. Newspapers habitually extol the courage of urban 'homesteaders', the adventurous spirit and rugged individualism of the new settlers, the brave 'urban pioneers', presumably going where, in the words of Star Trek, no (white) man has ever gone before. Moreover, Lees et al. added that gentrification is nothing more and nothing less than the neighbourhood expression of class inequality. It should thus come as no surprise that recent paths of neighbourhood change reflect the well-documented increase in social polarization in urbanized societies throughout the world. Production, referring to production explanations –theories that explain the means to the possibility of winning enormous fortunes – provides powerful incentives that shape the behaviour of individuals, groups, and institutions that have a stake in what happens on the urban frontier. Production accounts drew attention to three important shifts in the nature and implications of the gentrification of worsened inequality.

First, local rent gap dynamics have become much more tightly intertwined with transnational processes. In theoretical terms, of course, the rent gap has always been inextricable from global uneven development and the circuits of capital. And for many years, major international developers have been key players in the production of large-scale gentrification landscapes (most famously in the development

of London's Canary Wharf by the Canadian firm Olympia and York).

Second, the leading edge of uneven urban development has expanded dramatically inside gentrifying cities. In other words, reinvestment has moved beyond the comparatively small enclaves of gentrification and is moving deeper into other parts of the devalorized urban environment. In many cities, this move supplies an endless stream of raw material for journalists, investors, and community residents trying to figure out precisely where the frontier is this month.

Third, the politics of urban property markets have altered the terrain for opposition and resistance. Gentrification now receives more explicit governmental support, through both are subsidies to large corporate developers and targeted policies designed to attract individual gentrifiers. Expanded reinvestment has displaced and dispersed more and more low-income renters, effectively displacing opposition and resistance itself (DeFilippis 2004; Hackworth 2002b; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Goetz 2003).

2.6.2 Gentrification Consequences (positive and negative)

This part has a summary for what many authors argued about regarding the positive and negative consequences of gentrification. Gentrification's consequences are defined here as the side effects and follow-up results that followed during the generation of the gentrification process. While many argued that the negative consequences of gentrification are much more than the positive ones, they cannot regret the better quality of life the gentrified neighbourhoods enjoy. In the following table, the researcher tried to bring together all the positive and negative consequences of gentrification.

Table 2-1, Gentrification's positive and negative consequences
Source: Lees, L. (2008); Atkinson (2005), adapted by the researcher.

Positive	Negative
Increased prices guarantee better quality of buildings	Displacement through rent/price increases
Urban projects are usually accompanied by displacement Reduced crime rates	**Secondary psychological costs of displacement**
Stabilization of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
Supply and demand economic approach	Unsustainable property prices
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
Easy access to services with better quality	Increased cost and changes to local services
Reduction of suburban sprawl	**Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas**
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially desperate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

Moreover, the researcher proposed two more negative consequences to the gentrification process. As gentrification results in the reduction of crime rates in gentrified neighbourhoods, it may increase it in other un-gentrified neighbourhoods due to the increase of homeless people which can work as a secondary psychological cost of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. While the reduction of urban sprawl, as wealthier people move to gentrify new districts, the poor tend to move to the outskirt of the city or other deteriorated neighbourhoods (requires more research), searching for cheaper and affordable housing. Generally, gentrification cannot be applied everywhere similarly, according to cultural and social differences as, for example, the idea of gays and lesbians as gentrifiers could not be applied in Egypt. Additionally, there would be no idea to where will move the displaced people (homeless) who could have resided in new districts using Site and Services.

As previously mentioned, a negative consequence is displacement through rent and prices increase, though this increase in prices guarantees better quality of buildings. On the other hand, the secondary psychological costs of displacement, as a negative consequence, are also considered to be a positive one when it comes to an urban project that is usually accompanied by displacement and reduces crime in such neighbourhoods. The decline in crime in gentrified neighbourhoods maybe accompanied by an increase in crime by other un-gentrified neighbourhoods due to the increase of displaced (homeless) inhabitants. In other words, property prices meaning apartments and shops will have unsustainable property prices, but the main approach of housing relies sometimes on the supply and demand approach which controls the housing market. Meanwhile, the increased cost and changes to local services also makes the access to services with better quality and easy to approach. Another negative consequence is the reduction of urban sprawl – as the wealthier people move to gentrify new districts, the poor people tend to move to the outskirt of the city or other deteriorated neighbourhoods (requires more research), searching for cheaper and affordable housing. Mostly, gentrification cannot be applied everywhere similarly, according to culture and social differences as, for example, the idea of gays and lesbians as gentrifiers could not be applied in Egypt. There would be no idea to where the displaced people (homeless), who could reside in new districts using Site and Services, will move.

1) Positive consequences

Gentrification as a positive urban policy

Improvement of urban life

Increase in property value

Decline in vacancy rates

Increase in social mix

Increase in leisure services and facilities (i.e. cafes, restaurants, etc.)

Accordingly, gentrification is a positive neighbourhood process with those that see it to be a negative neighbourhood process. Gentrification, of course, has both positive and negative aspects to it, though in this part, the positive consequences will be discussed according to what was found in the gentrification literature. In an essay titled ‘Two Cheers for Gentrification’, Byrne (2003: 405-406) of the case study of

Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C., Byrne, as a gentrifier and professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center, stated that many individuals, who had lost affordable apartments that were home to them, could not be denied. Still, the increase in the number of affluent and well-educated residents is plainly good for cities, on balance, by increasing the number of residents who can pay taxes, purchase local goods and services, and support the city in state and federal political processes.

The contention of Byrne, 2003 goes further as to mention that gentrification is good on balance for the poor and ethnic minorities. The most negative effect of gentrification, the reduction in affordable housing, results primarily not from gentrification itself, but from the persistent failure of the government to produce or secure affordable housing more generally. Moreover, cities that attract more affluent residents are more able to aggressively finance affordable housing. Thus, gentrification is entitled to 'two cheers', if not three, given that it enhances the political and economic positions of all, but exacerbates the harms imposed on the poor by the failures of national affordable housing policies. Byrne (2003: 419-420) also argued, rather patronizingly, that gentrification can improve the economic opportunities for the urban poor. He argued that 'gentrification creates urban political fora in which affluent and poor citizens must deal with each other's priorities in a democratic process' (p. 421), and that gentrification ameliorates the social isolation of the poor, reduces crime, and increases the educational attainments of the poor (pp. 422-424).

Lees et. al., 2008 argued that, more than ever before, gentrification is incorporated into public policy used either as a justification to obey market forces and private sector entrepreneurialism or as a tool to direct market processes in the hopes of restructuring urban landscapes in a slightly more benevolent fashion. However, gentrification policy can have substantial effects on the neighbourhood scale, and when it does succeed in leveraging private capital, it worsens housing affordability in ways that increase the demands on the remnants of the redistributive local state (Wyly and Hammel, 2005: 35). In the last decade, in the United Kingdom, there is evidence of the neoliberal urban agenda as local urban regeneration initiatives have been seeking to entice more affluent, middle-class populations into low-income areas using policies of what Stuart Cameron (2003: 2373) calls 'positive gentrification' or 'gentrification as a positive public policy tool'. These locally-based policies of 'positive gentrification' espouse the same discursive construction of gentrification and social mixing as the Urban Task Force report (DETR, 1999) and the Urban White Paper (DETR 2000a). The idea is to diversify the social mix and dilute concentrations of poverty in the inner city through gentrification. New Labor's Urban White Paper (i.e. the current national urban policy document for England and Wales) argued that the aim is to make urban living a positive experience for the many, not the few, to bring all areas up to the standard of the best, and to deliver a lasting urban renaissance (DETR 2000a: foreword by John Prescott).

Thus, as Slater et. al., 2008 stated, selling gentrification as something 'positive', that has a social-mixing or social inclusion agenda, is quite canny in that it neutralizes the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it. Social mixing and improved social balance are viewed as key to reducing what they term 'neighbourhood effects' – the spatial concentration of disadvantaged populations in local

areas, creating a social milieu that reinforces aspects of disadvantage and actively reduces an individual's ability to move out of poverty or disadvantage. The British government's Social Exclusion Unit argues that social capital in excluded communities can be rebuilt if they socially mix because social mixing brings people into contact with those outside their normal circle, broadening horizons and raising expectations. As Canadian geographer Damaris Rose (2004: 281) stated, since the image of the ‘liveable city’ has become a key aspect of a city's ability to compete in a globalized, knowledge-based economy (Florida, 2003), post-industrial cities have a growing interest in marketing themselves as being built on a foundation of ‘inclusive' neighbourhoods capable of harmoniously supporting a blend of incomes, cultures, age groups and lifestyles’.

The London Plan (Greater London Authority [GLA] 2004) has gotten onboard the 'positive gentrification' bandwagon. It promotes an urban renaissance and social-mixing agenda in a similar vein to the Urban White Paper: To promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination, policies should ensure that the Blue-Ribbon Network is accessible for everyone as part of London's public realm and that its cultural and environmental assets are used to stimulate appropriate development in areas of regeneration and need (GLA, 2004: 194). Moreover, in the Netherlands, a policy of ‘housing re-differentiation’ (Hulsbergen and Stouten, 2001; Musterd, Priemus, and van Kempen 1999; Priemus 19~5, 1998, 2001; Salet 1999; Uitermark 2003; van Kempen and van Weesep 1994), as they call it, has been underway since 1996. (The British Urban Task Force was especially excited by this policy.) This is a policy of adding more expensive dwellings to low-income areas by removing inexpensive dwellings through demolition, together with the sale and upgrading of existing dwellings – the idea being to create a more socially diverse population in neighbourhoods via gentrification.

Since 2008, the trend in USA Housing redevelopment was to replace the existing high-rise, high-density 'projects' with new, lower-density, mixed-income communities such as Cabrini-Green in Chicago. Despite being located next to some of the most expensive real estate in Chicago, in 1994, Cabrini-Green qualified as the worst case of public housing in the United States under the American Housing Urban Department (HUD) guidelines and received $50 millions to redevelop a portion of the site. The reduction of densities from the demolition of units and the 'vouchering out' (where residents are usually given vouchers that subsidize the cost of privately rented accommodation) of public housing tenants led to significant displacement of low-income tenants and gentrification (Smith 2001). However, the work of Blomley, 2004 helped to think more of who must move on to make room for a social mix. The problem with ‘social mix’ is that it promises equality in the face of hierarchy. First, as often noted, it is socially one-sided. If social mix is good, argue local activists, then why not make it possible for the poor to live in rich neighbourhoods? Second, the empirical evidence suggests that it often fails to improve the social and economic conditions for renters. Interaction between owner-occupiers and renters in ‘mixed’ neighbourhoods seems to be limited. More importantly, it can lead to social segregation and isolation (p. 99).

Lees, 2000 argued that a significant body of writing on gentrification is a positive, 'emancipatory process'. Lees (2000) lumped these writings together in Gentrification: Positive or Negative? under the label 'emancipatory city thesis' in contrast to the 'revanchist city thesis'. In many ways, the emancipatory city thesis and the revanchist city thesis reflected the dichotomy in the gentrification literature between demand – versus supply-side explanations. The emancipatory city thesis is implicit in much of the gentrification literature that focuses on the gentrifiers themselves and their forms of agency. Moreover, according to Lees's thesis, gentrification is seen to be a process which united people in the central city and created opportunities for social interaction, tolerance, and cultural diversity. Gentrification is seen to be a liberating experience for both gentrifiers and those who met them.

Caulfield's (1994) analysis of pioneer gentrification in Toronto, Canada, focuses on the inner city as an emancipatory space and gentrification as a 'critical social practice' which he defines as 'efforts by human beings to resist institutionalized patterns of dominance and suppressed possibility' (p. xiii). For Caulfield, gentrification is a reaction to the repressive institutions of the suburbs and a process that creates tolerance. By resettling old inner-city neighbourhoods, Caulfield argued that gentrifiers subvert the dominance of hegemonic culture and create new conditions for social activities, leading the way for the developers who follow. For Caulfield, old city places offer 'difference' as seen in the diversity of gentrifiers: '[G]ays may be lawyers or paperhangers, professors may live in shabby bungalows or upmarket town homes, feminists may or may not have children' (1989: 618). Lees (2000; Lees 2004). Lees (2000: 393) argued that the emancipatory inner city of Toronto thus appears as a rose-tinted vision as much as a description of contemporary urban experience. The actual encounter with social difference and strangers is so often referred to as a source of emancipation in the city by many authors which needed more deep research. For Ley (1994: 59-60), such reform politics exhibit closer management of growth and development, improved public services, notably housing and transportation, more open government with various degrees of neighbourhood empowerment and greater attention to such amenity issues such as heritage, public open space, and cultural and leisure facilities.

As Ley (1996: 208) pointed out, gay gentrification is seen to be an emancipatory, critical social practice and the gay gentrified neighbourhood is constructed by various authors to be an oasis of tolerance that satisfies the need for a sense of place and belonging (Forest 1995; Knopp 1992, 1997; Lauria and Knopp 1985). Gay-gentrified neighbourhoods are also seen to be spaces from which the gay community can combat oppression, develop economic and political clout, and gain access to the state apparatus. The fact that gays desire to live in socially and culturally diverse inner-city neighbourhoods is important because, first, these are the types of neighbourhoods that policy makers are promoting; and, second, Richard Florida (2003) has pointed out to the gay community as an instigator of economic growth and a measure, through the gay index, of a city's creativity.

Gentrification, disguised as 'social mix', serves as an excellent example of how the rhetoric and reality of gentrification have been replaced by a different discursive, theoretical, and policy language that consistently deflects criticism and resistance. In the United Kingdom, social mix had been at the forefront

of ‘neighbourhood renewal’ and ‘urban regeneratio’ policies for nearly two decades now, but with one or two well-known exceptions (N. Smith 2002; Lees 2003a; Davidson and Lees 2005), there is still not much of a critical literature that sniffs around for gentrification amidst the policy discourse. To grasp the specifics of state-led gentrification, it is necessary for future research to study the evolution and nature of the governance networks that promote urban restructuring/gentrification in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008).

Allen (1984: 31-32) sums up and explains social and cultural diversity mentioning that sociocultural diversity is a leitmotif in the new tastes for central city housing and neighbourhood. One of the great amenities of dense city living is exposure to such social and cultural diversity as ethnicity. A composite statement of the idea made up from many fragments, is as follows: A milieu of diversity represents a childrearing advantage over ‘homogeneous suburbs’ because children are exposed to social ‘reality’ and to the give and take of social and cultural accommodation with those who are different. For adults, the urban ambience of diversity is a continual source of stimulation and renewal and a reminder of the cultural relativity of one's own style of life. It is said to be a relief from the subcultural sameness and ‘boredom’ of many suburban communities.

Tim Butler's (1997) research on gentrifiers in Hackney, inner London, follows an almost similar line of argument. He explained the differences between the middle class in Hackney and elsewhere by their choice of residence in a deprived inner London borough. He argued that Hackney's gentrifiers sought out people with similar cultural and political values, ones attuned to what inner-city living had to offer such as cultural infrastructure, social and cultural diversity, and old, Victorian terraced houses. Rose (1984) argued that single professional women, with or without children, and restricted by marginal positions in the labour force, found the inner city to offer a range of useful support services and networks. Also, Ann Markusen (1981) pointed out that women in dual-earner households may find inner-city areas more suitable for working out equitable divisions of domestic labour (Mills's 1989 research on the ‘post patriarchal gentrifier household’ found this to be true). Also, the work of Robert Beauregard (1986) on the consumption practices of gentrifiers (often single individual households and childless couples) is linked to their decisions on biological reproduction, and the work of Holcomb (1984) and Peter Williams (1986), who pointed to the inner city as a site of women's education, liberation, and expression. Reflecting on all this research as collective work, there is no question that a central theme is how gentrification is playing a positive, emancipatory role in the lives of middle-class women who have physically and mentally rejected the oppressive, patriarchal conditions of suburbia (Lees et. al., 2008: p. 121).

Besides the long-term discussions of classes and actors, including Florida’s creative classes and their relationship to gentrification and how to measure displacement, some other research by Neil Smith, 2002 focused increasingly on the impact of globalisation. Neil Smith (2002) emphasized the relationship between globalization and gentrification. From his perspective, gentrification is a global urban strategy of cities which can occur geographically in any location. The modern neoliberal state is more an agent than

a regulator of the market, and public discourse now sees gentrification as a positive and tenable outcome of a healthy real estate market: it sees the market as a solution, not as a problem. Cities must be well-performing entrepreneurs to prevail in the light of global competition and to face urban renaissance successfully.

In another study by Franz Yvonne, 2011, she argued that the renovation of a quarter cause additional values belonging to the state, so investment and used costs would improve urban environment (p. 191). In this way, again high and middle-income classes, that have power for paying rent and expensive expenditures of life, would replace in low level classes (Shamaee, 2005). Zehra M. Maneshi and Jafer Kerimpour (2011-2013), in the case study of Hafisa Quarter in Tunisia, argued that gentrification is a leading urban evolution towards stable development. This process would make missed historical areas' values return and prevent from suburb development in areas without any service, principle and city rules, with supporting social and economic infrastructures; according to the fact that inner-city areas still have the potential for accepting crowed more than its residents. Also, eliminating discriminations, preventing from urban polarization because during the right and justifiable implementation of this method, and equipping old areas, essential requests would be responded. It can be easily observed that the lack of these facilities, in addition to removing the area's attraction, would also force residents to leave.

On the other hand, gentrification is associated with positive features as well. It can contribute to counteracting devaluation and ghetto formation. It supports a social mix in the neighbourhood. Gentrification counteracts the suburban sprawl and limits vacancy rates and revalorizes properties. Furthermore, cities and districts benefit from an increase in tax revenues. Although gentrification has a number of positive aspects, the negative are overbalancing, especially in social terms. However, opposing gentrification completely is neither a productive nor an achievable goal in a capitalist society. While early stages can contribute to a more socially balanced environment, later stages result in the most negative forms. If gentrification is used as a governmental strategy, actions to balance the negative and positive effects must be chosen. Furthermore, help and support must be given to those who are displaced or excluded from the gentrified neighbourhood (Maneshi and Kerimpour, 2011-2013).

Moreover, Riegler, 2011 argued that gentrification, as an urban policy in Budapest and Vienna, is a positive result of a healthy real estate market, and 'the market' is always understood as the solution, not a problem. Thanks to intense economic competition and policy directives from state and federal governments, cities must be sophisticated entrepreneurs – doing whatever it takes to lure wealthy investors, residents, and tourists to town (Harvey 1989b. 2000). Expansion of gentrification's worldwide environment at the interurban scale is tied to the rise of service-based economies and the shifting functions of central cities as well as the enforced diffusion of neoliberal models of urban governance and redevelopment. Smith argued that gentrification has evolved from a marginal urban process in a few western cities during the 1960s to an increasingly popular and widespread 'global urban strategy' (N. Smith, 2002).

In the process, the poor and disinvested territory of the as-yet ungentrified inner city becomes a battleground for a wider political struggle over neoliberal urbanism: large blocks of publicly assisted housing, for example, physically embody neoliberalism's antithesis – Keynesian egalitarian liberalism, such as public housing, is now the target of 'positive gentrification policies' in several different countries. Contemporary geographies of gentrification, therefore, vary depending on the national and regional contexts and the interaction of the various components of neoliberal, policy-aggressive urban entrepreneurialism, local government reorganization to create favourable business climates, public-sector privatization schemes, the increasing number and power of professionals committed to neoliberal urban policies, and the increasingly sophisticated policing of urban space and activism itself.

2) Negative consequences (social, urban, economic, political)

A negative neighbourhood processes

Displacement

Segregation

Increased rents (rent gap)

De-concentricity of services

More stress on infrastructure

Exploring gentrification as a negative neighbourhood process, as analyst John Betancur (2002) in a study of gentrification in West Town, Chicago, argued has to do with gentrification being a real a struggle between community and accumulation, a struggle for which we must assume responsibility, stating that the hidden hand is not so hidden in the process of gentrification and, in fact, has a face – a set of force-manipulating factors such as class and race to determine a market outcome. The most traumatic aspect is perhaps the destruction of the elaborate and complex community fabric that is crucial for low-income, immigrant. and minority communities – without any compensation (p. 807). For Betancur, gentrification is not about social mix, emancipation, creativity, and tolerance; it is about arson, abandonment, displacement, 'speculation and abuse', ethnic minority tenant hardships, and class conflict, all of which are woven into a mournful account of struggle, loss, and, above all, 'the bitterness of the process and the open hostility/racism of gentrifiers and their organizations toward Puerto Ricans' (p. 802).

The description of Abu-Lughod, 1994 of the East Village in New York brought together several essays on the neighbourhood in an edited collection. Her conclusions lament the difficulty of resistance, the destruction of the community, and the loss of place under the revengeful gentrification that occurred there in the 1980s. Moreover, one negative effect in particular – the displacement of the working class and/or ethnic minorities – was (and still is) of serious concern, as Powell and Spencer (2003) showed in Chicago, noting that reversals in racial compositions of gentrifying neighbourhoods in Chicago between 1980 and 1990 showed white residents are gaining, while black residents are losing. The Near West Side's black-white ratio, for example, fell from 6:1 to 3:1, the number of childless young professionals increased, the proportion of residents under the age of twenty five declined, and the higher average levels of education increased. On the other hand, crime rates had declined significantly, and the number of retail

establishments had grown; the residents of colour are being pushed out. Who will be left to enjoy these opportunities as gentrifying forces proceed? (pp. 432-433)

Displacement from home and neighbourhood can be a shattering experience. At worst, it leads to homelessness. At best, it impairs a sense of community. Public policy should, by general agreement, minimize displacement. However, a variety of public policies, particularly those concerned with gentrification, seem to foster it (Marcuse, 1985a: 931). Marcuse Displacement is, however, extremely difficult to quantify. Atkinson (2000) had called measuring displacement 'measuring the invisible', whereas Newman and Wyly (2006) sum up the quantification problem. They argued that it is difficult to find people who have been displaced, particularly if those people are poor. By definition, displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census-takers go to look for them (p. 27). Mathieu van Criekingen, 2006 mentioned that the evidence highlighted in Brussels strongly suggests that poorly-resourced households are less likely to move away from marginal gentrifying districts because they are 'trapped' in the lowest segment of the private rental housing market, with very few alternatives outside deprived neighbourhoods, even in those areas experiencing marginal gentrification (Criekingen 2006: 30).

On reviewing the evidence from a survey of the gentrification literature, Atkinson (2004) found that, whether displacement is involved or not, gentrification was viewed overwhelmingly as a 'negative neighbourhood process'. Unfortunately, the policymakers and local governments discussed in the previous section who are promoting gentrification as a public policy tool have not read or listened to this critical gentrification literature (cf. Lees 2003a). Atkinson and Bridge (2005) summed up; at the neighbourhood level itself, poor and vulnerable residents often experience gentrification as a process of colonization by the more privileged classes. Stories of personal housing dislocation and loss distended social networks 'improved' local services out of sync with the local needs, and displacement has always been the underbelly of a process, which, for city boosters, has represented something of a saviour for post-industrial cities (p. 2).

Neil Smith, 1996 argued that gentrification is a process of revenge against poor populations seen to have 'stolen' urban neighbourhoods from the middle classes. This has proved to be a very influential thesis. Previously accepted notions of social justice and an explicit concern with injustice, so central to the progressive urban ambitions of the 1960s and 1970s, have been flushed away with the remains of liberalism. In the same period, the narrowest visions derived from Marxism had also proven bankrupt. Indeed, displacement offers some conceptual and analytical difficulties because it can be defined in terms of households, housing units, or neighbourhood. Furthermore, there is a difference between economic (e.g. rent increases) and physical displacement (e.g. eviction, landlord pestering).

Palen, J. John, 1984 in his book Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighbourhood Revitalization, argued that, if assessed values are increased for all properties in revitalizing neighbourhood, including those not sold or renovated, the cost of housing for original owners will increase. He mentioned that the National Urban Coalition (1978) has reported that an increase in property taxes for original owner-occupants

threatens the ability of these owners to continue owning their homes. The increased cost may not affect original landlords adversely if they can offset the tax increases with rent increases. In this situation, however, renters would be affected adversely. Consequently, increased assessed property values, though beneficial for the city, may represent a substantial burden for owners or renters living in revitalizing neighbourhoods prior to the start of reinvestment. The nature of the tax burden imposed on owners of inactive properties can be investigated by comparing changes in assessed value for four groups of properties: (1) inactive; (2) sold but not renovated; (3) renovated but not sold; and (4) sold and renovated. A significantly smaller increase in assessed values for inactive properties than for properties that have been sold or rehabilitated would indicate that the renovation of some neighbourhood properties does not necessarily impose serious costs on owners of properties not involved in the revitalization (p. 76:77).

Furthermore, Palen's (1984, p. 79) argumentation – the dislocation of residents – is the final consequence to be examined in the possible displacement of renters by conversion of renter-occupied properties to owner-occupancy. As defined by the Griers, 1978, displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which: 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable (Grier and Grier 1978, p. 8). Betancur's, 2002 analysis of the racial injustice of gentrification rejects the claims that the process is good for poor and ethnic minorities, and instead argues that any definition 'must take whiteness and white privilege into account. Being white contributes to and draws benefits from the privileges and entitlements associated with the "white face" of gentrification' (p. 439).

Tim Butler and Garry Robson (2001a; Butler with Robson 2003) interviewed middle-class gentrifiers in London who are engaged in little social mixing with local low-income groups. Social interaction by gentrifiers was greatest in areas where other groups had been largely pushed aside, and where they had not, gentrification tended to result in 'tectonic' juxtapositions of polarized socioeconomic groups rather than in socially cohesive communities. The argument of Neil Smith, 1990 was that right-wing, middle- and ruling-class whites were seeking revenge against people who they perceived had 'stolen' the city from them, and gentrification had become an integral part of this strategy of revenge. Bailey (in 1989, Bruce Bailey, a long-time low-income tenant organizer in Manhattan, was found murdered and dismembered in several garbage bags in the Bronx) who was organizing and advocating for low-income tenants, one of the groups seen to have stolen the city, and for Smith, his murder was just one of many incidents through which we could detect the emergence of what he called 'the revanchist city'. Two important factors fuelled the fire of revanchism: first was the rapid collapse of the 1980s optimism into the bleak prospects of the early 1990s recession, which triggered unprecedented anger amongst the white middle classes. Smith demonstrates that such anger needed a target on which to exercise revenge, and the easiest target was the subordinated, marginalized populations of the inner city. Second, Smith stated that revanchism is 'screamingly reaffirmed' by symbolic representations of urban malaise in television and the media in 'an obsessive portrayal of the violence and danger of everyday life' in the city (p. 211).

Such is the influence of these anti-urban (re)productions of paranoia and fear that they have amplified and aggravated the paranoia and fear among large swathes of middle-class urban and suburban voters seeking scapegoats for their unease in public spaces and city streets. It is worth recognizing that there is a significant literature on zero-tolerance policing, 'broken windows' criminology, and the rise and fall of the crime rate in New York City (for a good overview, see Bowling 1999; see also Fyfe 2004, who explores the tensions and anxieties around the interplay of deviance, difference, and crime control) (Lees, 2008, p. 229).

Freeman, 2006 finds ample reason to be wary of the negative impacts of gentrification beyond displacement and is sceptical of poverty de-concentration/social-mixing policies as the cure-all for urban ills. For Freeman, the pertinent debate seemed to be how to dampen gentrification's harms and identify its benefits. It might seem paradoxical to affirm both the emancipatory and revanchist view of gentrification, but gentrification is a complex process that can mean different things depending on one's vantage point (p. 201).

To sum up, Neil Smith, 1996 argued that the symbolic power of 'gentrification' means that this kind of generalization of meaning is surely inevitable, but even when it takes place in a critical vein, it is a mixed blessing. As with all metaphors, 'gentrification' can be used to impart a critical (or not so critical) inflection on radically different experiences and events. However, 'gentrification' itself is, in turn, inflected by its metaphorical appropriation to the extent that 'gentrification' is generalized to stand for the 'eternal' inevitability of modern renewal, the renovation of the past, the sharply contested class and race politics of contemporary gentrification which are dulled. Opposition to gentrification here and now can too quickly be dismissed as a hunter-gatherer rejection of 'progress'. In fact, for those impoverished, evicted or made homeless in its wake, gentrification is indeed a dirty word and it should stay a dirty word. It expressed well the class dimensions of recent inner-urban change, and it is hardly surprising that real estate professionals took advantage of a very real slowdown in gentrification to attempt to expunge the word and the memory of the word's politics from the popular discourse. However, neither the memory nor the profits of gentrification are likely to be erased so quickly. Indeed, it may not be too much of an exaggeration to surmise that proclaiming the end of gentrification may be akin to anticipating the end of suburbanization in 1933 (p. 32).

Accordingly, Lees, 2008 (p. 234) argued that gentrification is promoted positively by policymakers who ignore the less desirable effects of the process. Their promotion of gentrification is to socially mix, balance, and stabilize neighbourhoods that have connections with the ideologies of pioneer gentrifiers who seek/sought both residence in the inner city and sociocultural diversity. Many of these pioneer gentrifiers were women (including lesbians) and gay men. These 'marginal' groups chose to live in the inner city to avoid the institutionalized heterosexuality and nuclear family units of the suburbs. The inner city for them was an emancipatory space. By way of contrast, many more authors view gentrification to be a negative process, one that causes direct or indirect displacement, and that purifies and sanitizes the central city. Some see it to be a visceral and revanchist process of capitalist appropriation. Accordingly,

both the positive and negative takes on gentrification have validity, but the review here suggests that the negative impacts have not been considered seriously, or indeed have been ignored, by policymakers. As Atkinson and Bridge (2005: 16-17) argue, it remained important for policy-makers and academics to try and understand how equitable development can be achieved without the stark problems associated with unchecked gentrification, itself symptomatic of a middle-class and self-serving process of investment. In short, gentrification, as a process of investment and movement by the wealthy, may have modified or had positive effects in cities characterized by strong welfare regimes, enhanced property rights and mediation, and low competition for housing resources.

2.7 Conclusions

Two New Geographies of Gentrification:

1. Historic / Cultural Tourism

- Gentrification process is driven by cultural and commercial activities
- As the gentrified locations started to be active, the buffered buildings started to change dynamically. Then, the neighbouring owners seek to benefit as well from the change around them.
- Tourism gentrification, as the transformation of the neighbourhood into a relatively enclave, marked by a spread of corporate entertainment and tourism venues (Gotham, 2005)

2. Contracting / Real Estate

- Housing supply was mostly by the private sector until the late 1950s when rent control laws were applied, which resulted in developers shifting their investment to other fields.
- After that, the public sector assumed a major role in housing supply
- The total number of new housing units built decreased from 56,000 units/year in the 1950s to fewer than 30,000 units/year in the 1960s.
- The change in the economic policy in the second half of the 1970s caused drastic changes in the housing market. The annual number of units built increased steadily to reach more than 180,000 in 1990.
- Private sector gross investment in housing grew from EGP 732 millions in 1982/83 to EGP 2,950 millions in 1991/92.
- On the other hand, public gross investment in housing fluctuated from EGP 67 millions in 1982/83 to EGP 370 millions in 1986/87 and back to EGP 91 millions in 1991/92.
- In addition, private-sector developers find ways around the rent control laws such as the build-to-own arrangements and cash advances paid to developers.
- Real estate is a major outlet for domestic savings and especially for the remittances of Egyptians working in oil-exporting Arab countries (World Bank, 1994).

To sum up, the research defines gentrification preliminary as ‘an urban process in urban neighbourhood, to improve urban life on different levels (economic, social and physical). This process could be managed by the government [and] investors; even residents belonging to a higher class who are called the gentrifiers. This class must be from a higher level than the class already existing in this neighbourhood. Not only that but this neighbourhood has to indicate also the tendency to be gentrified’. Accordingly, the gentrified place becomes a spotlight of interest for gentrifiers, when the gentrifiers and the place both have the motivation and ability to gentrify the neighbourhood synchronously. All this happens without giving attention to gentrification’s negative consequences such as social segregation, loss of social diversity, and displacement.

3.1 Producing Gentrification

[T]he politics of naming [gentrification] seemed to enter a new, self-consciously satirical phase. One prominent epicenter of this shift was New York City—birthplace of catchy monikers like […] SoHa, South Harlem; and, perhaps most remarkably, SoBro, the South Bronx urban disaster memory of arson fires in the 1970s now celebrated on the front page of the New York Times as follows: 'hundreds of artists, hipsters, Web designers, photographers, doctors and journalists have been seduced by the mix of industrial lofts and nineteenth-century row houses'

(Berger 2005a: A1).

Between 1999 and 2002, at least 2,000 New York renters were forced to move out as a result of landlord harassment, more than 2,900 were evicted, about 600 were displaced by highway construction or other government activities, more than 5,000 were displaced by other private actions and more than 39,000 moved because they needed a less expensive residence or had difficulty paying the rent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2002). And in early 2006, the Associated Press reported a proposal to redevelop the old Brooklyn House of Detention (shuttered in 2003) as a mixed-use project with retail, housing, perhaps a hotel, and modernized cell blocks. The idea was proposed by Borough President Marty Markowitz, who said, 'I've already called developers, and there is an interest' (Caruso, 2006). New condos are under construction not far from the old jail, and brownstones in the vicinity are going for more than $1.5 million; Markowitz argued, 'It would be foolish if the city does not take advantage of this super-hot real-estate market' (Julian 2006: 27).

It is worth to consider the implications of Neil Smith's (1986: 34) insistence that gentrification is a 'frontier on which fortunes are made', and analysing the motivations and logic followed by aggressive developers, flamboyant real estate brokers, savvy buyers in the market for million-dollar condos, and budget-conscious government officials. Examining production explanations – theories that explain the possibility of winning enormous fortunes – provides powerful incentives that shape the behaviour of individuals, groups, and institutions that have a stake in what happens on the urban frontier. Although individuals and organizations certainly consider a wide variety of factors when they make the kinds of decisions that can affect a neighbourhood, many of the constraints that narrow the field of attractive choices can be traced to fundamental rules of economic production in market economics. Production explanations show how neighbourhood change is connected to the underlying rules of the game-economic relations, legal principles and practices, institutional arrangements, and pure political struggles – in which value and profit are produced and distributed.

Lees, 2008 mentioned that many of the urgent questions people ask about gentrification had been shaped in profound ways by the legacy of a previous generation of scholars, developers, policy makers, and investors as well as activists, protesters, and community organizers. Moreover, Neil Smith's rent gap framework, and its position in broader political-economic theories of the circulation of capital in the urban environment, had a wide effect on gentrification literature which will be explained in measuring gentrification issues. Also, considering the problems with measuring and interpreting the rent gap and

other aspects of production explanations inaugurated a series of vibrant debates over the meaning and significance of neighbourhood transformation.

In the late 1970s, the future of old industrial cities seemed uncertain and precarious. Especially in the United States, urban centres had been battered by deindustrialization and suburbanization since the 1950s. Suburbanization accelerated in the 1960s when many middle- and working-class whites fled as the African Americans sought to challenge police brutality, housing and school discrimination, and other mechanisms of racial segregation and stratification (Jackson 1985; Sugrue 2005). In some places, government-driven urban renewal programmes had created new offices, malls, or upscale residential developments for the middle-class, mostly white households. Elsewhere, there seemed to be signs of 'spontaneous' neighbourhood revitalization by middle-class households, many of them young, white, and well educated. After a massive spike in gasoline prices in 1973 (a shock that was repeated six years later), commuting costs spiralled for suburbanites even as the combined effects of recession, inflation, and high interest rates played havoc with the housing market activity. These trends seemed to call into question the survival of the 'American dream' of owning the single-family suburban house (Lees, 2008, P:43).

In 2003 and in one of the first widely cited scholarly analyses of gentrification, Gregory Lipton (1977) suggested that, while the dominant pattern may involve the loss of a middle- and upper-income, predominantly white population from the centre and their replacement by lower-income, predominantly black and other minority populations, a fairly large number of cities are experiencing some population changes running counter to this major trend (p. 137). Most observers saw the changes underway as the result of middle-class lifestyle changes that were altering locational preferences. For Lipton and many others, the distinctive features of the baby boom generation (i.e. postponed marriages, fewer or no children, and rising divorce rates) combined with the rising costs in money and time spent for commuting all served to 'decrease the relative desirability of single-family, suburban homes compared to central city multiple-family dwellings' (Lipton 1977: 147). In 1977, Baltimore's Mayor Fred Schaefer trumpeted that 'people are starting to come back and live here, they're beginning to find out there is something alive here. They're coming back for life, pride, activity' (Ley 1996: 33). Additionally, in the preface of an edited collection titled Back to the City (Laska and Spain 1980), former New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu declared that Americans are coming back to the city. Across the country, older inner-city neighbourhoods are exhibiting a new vitality and a renewed sense of community (Laska and Spain 1980: ix).

Lees, 2008, under 'Challenging the Sovereign Consumer', argued that 'revitalization' and 'renaissance' ignored the harsh realities of poverty, displacement, and chronic shortages of affordable housing. The popular debate began to expose fundamental flaws in the dominant framework used to study cities and urban problems. Measuring these trade-offs in terms of the costs per unit of area, the neoclassical models seemed to account for the spatial paradox of the U.S. city: middle-class and wealthy households living on cheap suburban land, and poor and working-class households forced to crowd into dense apartment

blocks on expensive, centrally located inner-city land. Layered on top of these models was the concept of residential 'filtering', advanced by Homer Hoyt based on his analysis of new kinds of housing statistics first collected by government agencies in the 1930s and 1940s. Hoyt observed that new houses and new neighbourhoods were almost always built for higher-income households, and that as homes (and neighbourhoods) aged, they 'filtered down' and became more affordable for progressively poorer groups (Hoyt 1939). Moreover, Schill and Nathan (1983: 15) offered an attempt to rework the Alonso-Muth bid-rent models. Although these land-use models have most frequently been used to explain the creation of affluent suburbs, they can also explain the location of affluent neighbourhoods near the central business district. Economics would say that, in such neighbourhoods, the bid rent curve of the in-movers must be steeper than the curves of both the poor who live in the central city and the in-movers' suburban counter parts. Accordingly, gentrification is the natural outcome of shifts in the trade-offs between accessibility and space that make inner-city locations more attractive for wealthier households. It's just a new spatial equilibrium (Lees, 2008, p. 46:47).

Figure 3-1 shows gentrification as Bid-Rent Consumer Sovereignty. The neoclassical theory explains gentrification as the equilibrium solution to a change in the housing and transportation trade-offs made by middle-and upper-income consumers. In Revitalizing America's Cities, Schill and Nathan (1983) revised the dominant bid-rent model (Alonso, 1964; Muth, 1969) to incorporate different assumptions on the preference for space and accessibility among higher-income consumers. Upper-income households thus outbid lower-income households in the suburbs, while lower-income households crowd into centrally located land to be closer to work which, in the traditional model, is assumed as the central business district. Schill and Nathan (1983, p. 15) continue: 'curve AA represents a lower-income household's bid rent curve, BB represents an upper-income suburban dweller's, and CC the in mover's. If X denotes the centre of the city, the immigrants will consume land denoted by segment XD, the poor household will locate on segment DF, and the upper-income suburban household will live on land to the right of point F. Before reinvestment, the poor would have consumed segment XF'. Similar neoclassical accounts of gentrification include Kern (1981), LeRoy and Sonstelie (1983), and Wheaton (1977). Updated and refined versions of the approach include Brueckner et al. (1999), Brueckner and Rosenthal (2005), De Bartolome and Ross (2002), De Salvo and Hug (1996), Glaeser (2000), and Kwon (2006).

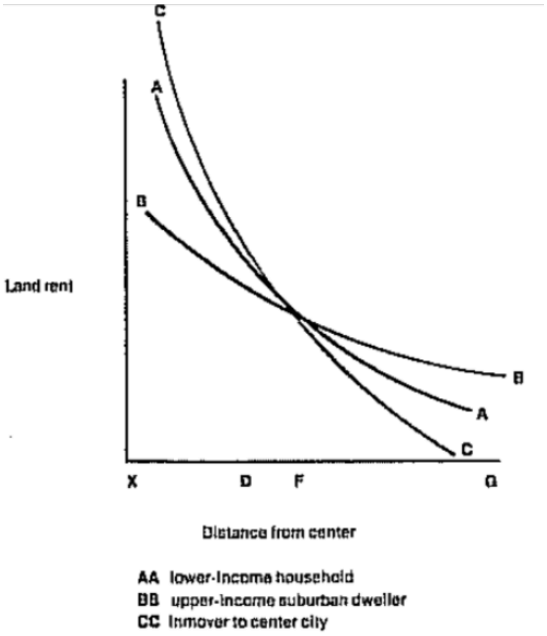


Figure 3-1. Gentrification as Bid-Rent Consumer Sovereignty
Source: Schill and Nathan, 1983.

3.2 Measuring Gentrification Circumstances (The rent gap, functional gap, etc.)

3.2.1 The Rent Gap

The logic behind uneven development is that the development of one area creates barriers to further development, thus leading to an underdevelopment that in turn creates opportunities for a new phase of development. Geographically, this leads to the possibility of what we might call a "locational seesaw": the successive development, underdevelopment, and redevelopment of given areas as capital jumps from one place to another, then back again, both creating and destroying its own opportunities for development.

(Smith 1982: 151)

Geography creates powerful contradictions for capital investment. Particularly in the urban realm, massive investments are required to create the places that must exist for profits to be made-offices, factories, shops, homes, and all the rest of the infrastructure that makes up what is often called the 'built environment'; yet, once these investments are committed and quite literally put in place, capital cannot be quickly or easily shifted to newer, more profitable opportunities elsewhere (Lees, 2008, p. 50). Individual investors committed to older technologies in older places lose out to those able to take advantages of new development in new places, while as a group, capitalists are always forced to choose between investing to maintain the viability of previous capital commitments or exploiting new opportunities (and neglecting or abandoning the old). Moreover, capital investment is always animated by a geographical tension: between the need to equalize conditions and seek out new markets in new places, versus the need for differentiation and a division of labour that is matched to various places' comparative advantage. The result is a dynamic 'see-saw' of investment and disinvestment over time and

across space in an ongoing process of uneven geographical development (Smith 1982, 1984; Harvey 1973, 1982, 2003).

This paradox of development fascinated Marx and generations of political economists, and the process was distilled beautifully in the early twentieth century by Joseph Schumpeter's (1934) concept of creative destruction. However, Neil Smith was the first to connect these fundamental dynamics of capitalist development to the fine-grained circumstances of individual land parcels in the inner city where gentrified wealth collides with disinvested poverty (Lees, 2008, p. 51). The value of a house, shop, condominium, or any other structure is the total labour invested to create it, given a society's prevailing technologies, wage rates, and so on. However, if the structure is sold, the transaction sales price will also depend on the relative attractiveness of the land where the structure is situated. Land itself, though, has very little intrinsic value: particularly in the urban environment, the attractiveness of land is based mainly on location, accessibility, and the labour and technology devoted to improving a site. This means that the value of urban land is primarily a collective social creation: if a tiny piece of land located in the heart of a large, vibrant, growing city commands a premium on the market, it is because (1) centrality and accessibility are valued in the society, and (2) collective social investments over time produced a large, vibrant city. Private property rights, however, allow landowners to capture most of this social investment in the form of ground rent, which is simply the charge that owners can demand for the rights to use their land (Ball, 1985; Krueckeberg, 1995: Blomley, 2004).

The rent gap developed by Neil Smith, 1979, shown in the shaded area in Figure 3-2, is the shortfall between the actual economic return from a land parcel given its present land use (capitalized ground rent) and the potential return if it were put to its optimal, highest, and best use (potential ground rent). Nearly every aspect of urban growth, innovation, and technological development will change the urban landscape of accessibility and activity, producing mismatches between existing land uses and optimal, highest, and best uses. Urban investment and growth thus inevitably produce disinvestment and rent gaps for older portions of the urban fabric. As the rent gap grows larger, it creates lucrative profit opportunities for developers, investors, home buyers, and local governments to orchestrate a shift in land use – for instance, from working-class residential to middle- or upper-class residential.

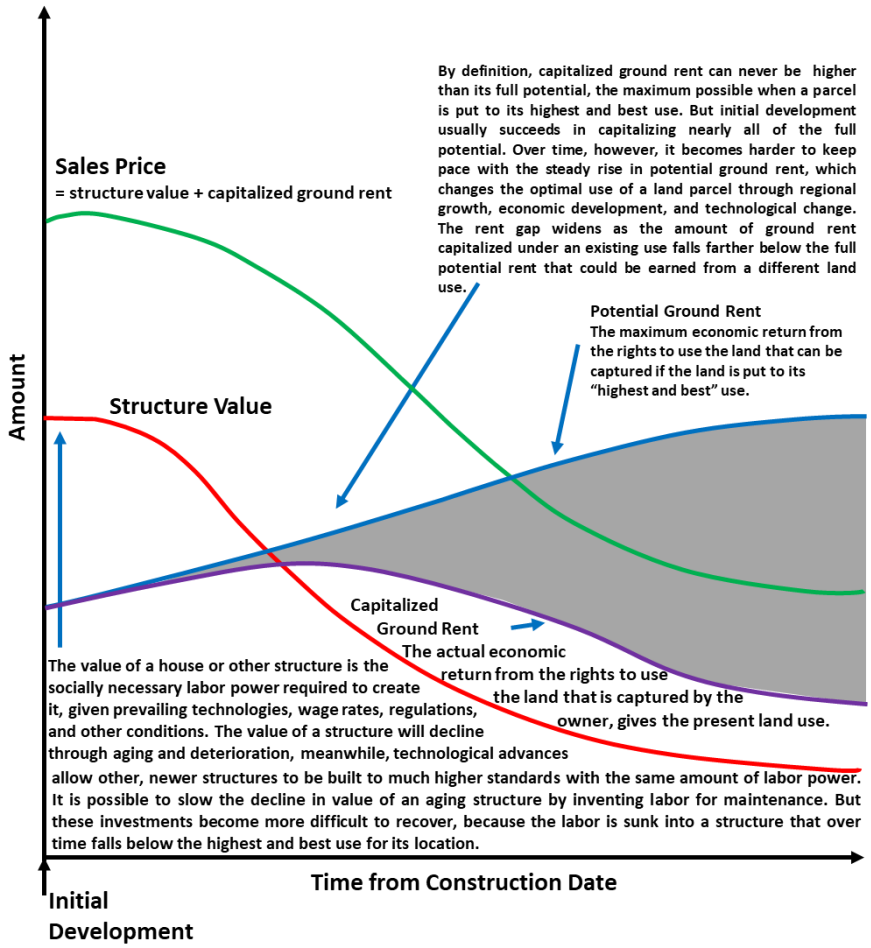


Figure 3-2. The depression cycle and the rent gap
Source: Neil Smith (1979), edited by the researcher.

When a land parcel is newly developed, all actors in the development process work to maximize profitability: competition amongst and between buyers and sellers, and renters and landlords, ensures that the right ways to use a particular land parcel are capitalized as nearly as possible up to the full potential. However, the capital invested to develop a place is now anchored there, and thus it is vulnerable to anything that alters the urban-economic circumstances of that place. For a few years, nearby intensified development may make it more accessible and desirable, thus allowing an owner to demand higher ground rent. With each passing year, we are a bit more likely to see a divergence between 'capitalized ground rent' (the actual rent captured with the present land use) and 'potential ground rent' (the maximum that could be appropriated based on the highest and the best use). Potential ground rent, by contrast, almost always increases steadily over time: so long as an urban region enjoys some combination of population growth, employment expansion, and technological innovation, any particular location will become more highly valued over time if an owner is willing to put the land to its optimal, highest, and best use (Neil Smith, 1979; Lees, 2008; p. 52).

When the contrast between old and new tends to have a clear spatial imprint – older land uses and structures near the core, for instance, and newer development on the fringe – then disinvestment can

become increasingly logical, rational, and attractive for those saddled with older commitments. Landlords in poorer inner-city neighbourhoods, for example, are holding investments in buildings that may have represented the highest and best use of a century ago; spending money to maintain these assets as low-cost rental units becomes ever more difficult to justify, since the investments will be difficult to recover from low-income tenants. It becomes rational and logical for landlords to ‘milk’ the property, extracting capitalized ground rent from the tenants, spending the absolute minimum to maintain the structure, and waiting as potential ground rent increases in the hopes of eventually capturing a windfall through redevelopment. In the early stages, disinvestment is extremely difficult to detect as it is not accustomed to take notice when an owner does not repaint the house, replace the windows, or rebuild the roof. Instead, the deferred maintenance gradually becomes apparent: people with the money to do so will leave a neighbourhood, and financial institutions would ‘redline’ the neighbourhood as too risky to make loans. Neighbourhood decline accelerates, and moderate-income residents and businesses moving away are replaced by successively poorer tenants who move in. In any society where class inequalities are bound up with racial-ethnic divisions or other sociocultural polarization, this turnover almost invariably unleashes racist and xenophobic arguments that a group is ‘causing’ neighbourhood decline. But poorer residents and businesses can only afford to move in after a neighbourhood has been de-valorised – after capital disinvestment and the departure of the wealthy and middle-class (Neil Smith, 1979; Lees, 2008; p. 53).

Soon after, the disinvestment dynamic explains the apparent contradiction of poverty – ridden inner cities across so much of the developed world; the paradox of poor people living on valuable land in the heart of large, vibrant cities (Alonso 1964; Harvey 1973; Knox and McCarthy 2005: 132-135). Ground rent capitalized under an existing land use (e.g., working-class residential) falls farther below the growth- and technology-driven increasing potential that could be captured under the optimal, highest, and best use – for instance, if the land could be used for luxury residential or high-end retail. This divergence between capitalized and potential ground rent is the rent gap, and it is fundamental to the production of gentrified landscapes.

As Smith puts it, ‘only when this gap emerges can gentrification be expected since if the present use succeeded in capitalizing all or most of the ground rent, little economic benefit could be derived from redevelopment’ (Smith 1979: 545). Changing the land use – so that a landowner can chase that ever-rising curve of potential ground rent – can involve wholesale redevelopment on a neighbourhood scale: Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it, is now capitalized: the neighbourhood has been 'recycled' and begins a new cycle of use (Smith 1979: 545).

Still, redevelopment can also proceed block by block or house by house – the ‘spontaneous’ revival that attracts so much popular attention – as middle-class ‘pioneers’ venture into poor neighbourhoods in

search of historic structures that can be renovated and restored. Moreover, the rent gap is often closed with heavy assistance and subsidise by government action – clearing old land uses through various forms of urban renewal, upgrading streets and other public infrastructure, and providing incentives for developers, new businesses, or new middle-class residents. Urban growth and neighbourhood change proceed with the dynamics of profit and accumulation, and so the calculus of capital becomes interwoven with the entire range of social and cultural dimensions of individuals' choices of where and how to live in the urban environment (Lees, 2008; p. 54). As Neil Smith (1979: 546) sums up, gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets. Capital flows is where the rate of return is highest, and the movement of capital to the suburbs, along with the continual depreciation of inner-city capital, eventually produces the rent gap. When this gap grows sufficiently large, rehabilitation (or, for that matter, renewal) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere, and capital flows back.

According to the October 1979 issue of the Journal of the American Planning Association, Smith's rent gap hypothesis was a provocative intervention in urban theory. Years later, Smith reflected, ‘Long after it was dispatched to an interested editor, my advisor delivered his own verdict on the paper: "It's OK", he muttered, "but it's so simple. Everybody knows that"’ (N. Smith 1992a: 110). Perhaps not. The rent gap is part of an assault to breach the defensive wall of mainstream urban studies by challenging the assumption that urban landscapes can be explained in large part as the result of consumer preferences and the notion that neighbourhood change can be understood in terms of who moves in and who moves out. Scholars, therefore, take its implications very seriously.

3.2.2 The Value Gap (1986)

Hamentt and Randolph (1986) developed a complementary alternative to the rent gap, proposing that a value gap could explain the pressure to convert rental housing to owner-occupancy. Hamentt and Randolph analysed the historical politics and economics of the 'flat break-up market' in central London, which emerged as part of a broader national trend where blocks of privately-rented apartments were sold for individual owner-occupation in a wave of conversions from the 1960s through the 1980s. Market conditions in Britain had created two distinct methods of valuing residential property – one based on the stream of rental income a potential buyer/landlord could expect from a particular property, and the other based on the sale value for owner-occupation; ‘where the two sets of values diverged, a value gap could open up, thereby creating the possibility of a profitable transfer of residential property from one tenure to another' (p.133). These values did diverge in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Owner-occupancy began to receive larger tax and interest-rate subsidies, while tenant rent controls and occupancy regulations made it harder for landlords to earn expected rates of return on investments. Landlords responded with disinvestment through under-maintenance – until it became possible, thanks to the expansion of mortgage credit through building societies, to sell flats either to existing tenants or to other prospective owner-occupiers. The resulting divergence in the economics of the two sectors ‘had a fundamentally debilitating effect on the viability of the private rental sector’ (p. 133) and culminated in

‘the wholesale loss of rented accommodation through its transfer to owner-occupation’ (p.135) (Sykora, 1993; p. 286).

3.2.3 The Functional Gap (1993)

Elsewhere, Sykora (1993) argued that ‘market forces’ began to transform the urban environment with the fall of repressive state-socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. With the collapse of centrally-planned systems for housing and land allocation, cities in these settings began to change rapidly with the emergence of sharp land-value gradients. Ludek Sykora (1993) examined the effects of market transition in Prague in the early 1990s and was able to measure the average prices paid per square meter at a privatization auction. ‘The extreme centre-to-edge variations reflect both the value of the location and the unnatural character of the artificially equalized price of land or rent under the socialist system’ and this ‘emerging price gradient’ builds pressure to change land uses. Sykora (1993: 287-288) drew a distinction between short-term adjustments in occupancy and the use of existing structures – what he called a functional gap – and longer-term, rent-gap pressures to reconfigure, rebuild, or redevelop: ‘Functional gaps are caused by the underutilization of available land and buildings relative to their current physical quality. When a centrally planned allocation of resources is replaced by allocation ruled by market forces, freely set rents influence the distribution of functions in space. Thus, functions with an inefficient utilization of space may soon be outbid by more progressive functions with a highly intensive space utilization. In this way, the functional gaps can be closed in a very short time without making huge investments.

3.3 Other Gentrification Notions

So far, the gentrification term had expanded to encompass the middle-class (re)settlement of rural areas (questioning the spatial determinism of inner-city gentrification), ‘new-build’ developments (questioning the historic built environment of gentrification), and super-gentrification (questioning the assumption in stage models of an endpoint to gentrification) (Wyly et al. 2010).

a) New-Build Gentrification

The term of new-build gentrification, as Sharon Zukin (1991: 193) explained, has to do with real estate developers who woke up to the opportunity of offering a ‘product based on place’. Notions of gentrification expanded to include a varied range of building forms, some of which were newly constructed townhouses and condominiums. Such buildings are obviously at odds with the classic gentrification notion of a rehabilitated ‘old’ property. In the Netherlands, such new-build development is part of a policy of ‘housing re-differentiation’ that is nothing less than a policy of gentrification (Uitermark, 2007). Not all authors, however, agree that inner-city, new-build developments are a form of gentrification; some prefer to term them ‘re-urbanization’ (Lambert and Boddy 2002; Boddy 2007; Buzar, Hall and Ogden 2007).

Thus, when luxury condos are built on reclaimed industrial land, does it count as gentrification? These are not old houses, and there is no displacement of a low-income community. Gentrification authors have

long been aware of such a question, but there have been few attempts to outline the competing arguments and their implications. Most gentrification authors would now agree that certain new-build developments should be characterized as gentrification, but there is still a minority who believe they should not. The fact that gentrifiers' residences today are ‘as likely to be smart new townhouses as renovated workers' cottages’ (Shaw 2002: 42) has led authors, such as Neil Smith, 2008, to change their definition of gentrification, so he argues that a distinction can no longer be made between classical and new-build gentrification.

It is questionable by Lees et al., 2008 whether the sort of new housing development and conversion described in Bristol and other second tier cities, or indeed the development of London's Docklands, can, in fact, still be characterized as post-recession gentrification or otherwise. There are parallels: new geographies of neighbourhood change, new middle-class fractions colonizing new areas of central urban space, and attachment to a distinctive lifestyle and urban aesthetic. However, ‘gentrification’, as originally coined, referred primarily to a rather different type of ‘new middle class’, buying up older, often ‘historic’ individual housing units and renovating and restoring them for their own use and, in the process, driving up property values and driving out former, typically lower income working class residents. Discourses of gentrification and the gentrification literature itself do represent a useful starting point for the analysis of the sort of phenomenon discussed above. However, as a conclusion, to describe these processes as gentrification is to stretch the term and what it is set out to describe too far.

Davidson and Lees (2005: 1169-1170) drew up the cases for and against new-build gentrification as follows:

The Case for

- It causes displacement, albeit indirect and/or sociocultural.
- In movers are the urbane new middle classes.
- A gentrified landscape/aesthetic is produced.
- Capital is reinvested in disinvested urban areas (often on brownfield sites, but not always).

The Case against

- Pre-existing populations are not displaced.
- The process does not involve the restoration of old housing by individuals.
- It is a different version of urban living.

The case against new-build developments in central cities being characterized as gentrification includes the argument that this is not a process involving the loving restoration of old housing by gentrifiers rich in social and cultural capital and, as with pioneer gentrifiers, poor in economic capital. Rather, the developer produces a product and lifestyle to be bought by those with sufficient economic capital to afford these new developments. According to Lambert and Boddy (2002: 21), the purchasers are buying into a different version of urban living. The crux of Lambert and Boddy's (2002: 18) argument is that, because these new houses are built on brownfield land, they do not displace a pre-existing residential

population; as such, they argue that with respect to new-build developments, '[g]entrification in the sense of a process of social change based on "invasion and succession" is, therefore, a misnomer'. They argue, instead, that such developments are better termed 're-urbanization'. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence supports Davidson and Lees (2005) and Davidson (2006) who show that displacement does occur and that new-build developments act as beachheads from which the tentacles of gentrification can spread into the surrounding neighbourhoods, depending on the histories and contexts of those neighbourhoods. Show-new-build gentrification first emerged in the 1980s. The difference between these two time periods is that. in the 1980s, the state was a background actor in new-build gentrification, whereas nowadays, the third-wave gentrification of the state is a key actor. Moreover, new-build gentrification is not always located on ex-industrial brownfield sites; some new-build gentrification is located on pre-existing residential sites as the case of Fairview Slopes in Vancouver, Canada, and Newcastle, United Kingdom as demonstrated below. In addition, the actors involved in new-build gentrification are usually more varied than those in classical gentrification, including architects and developers as well as the state (Lees et al., 2008: p. 141).

b) Commercial Gentrification

'Commercial gentrification' refers to the gentrification of commercial premises or commercial streets or areas; it has also been called 'boutiqueification' or 'retail gentrification'. In the early days of gentrification in Park Slope, the state was heavily implicated in commercial gentrification. Through what became known as 'shopsteading' (the residential version was called 'homesteading'), the City of New York sold off vacant commercial premises along 7th Avenue in Park Slope for a nominal sum on the condition that the new owners would renovate the premises and set up new businesses (Lees, 2008; 131). Zukin (1990) discusses the way that gentrification's spatial form is obvious in consumption spaces along streets that have changed to cater to gentrifiers' tastes. Ley (1996) discusses the way that 'hippy' retailing was initially significant in the gentrification of Kitsilano in Vancouver as pioneer gentrifiers sought craft shops that were anti-mass merchandise. Bridge and Dowling (2001) discuss the retail fabric of four inner Sydney neighbourhoods and argue that restaurant eating and individualized rather than mass consumption are the main consumption practices associated with gentrification in these neighbourhoods. Here, consumer demands and individual preferences are the key.

c) Tourism Gentrification

'Tourism gentrification' is a term used by Gotham (2005) in a case study of the socio spatial transformation of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). He defines 'tourism gentrification' as the transformation of a neighbourhood into relatively affluent and exclusive enclave in which corporate entertainment and tourism venues have proliferated. In arguing that the growth of tourism has enhanced the significance of consumption-orientated activities in residential space and as such encouraged gentrification, Gotham contests explanations, such as those of David Ley, that view gentrification as the outcome of consumer demands. The gentrification that emerges is both commercial and residential, and, as he argues, it reflects new institutional connections between the local institutions, the real estate

industry and the global economy. Thus, the phenomenon of tourism gentrification presents a challenge to traditional explanations of gentrification that assume demand-side or production-side factors drive the process. Gentrification is not an outcome of group preferences nor a reflection of market laws of supply and demand. One particular myth is the claim that consumer desires are forces to which capital merely reacts. Consumer taste for gentrified spaces is, instead, created and marketed, and depends on the alternatives offered by powerful capitalists who are primarily interested in producing the built environment from which they can extract the highest profit (Gotham 2005: 1114).

In many ways linked to tourism gentrification, Griffith (2000) discusses how culturally distinct sections of coastal cities are sources of capital investment primarily for construction and tourism. Brighton and Hove, on the south coast of Britain, have been gentrified over the past decade, and indeed their authorities have been heavily involved in making these places where the 'urbane' middle classes would want to live. Gotham (2005) connects tourism gentrification in New Orleans to global socioeconomic transformations and the powerful role corporate capital plays in the organization and development of gentrified spaces (p. 1114).

d) Super Gentrification

A more recent derivative is super-gentrification or financification (Lees 2000, 2003b; Butler and Lees 2006). Here was found a further level of gentrification which is superimposed on an already gentrified neighbourhood, one that involves a higher financial or economic investment in the neighbourhood than previous waves of gentrification and requires a qualitatively different level of economic resource. This gentrification is driven largely by globally connected workers employed in the City of London or on Wall Street.

Butler with Robson (2003) suggested that Barnsburry in London was 'witnessing second generation (re)gentrification' driven largely by finance and financial-sector workers employed in the City of London. Lees (2000, 2003b), in the context of specific neighbourhoods in Brooklyn, New York City, termed this process 'super-gentrification' or 'financification'. Lees et al. (2008) defined super-gentrification as a further level of intensified gentrification that is happening in a few select neighbourhoods in global cities like London and New York. More recently, Butler and Lees (2006) had worked together to provide detailed empirical evidence of a third wave of gentrification and super-gentrification.

In the term 'super-gentrification', the prefix 'super' is used to demonstrate that this is not only a higher level of gentrification, but also one superimposed on an already gentrified neighbourhood; one that has global connections – social, economic and cultural; and one that involves a higher financial or economic investment in the neighbourhood than previous waves of gentrification, and as such requires a qualitatively different level of economic resource. The suffix 'gentrification' is used as a metaphor for social change; here a new, more elite, more globally connected gentry is moving into the neighbourhood (Butler and Lees 2006). This argument revolves around Sassen (1991) about the creation of a new class of financial engineers who have successfully commodified the financial services industries, creating new

products and great wealth for themselves. The spread of this industry has been such that it has also included those in supporting industry sectors such as marketing, information technology, and crucially, legal services. Moreover, Lees et al. (2008) mentioned that super-gentrification is an interesting phenomenon in that it goes against the grain of stage models of gentrification which assume an endpoint to the process, the endpoint being mature gentrification.

Palen and London (1984: 6) argued that the existence of such a welter of terms (and they cite urban regeneration, urban revitalization, gentrification, neighbourhood renewal, rehabilitation, renovation, back-to-the-city movement and urban reinvasion) to describe the very same phenomenon is not simply meaningless terminology entrepreneurship. One of the lessons of the sociology of knowledge is that words are not passive; indeed, they help to shape and create our perception of the world around us. The terms we choose to label or describe events must, therefore, convey appropriate connotations or images of the phenomenon under consideration to avoid serious misunderstandings.

Accordingly, Lees et al. (2008), and Davidson and Lees (2005: 1167) argued that one of the reasons why so many people have sought to keep new types of gentrification closely connected to the term 'gentrification' (e.g., gentrification and financification) is because of the politics of that term. Gentrification is, perhaps more than any other word in urban geography or urban studies, a political, politicized, and politically loaded word. After all, it is hard to be against revitalization, regeneration, or renaissance, but much easier to be against gentrification. The way that governments and municipalities deliberately avoid using the word 'gentrification' in their policy documents that promote revitalization, regeneration, or renaissance reveals this.

However, Davidson and Lees (2005: 1187) argued that 'gentrification scholars need to allow the term gentrification enough elasticity to "open up to new insights" and indeed to reflect the mutations in the twenty-first century of this increasingly active and somewhat different process'. They argue that Glass's (1964) definition of the process is now a relic of its time, but that it is still useful 'as a spring board from which to open out the definition as opposed to something that restricts it' (Davidson and Lees 2005: 1187). They suggest that we hold onto the core elements of gentrification: (1) the reinvestment of capital, (2) the social upgrading of the locale by incoming high-income groups, (3) landscape change, and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups, and that it does not get attached to a landscape or context. In this way, it is possible to 'keep hold of "gentrification" as an important term and concept for analyzing urban change in the 21st-century city' (p. 1187). Like Davidson and Lees (2005), Clark argued that the term needed to be elastic enough to allow new processes of gentrification, which may yet emerge, to be drawn under its umbrella, and at the same time be able to make political statements. It needs to be 'an elastic yet targeted definition' (Clark 2005: 258).

3.4 Waves of Gentrification

Gentrification waves and their application on the case studies of Egypt

As Hackworth and Neil Smith suggested the gentrification waves in 2001 for USA and European cities, the following is a summary of these waves introduced by them, followed by a projection to such waves on the Egyptian case.

- **First-Wave Gentrification (1950 – 1973)**

Sporadic gentrification: prior to 1973, the process is mainly isolated in small neighbourhoods in the Northeastern USA and Western Europe.

- Disinvested inner-city housing
- Target for reinvestment
- These gentrifications were often funded by the public sector because gentrification was thought to be too risky for the private sector.
- Governments were aggressive in helping gentrification because of the prospect of inner-city investment.
- State involvement was often justified through the discourse of ameliorating urban decline.

- **Transition (1973 – 1978)**

Gentrifiers buy property: In New York and other cities, developers and investors used the downturn in property values to consume large portions of de-valorised neighbourhoods, thus setting the stage for 1980s gentrification.

- **Second-Wave gentrification (1978 – 1988)**

The anchoring of gentrification: The process becomes implanted in hitherto disinvested central city neighbourhoods. In contrast to the pre-1973 experience of gentrification, the process becomes common in smaller, non-global cities during the 1980s. In New York City, the presence of the arts community was often a key correlate of residential gentrification, serving to smooth the flow of capital into neighbourhoods like SoHo, Tribeca and the Lower East Side. Intense political struggles occur during this period over the displacement of the poorest residents.

- This was described as expansion and resistance,
- Also, anchored and stabilized the gentrification process and resulted in an aggressive entrepreneurial spirit.
- It was characterized by the ‘integration of gentrification into a wider range of economic and cultural processes at the global and national scales’ (Hackworth and Smith 2001: 468; Wyly and Hammel 2001).
- The processes of gentrification and the gentrifiers themselves became more corporate and the neighbourhood more stable.

- The number of foreign banks in London increased from 163 in 1970 to 521 in 1989 (King, 1990).
- During the period 1968-1987, the number of staff working in foreign banks and securities houses increased eightfold from 9,000 to 72,000.
- London became the main centre for the international euro currency business (Pryke 1991: 205).
- The City of London's function as a banking and finance centre
- The City was to become a new fast-moving capitalism.
- The second generation of gentrifiers was, in some respects, a transitional group between the first- and third-generation gentrifiers.
- Gentrifiers were a wealthier group of professionals than the pioneer gentrifiers
- Gotham (2005) argues that two features marked this second wave:

  a-first is the integration of gentrification with new cultural strategies of economic redevelopment, meaning new investments in museums and art galleries. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s, following the models designed in cities such as Pittsburgh in the United States and Glasgow in Scotland, Bilbao in Spain used flagship property-led redevelopment projects, such as the Guggenheim Museum, as central ingredients in its urban regeneration.

  b- Second is the increased connection between gentrification and the global systems of real estate and banking finance.
- The second wave was characterized by public-private partnerships, the increasing role of developers in the process, and laissez-faire subsidies.
- In this second wave, globalization was, in part, responsible for the ushering in of ‘new urban politics’ (Cox and Mair 1988) characterized by a shift away from an emphasis on the provision of welfare to a more proactive commitment to local economic development.
- The shift was characterized by Harvey (1989b) as being from ‘urban managerialism’ to ‘urban entrepreneurialism’.
- In the 1980s, Thatcherite urban regeneration focused on economic growth and used public funds to lever in largely undirected market investment.

- **Transition (1988 – 1993)**

Gentrification slows: the recession constricts the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighbourhoods, prompting some to proclaim that a degentrification or reversal of the process was afoot.

- **Third-Wave Gentrification (1994 – 1999)**

Gentrification returns: Prophesies of degentrification appear to have been overstated as many neighbourhoods continue to gentrify, while others, further from the city centre, begin to experience the

process for the first time. Post-recession gentrification seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever as large developers rework entire neighbourhoods, often with state support.

- The third wave of gentrification is characterized by interventionist governments working with the private sector to facilitate gentrification – quite a shift from the typical second-wave position of passive support K. Shaw (2005: 183).
- Third-wave or post-recession gentrification, described as a 'recessional pause and subsequent expansion', began in the mid-1990s.
- There was widespread agreement that the assumed demise of gentrification was premature and that the phenomenon had entered a third wave of post-recession gentrification.
- In their discussion of third-wave gentrification, Hackworth and Smith (2001) suggest that the evolution of gentrification into a generalized strategy of capital accumulation, as seen in the second wave, was extended and intensified in the third wave.
- Post-recession gentrification – the third wave of the process – is a purer expression of the economic conditions and processes that made reinvestment in disinvested inner areas so alluring for investors (Hackworth and Smith 2001: 468).
- Gentrification became linked to large-scale capital more than ever. Hackworth (2002a) argued that four changes distinguish gentrification's third wave:

  (1) corporate developers became the leading initiators of gentrification, less so pioneer gentrifiers;

  (2) federal and local governments were more open and assertive in facilitating gentrification;

  (3) anti-gentrification movements became more marginalized; and

  (4) gentrification was diffusing into more remote neighbourhoods.
- Hackworth (2002a: 839) argues that in its third wave, overall, gentrification became 'more corporate, more state facilitated, and less resisted than ever before'.
- In many ways, the heightened role of the state in gentrification, in terms of both public policy and investment, was the most important of these changes.
- However, after subsequent years of laissez-faire gentrification, the state began assisting gentrification again in its third wave, and in a much more assertive way: 'The state, at various levels, is fuelling the process of gentrification more directly than in the past, largely due to increased devolution' (Powell and Spencer 2003: 450).

- **Transition (2000 – 2002)**

Gentrification slows: When a recession began to hit the U.S. economy in early 2001, the standard response of the Federal Reserve System (the Fed) – a quick barrage of interest rate cuts – brought unexpected results. This recession was different: it was brought on by a collapse in business expenditures, and sustained consumer borrowing and spending helped to cushion the slowdown. Also,

over the previous decade, financial services' competition and public policy had altered mortgage lending practices by relaxing underwriting standards, reducing payment requirements, and expanding the secondary market where borrowers' debt obligations are traded much like stocks and bonds. As a result, the flows of capital in local neighbourhoods became much more tightly integrated with the conditions of national and global capital markets in contrast to the housing market collapse that accompanied the early 1990s recession with its predictions of 'de-gentrification'.

- **Fourth-Wave Gentrification (2003 – 2008)**

- Hackworth and Smith (2001: 475) emphasized that the local effects of increased state intervention in gentrification should be understood as part of a broader shift in the political economy of the process – and, indeed, 'a systemic change in the way that the state relates to capital' and urbanization itself.
- This wave combines an intensified financialization of housing combined with the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies.
- The years after 2001 funnelled enormous flows of capital into housing.
- Buying stocks on margin has morphed into buying homes with no money down (Rich and Leonhardt 2005).
- Various indicators point to a gentle cooling of the market beginning in late 2005, but years of heavy capital flows into housing have greatly worsened the affordability crises for low-income renters, with particularly severe stress for those living in gentrifying neighbourhoods.
- These broad economic trends have driven gentrification deeper into the heart of disinvested city neighbourhoods.
- Lenders are now aggressively competing to make loans; moreover, new underwriting technologies now allow a much more precise separation of the risks of lending to borrowers in specific places.
- Disinvestment, reinvestment, and rent gap dynamics are now playing out in more geographically complex patterns, inscribing fine-grained inequalities of class and race in city neighbourhoods.
- The most distinguishing features of a new fourth wave involve the consolidation of a powerful national political shift favouring the interests of the wealthiest households (see Dumenil and Levy 2004), combined with a bold effort to dismantle the last of the social welfare programmes associated with the 1960s.
- Local governments have continued to pursue economic development and housing policies that generally favour gentrification, but these efforts are now taking place in a national climate marked by the incidental urban impacts of federal policies on taxes, privatization, social welfare cuts, and so on. Gentrification is flourishing in this environment, and so is its manifestation in hundreds of neighbourhoods
- Jamie Peck has diagnosed this as a fundamental shift from 'welfarist modes of urban governance' to a new dominant conservative urbanism 'based on the invasive moral and penal regulation of the

poor, together with state-assisted efforts to reclaim the city for business, the middle classes, and the market' (Peck 2006: 681).

- **Transition (2008 – 2011)**

Gentrification slows the recession in the housing market which was the main reason for the 2008 economic rises worldwide, especially in the UK and USA where investors were afraid to invest more in urban projects. Investment was a risk to many investors and developers which slowed the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighbourhoods, prompting some to proclaim that a degentrification or reversal of the process was afoot.

- **Fifth-Wave Gentrification 2011 – onwards is still under construction**

Collective Stage Model of Gentrification from 1968 to 2017 in the USA & UK		
2017 2016 2015 2014 2013 2012	Fifth wave	**Fifth wave gentrification 2011 – onwards is still Under construction**
2011 2010 2009 2008	Transition	**Gentrification slows:** the recession in housing market, the 2008 economic crises worldwide, specially in UK and USA, investors were afraid to invest more in urban projects.
2007 2006 2005 2004 2003	Fourth wave	**Hackworth and Smith (2001: 475)** emphasized that the local effects of increased state intervention in gentrification should be understood as part of a broader shift in the political economy of the process. intensified financialization of housing with the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies.
2002 2001 2000	Transition	**Gentrification slows:** When a recession began to hit the U.S. economy in early 2001. the standard response of the Federal Reserve System (the Fed)-a quick barrage of interest rate cuts-brought unexpected results.
Hackworth and Smith's (2001) Stage Model of Gentrification		
1999 1998 1997 1996 1995 1994	Third wave	**Gentrification returns:** Prophesies of degentrification appear to have been overstated as many neighborhoods continue to gentrify whIle others, further from the city center begin to experience the process for the first time. Post-recession gentrification seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighborhoods, often with state support.
1993 1992 1991 1990 1989 1988	Transition	**Gentrification slows:** the recession constricts the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods, prompoting some to proclaim that a degentrification or reversal of the process was afoot
1987 1986 1985 1984 1983 1982 1981 1980 1979 1978	Second wave	**The anchoring of gentrification:** The process becomes implanted in hitherto disinvested central city neighborhoods. In contrast to the pre-1973 experience of gentrification, the process becomes common in smaller, non-global cities during the 1980s. In New York City, the presence of the arts community was often a key correlate of residential gentrification, serving to smooth the flow of capital into neighborhoods like SoHo, Trebeca and the Lower East Side. Intense political struggles occur during this period over the displacement of the poorest residents.
1977 1976 1975 1974	Transition	**Gentrifiers buy property:** In New York and other cities, developers and investors used the downturn in property values to consume large portions of devalorized neighborhoods, thus setting the stage for 1980s gentrification
1973 1972 1971 1970 1969 1968	First wave	**Sporadic gentrification:** prior to 1973, the process is mainly isolated in small neighborhoods in the north eastern USA and Western Europe.

Figure 3-3. Hackworth and Smith's (2001) Stage Model of Gentrification

Source: Hackworth and Smith, 2001.

3.5 Conclusions

3.5.1 Gentrification Process - What and How?

Gentrification in Egypt processes in a different way than the core cities. Firstly, no one knows about the term ‘gentrification’ and there is even no translation of it into the Arabic language except the insight of Muhammad Eldaidamony (2018) to translate the term into Arabic (see also: https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/استطباق#cite_note-2). Elwakil Shafak (2015) argued that the term is much related to ‘replacement’, though gentrification’s positive and negative consequences differ from replacement. Thus, no one resists the gentrification process since, as far as its unknown, inhabitants do not have the opportunity to struggle against it. Secondly, on economic basis, gentrification is a very powerful tool to increase the income of the gentrification mediators and stakeholders such as local businesses, contractors, and developers. Thirdly, gentrification is happening gradually and slowly in Cairo, thus it’s important to understand the process to proclaim and legalize it to get as much positive consequences and avoid the negative ones by providing alternatives to the displaced inhabitants.

Moreover, gentrification can be defined in the context of Egypt as ‘a process that pushes economic activities to benefit, on one hand, the stakeholders – new comers, policy makers, and investors – by purchasing renewed properties to enjoy the better quality of life in a liveable urban environment. On the other hand, the process also includes the mediators who get better direct job opportunities and increase their income, working in some better-quality neighbourhoods and indirect complementary job opportunities such as small investors, workers and local contractors. All this happens secretly (behind the scenes) and hiding under the umbrella of other urban models (e.g. regeneration, renewal, rehabilitation, etc.) beyond gentrification, regardless to the displaced population, while the displaced population tends to hide and accommodate with the new urban life, which explains the slowness of gentrification’. Moreover, the researcher will differentiate between the different urban models and expressions used in urban planning and projects in the next chapter, as gentrification is a different approach which needs more case studies to be involved to draw a full map to its consequences in Egypt.

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 neighbourhood. On the other hand, the existing neighbourhood of that class, somehow, tends 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’s negative consequences, likely as social segregation, destruction of social classes, and displacement’.

In the meantime, the gentrification process could happen in a reverse way – instead of improving urban life and replacing lower-middle-class inhabitants by higher ones, the so called ‘degentrification’ could take place by deteriorating the urban life and replacing higher middleclass inhabitants by lower ones. In this sense, degentrification could be defined as follows: ‘Simply, degentrification (reverse gentrification) is the replacement of a 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'. The coming figure illustrates the difference between the gentrification and degentrification processes.

3.5.2 Geographies of Gentrification – Where spatially?

The two new added geographies of gentrification – historical/cultural, tourism gentrification and real estate/contracting gentrification – will open further research fields and enrich the literature of gentrification in the future. They will also fill the gap in literature regarding the developing countries, such as Egypt, to bear with the gentrification process around the world. In the next chapter, there will be more detailed analysis for cultural tourism and real estate gentrification processes. Such analysis will clarify how gentrification is evolving in Egypt, generally, and the case studies specifically.

So far, Lees (2012) argued that when one reads through the renascent literature on comparative urbanism in urban geography, there would be no sign of the gentrification literature, of its long tradition of comparative work (between different countries, different cities, and different neighbourhoods within single cities), or of its 'geographies of gentrification' (some examples include Butler, 1997; Butler with Robson, 2003; Clark, 1994; Clay, 1979; Lees, 1994; Ley, 1988, 1996; Smith, 1996), even by way of critique. Researchers interested in comparative urbanism will find some of the theoretical and conceptual debates around gentrification illuminating, but more importantly the gentrification literature can learn from the new literature on comparative urbanism, moving towards a post-colonial approach to comparativism. Thus, the research will compare different gentrification processes in four case studies (i.e. London, Brussels, Philadelphia and Vienna) in different continents to summarize the different possible indicators.

3.5.3 Gentrification Timing – When? (Waves of Gentrification)

Gentrification has been in charge since the 1950s, as argued by many authors in the core cities of gentrification, while the researcher proposes that the first wave of gentrification started in Egypt since the beginning of the 1970s post war when the government started to apply the open-door policy to increase foreign investments and open up the economy for international laws after the period of coalition with the socialism and communism regimes since the 1950s until end of the 1960s.

Table 3-1. Applying the waves of gentrification in the Egyptian case

Source: Adapted by the researcher

Waves	USA	EGYPT
First wave	**First-Wave Gentrification (1950 – 1973)**	**First Wave (1973-1981) infitah policy**
	Sporadic gentrification: Prior to 1973, the process was mainly isolated in small neighbourhoods in the north-eastern USA and Western Europe. Disinvested inner-city housing target for reinvestment occurred. These gentrifications were often funded by the public sector because gentrification was thought to be	Policies were introduced to encourage Arab and foreign investments through a series of incentives and liberalizing trade and payment; heavy emphasis was put on developing the tourism and textile manufacturing industry as drivers of growth. As a result, the economy expanded but this proved unsustainable and growth consequently scaled back.

	too risky for the private sector: Governments were aggressive in helping gentrification because the prospect of inner-city investment state involvement was often justified through the discourse of ameliorating urban decline.	
Transition	**Transition (1973 – 1978)**	**Transition (1981-1985)** **The country witnessed constitutional problems and referendum, new president economic changes, and an unstable economy**
	Gentrifiers buy property: In New York and other cities, developers and investors used the downturn in property values to consume large portions of devalorized neighbourhoods, thus setting the stage for the 1980s gentrification.	Even though farm and industry output expanded, the economy could not keep pace with the population boom. Mass poverty and unemployment led rural families to stream into cities like Cairo where they ended up in crowded slums, barely managing to survive.
Second Wave	**Second-Wave Gentrification (1978 – 1988)**	**Second Wave (1985-1991)**
	The anchoring of gentrification: The process becomes implanted in hitherto disinvested central city neighbourhoods. In contrast to the pre-1973 experience of gentrification, the process becomes common in smaller, non-global cities during the 1980s. In New York City, the presence of the arts community was often a key correlate of residential gentrification, serving to smooth the flow of capital into neighbourhoods like SoHo, Tribeca and the Lower East Side. Intense political struggles occur during this period over the displacement of the poorest residents.	The external debt crisis, Paris Club rescheduling and debt reduction.
Transition	**Transition (1988 – 1993)**	**Transition (1991-1992)**
	Gentrification slows: The recession constricts the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighbourhoods, prompting some to proclaim that a degentrification or reversal of the process was afoot.	The 1992 Cairo earthquake occurred at 15:09 local time (13:09 UTC) on 12th October, with an epicentre near Dahshur, 35 km (22 mi) south of Cairo. The earthquake had a magnitude of 5.8, but was unusually destructive for its size, causing 545 deaths, injuring 6,512 and making 50,000 people homeless. It was the most damaging seismic event to affect Cairo since 1847. **Gulf War (1990-1991)** Egypt's participation in the war solidified its central role in the Arab World and brought financial benefits for the Egyptian government. According to The Economist, reports that sums of up to US$500,000 per soldier were paid or debt forgiven were published in the news media. The programme worked like a charm: a textbook case, says the [International Monetary Fund]. In fact, luck was on Hosni Mubarak's side; when the US was hunting for a military alliance to force Iraq out of Kuwait, Egypt's president joined without hesitation. After the war, his reward was that America, the Arab states of the Persian Gulf, and Europe forgave Egypt around $20 billion of debt.

Third Wave	**Third-Wave gentrification (1994 – 1999)**	**Third Wave (1991-2007)** **Privatization and Economic Growth**
	Gentrification returns: Prophesies of degentrification appear to have been overstated as many neighbourhoods continue to gentrify while others, further from the city centre begin to experience the process for the first time. Post-recession gentrification seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighbourhoods, often with state support.	Reform policies were introduced to meet the terms of international institutions, lenders and donors, including wider incentives to the role of the private sector in all economic activities. Under comprehensive economic reforms initiated in 1991, Egypt has relaxed many price controls, reduced subsidies, reduced inflation, cut taxes, and partially liberalized trade and investment. Manufacturing had become less dominated by the public sector, especially in heavy industries. A process of public sector reform and privatization has begun to enhance opportunities for the private sector.
Transition	**Transition (2000 – 2002)**	**Transition (2008-2011)** **Egypt witnessed economic crises grains, price increase import and exports currency, etc. and the revolution in 2011**
	Gentrification slows: When a recession began to hit the U.S. economy in early 2001, the standard response of the Federal Reserve System (the Fed) – a quick barrage of interest rate cuts – brought unexpected results. This recession was different: it was brought on by a collapse in business expenditures, and sustained consumer borrowing and spending which helped to cushion the slowdown. Over the previous decade, financial services competition and public policy had altered mortgage-lending practices by relaxing underwriting standards, reducing down payment requirements, and expanding the secondary market where borrowers' debt obligations are traded much like stocks and bonds. As a result, the flows of capital in local neighbourhoods became much more tightly integrated with the conditions of national and global capital markets in contrast to the housing market collapse that accompanied the early 1990s recession with its predictions of 'de-gentrification'.	Soaring food prices, especially for grains, led to calls for the government to provide more immediate assistance to the population of more than 40% in the 'poverty tunnel' and to strike a 'new deal' on agriculture policy and reform. Egypt faced the long-term supply and demand side repercussions of the global financial crisis on the national economy. Egypt's gains from the annual growth rates benefited the rich and failed to trickle down and reduce poverty which increased to about 50% in 2011 leading to socioeconomic political instability and popular revolution on 25th January 2011.
Fourth Wave	**Fourth-Wave Gentrification (2003 – 2008)**	**Fourth Wave (2011-present)**
	Hackworth and Smith (2001: 475) emphasized that the local effects of increased state intervention in gentrification should be understood as part of a broader shift in the political economy of the process – and, indeed, 'a systemic change in the way that the state relates to capital' and urbanization itself. This wave combines an intensified financialization of housing combined with the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies. The years after 2001 funnelled enormous flows of capital into housing. Buying stocks on margin has morphed into buying homes with no money down' (Rich and Leonhardt 2005).	Under construction

	Transition (2008 – 2011)	
	Gentrification slows the recession in the housing market which was the main reason for the 2008 economic crises worldwide, especially in UK and USA where investors were afraid to invest more in urban projects. Investment was a risk to many investors and developers which slowed the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighbourhoods, prompting some to proclaim that a degentrification or reversal of the process was afoot.	
Fifth Wave	**Fifth-Wave Gentrification (2011 – onwards)**	
	Under construction	

3.5.4 Gentrifiers' Types – Who ?

For further purposes, more analysis is 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. So far, social and cultural analyses need more research from socialists and geographers to identify the types of specific habits and traditions' changes. Geographic Information System, as a tool for analysis and to deduce gentrification locations, is considered useful and fruitful, and more are to be expected from the analysis tools it has, in further research. Finally, as gentrification was considered before being a haphazard process in some cases, it could be managed and controlled for the benefits of the inhabitants. This will overcome and decrease displacement and social segregation of gentrification and maximize the benefiting of its positive consequences, improved urban life and newly investments and prospered economic activities.

Gentrifiers from the new middle class, or the creative class as Florida mentioned, are classified into the below categories. It's important to mention that this is a collective study from Butler (1997) and Butler et al. (2003), which was done to know the different types of gentrifiers worldwide. The categories are as follows:

- Classical gentrifiers: new middle class, living alone or a childless dual career couples, that owns a renovated historic house in an inner neighbourhood
- Super gentrifiers: highly-paid managers buying up luxury properties in the inner city outside traditional elite areas
- Family gentrifiers: family households in inner neighbourhoods
- Post students (young gentrifiers): swelling ranks of middle-class young adults with still moderate-income levels in non-family households; renters in the private rental market in inner areas – Rental gentrification.
- Artists
- Investors (small enterprise owners)
- Other rejected social groups (e.g. gays, lesbians, etc.)

While looking to/considering the different types of gentrifiers, there will be a culture conflict between Egypt and western countries regarding some types such as gays and lesbians as in Egypt there is no data that mentioned the existence of these types of gentrifiers. As to the researcher knowledge, gays and lesbians may exist but they cannot be considered in this research due to the shortage of data required. Thus, they can be excluded from this research for the case studies of Egypt. So far, the researcher identified two new types of gentrifiers: real estate developers/contractors and historical/cultural tourism gentrifiers. The first type is interested in developing the neighbourhood looking for profit by establishing new buildings and maintaining the existing ones by adding new materials and distorting the facades of highly architectural value buildings. On the other hand, the other type works in the historical areas to benefit from cultural tourism by changing the buildings' uses to other uses to keep up and convey the changes around them.

Smith and Williams (1986) summarize the causes of gentrification in Boston into five main processes:

1- suburbanization and the emergence of a rent gap;

2- deindustrialization;

3- spatial centralization and decentralization of capital;

4- falling profit and the cyclical movement of capital; and

5- changes in demographics and consumption patterns.

The next chapter will deal with more a detailed analysis/detailed analyses for these processes in the case studies in order to identify gentrification's possible locations.

4.1 Previous experiences of gentrification

In this chapter, the researcher will identify the research framework through looking behind for previous experiences of the gentrification process in the four main geographies of gentrification in London witnessing super gentrification: Brussels as a third-world immigration global city, Philadelphia with black ethnic minority gentrification, and Vienna, the most liveable city processing gentrification as an urban policy, the three of which were identified in the first chapter of this research. Accordingly, the main different aspects and perspectives of the gentrification process in urban neighbourhoods are defined to identify the tools and methods for analysis preparation. Then, the different sources of data collected in the research are identified to provide the tools and methods used with the main sources for analysis. While the tools and methods used will illustrate the gentrification process's perspective in Egypt generally and in Cairo specifically, they are essential to understand the gentrification process's type, types of gentrifiers, and the activities which lead to gentrification in the case studies. This will pave the way to identify and choose the case studies' area, location, and boundaries. Thus, the indicators of gentrification, which will be examined on the case studies, show the different types of indicators and conclude a preliminary list to be examined then as a conclusion to produce the final list of indicators.

4.1.1 Economic, housing and real estate development aspects (Gentrification in London)

Super gentrification and new build real estate development model

So, in this part/section, the researcher will display and review the gentrification process in London as a city witnessing the super gentrification process. According to that, gentrification has driven financial sector workers working in London, London being a super gentrification model in gentrification geographies and literature. Moreover, Juliet Carpenter and Loretta Lees in 1995, with a comparison of the gentrification process between London, Paris and New York, that London, found out that de-valorising and disinvestment in the inner city is essential for the gentrification process to take place as it takes a disinvestment form via suburbanization processes in post-war periods. The case study of London, Barnsbury, had a high vacancies incidence, with increasing rents and high property values for evicted turnover properties. The role of the state was significant as it played an important role to facilitate gentrification, in direct and indirect ways, by offering financial supports, especially for areas under conservation. In other words, gentrification in London is facilitated by state rather being than a demand-led process. Moreover, real estate companies used the possible profits in Barnsbury to sell different gentrified properties to future investors. The gentrification process in Barnsbury was characterized by disinvestment accompanied by high vacancy rates, neglected properties reinvested by corporate and commercial capitals, and state role in reinvestment actions. All this worked together to produce a gentrified neighbourhood. The author agreed with what Smith (1991) argued that gentrification processes as a matter of degree rather than a kind.

So far, as Chris Hamnett (2003) argued, in the period from 1961 until 2001, London experienced a change in industrial, wages and professional structures. Thus, he comes out to the conclusion that as the middle class in inner London continued growing/to grow in size and significance, the city industry has been transformed in terms of a decline in working class population and an increase in professional occupations. This led to an increase in incomes and inequality, and it was also evident that the purchasing power of the middle class intensified the demand and pressure on housing. While gentrification grows in the inner city, population tend to commute less and enjoy different cultural and social facilities which then attracts more and more people to enjoy the same life style, hence more gentrifiers. On the other hand, the transformation in occupations was accompanied by a replacement of classes, with prices rising up resulting in indirect displacement where the working class population cannot afford the prices of the housing market anymore.

Accordingly, Mark Davidson and Loretta Lees, in 2005, argued that in newly built developments in metropolitan London, gentrification was led by the state, and that is observed by the policymakers and urban planners as an urban renaissance model which can solve different community problems: social, economic, environmental and sometimes educational and health ones. As for the negative consequences of gentrification, gentrification is supposed as a solution for regional and social inequalities. It was proven that displacement is a result of the gentrification process along the Thames river in London. These areas have stronger economy than other areas in the rest of London and, as a result, cause the most social disadvantages. Thus, the new cities built around London came to solve the shortage of affordable housing in London. When the new cities were built, the city core resided with the middle-class population to re-colonialize the city centre of London around the Thames river and left the outskirts to the lower-income population.

As a result of the need to open up, authors considered modifying and reproducing new forms of the gentrification process, as Ruth coined the term in the first place; it was contemporary at that time, which gives more challenges to find out more interesting forms of gentrification. Thus, Mark and Loretta made sure to concentrate on the four main elements of gentrification, reinvestment of capital, social upgrading bringing higher income population, landscape changes, and displacement, even directly or indirectly. This way, gentrification remains an important concept used for analysing urban changes in the 21st century, opening up the gentrification process for new terms such as new-build gentrification.

Later, Mark Davidson, in 2008, argued that the redevelopment along the Thames river provided an example of the urban renaissance of the new labour. Previous working-class neighbourhoods were replaced by middle-class populations, produced mixed neighbourhoods with high-dense, newly built properties on brownfield areas. The direct displacement is with minimum concern for many gentrification forms for newly built and concerted properties. Accordingly, the indirect displacement can process for short and long periods, which may result in unexpected political conflicts. The riverside of the Thames

worked as a process of transforming poor and deprived neighbourhoods into liveable residential neighbourhoods via urban renewal and densification projects, even sometimes a call for sustainable urban communities. As gentrification brings benefits for property owners and achieves urban policy success, the displaced population must not be neglected. This provides a new urban future that can find some possible alternatives for displaced people to survive in which current policies must offer people the chance to define their urban space, instead of falling to be a victim of private ownership market-led economy. There, they do not have the capability to identify and control their community barriers and boundaries. Finally, gentrification must continue to show the injustices of such process, and to find alternatives for low-income population to stay involved in current possible gentrified neighbourhoods.

Thus, the lessons learned from London is to consider the industrial and commercial activities in historic city centres. The different waves of investment, reinvestment and disinvestment naturally change the landscape of the city creating different barriers and boundaries of development. Look after the conservation projects which go hand in hand with gentrification process to high value properties as well as brownfields which are very attractive spots for gentrification to occur inside the city. Moreover, to follow the real estate development changes with housing market, cultural and social facilities need to reconsider the differences of each pattern regarding the gentrification process.

4.1.2 Demographic and socio-cultural aspects (Gentrification in Brussels)

Third world immigration global city

Recently, Belgian authors and urban geographers started to argue about the gentrification process in Brussels. In 2003, Mathieu Van Criekingen and Jean-Michel Decroly made a comparative study by analysing the renewal processes taking place in Brussels and Montreal, based on the typology of renewal, in which gentrification is hidden under the umbrella of urban renewal projects. They mentioned that the inner city of Brussels was reshaped by many waves of gentrification processes. Thus, the typology used in Brussels is to identify the processes of marginal gentrification and upgrading. Even they argued that the city had witnessed further sparation of upgrading which they called incumbent upgrading and which they used according to a set of indicators. These indicators initially included: a decayed and impoverished, urban neighbourhood in terms of the social standing index; transformations by the improvements done to the built environment in terms of the percentage of private housing renovated with renovation grants; social status growth in terms of the development of percentage of university graduates among those who hold a Belgian diploma; and the development of high-level employees in the working population. The population change took place in terms of the development of percentage of 25 to 34 years of age and 35 to 44 years of age in total population, then finally the outcome in terms of mean household income.

So far, the typology used, and the set of indicators examined, will enlighten the understanding of the inner city in reshaped western cities and build a geography of neighbourhood renewal as well. They also

recommended to analyse other cities and to compare their renewal patterns in urban neighbourhoods. At the same time, they argued that further research should include gentrification which is led by third world countries' immigrants (which they later did in a research done by Mathieu Van Criekingen in 2009, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs) as well as to investigate the causes and social impacts of renewal on urban neighbourhoods.

Later, in 2009, Mathieu Van Criekingen published his article about M. (2009) 'Migration and the effects of gentrification: A Brussels perspective' in which he explored the migration associated with the gentrification process in the historic core of Brussels. The reason is that Brussels witnessed several rounds of middle-class reinvestment which may be different to global cities' experiences. It was found that educated young adults (immigrants), who live alone and rent from private landlords, are in and out movers to or from the historical core of Brussels. As those young educated adults start their professional career, they tend to live the historical core for short periods. This shows the rapid turnover of private renters, which suggests that the young professionals, who are used to living in a gentrifying neighbourhood as a transitional period in their residing life, tend to relocate somewhere else after they become older in profession and parental cycle. The findings proved two negative consequences of gentrification in Brussels: one is the displacement of vulnerable population even with a limited number, while the second is that gentrification operates under circumstances accompanied with a relatively large number of a poor private housing market in the inner city neighbourhoods. The change in population of educated young adults operates a process of marginal gentrification: as middle class young adults move in, similar middle class young adults (mainly families of immigrant origin, elderly people, and lone parents) move out.

Moreover, Stefan de Corte, in 2009, argued that the gentrification process is led by immigrants from third world countries, especially the neighbourhoods which are close to the city centre of Brussels. It is significant to see the city centre rolled by the immigration population as someone barely sees the original population of the country except in local bazars and restaurants in touristic spots. On the other hand, gentrification can be seen in the development of new local services (i.e. cafes, bars, restaurants, and shops) and cultural attractiveness that attract more main stream population, starting with local authorities to reinvest in public spaces, the existence of the rent gap attracting institutional real estate investments, and the change of the neighbourhood to work as a product to be sold in real estate markets. As a result, two theories of gentrification emerged: the consumption side explanation, in which cultural amenities is an important factor in the residential location, and the production side explanation that gives the attention and importance to financial and real estate investments.

Thus, the lesson learned from Brussels is to consider the level of education of the population and its development through time. Another lesson is to focus on the age distribution and development of the population in which possible gentrifiers are founded, and the role of the private sector in the housing

market. Also, the economic and social backgrounds and origins of population in gentrified urban neighbourhoods should be considered as well as the professional careers that population have. Another thing to be considered is the upgrading and renewal projects and how they evolves as well as the life cycle of renters in the historic city centre of Brussels.

4.1.3 Socio-cultural, economic and housing aspects (Gentrification in Philadelphia)

Black ethnic minority gentrification

In 1980, Paul Levy and Roman Cybriwsky published an essay on an anthology on gentrification in Philadelphia in which they argued that gentrification has the option to decrease social isolation between residents for a long period. The displaced residents will get benefits from this reduction for only short time where the cultural conflicts between the original and new residents drew the attention to early and middle stages of gentrification. Since 1960s, the city had been reshaped regarding neighbourhoods with residential uses; neighbourhoods that are near the downtown of Philadelphia. This reshaping process took more than 20 years of resettling and reinvesting via urban renewal developments in the 50s and 60s. On the other hand, rehabilitation proceeded rapidly in the city core of Philadelphia, by which 10 neighbourhoods at least had a significant number of higher income population, and other 8 neighbourhoods showed remarkable reinvestment. Nightlife boomed with clubs, trendy bars, restaurants, discotheques and cabarets in places that used to be turn of after sunset. As Thompson, 1979 surveyed, almost 150 new restaurants were opened in the city centre in only 2 years. The authors argued that this is due to inflation and the increase in the costs of energy the demand for housing in the inner city, while reinvestments projects flourish and prosper.

Many who observed reinvestment argued that this is a normal predicted result for neighbourhood changes, which works as a snowballing process due to market forces. As residential neighbourhoods show a symbolism of social prestige accordingly, it will be the first location which witnesses change. Generally, people who share the same values, taste, and customs tend to live together. Thus, it is essential to look back to the social and psychological consequences of forced dislocation and urban renewal literature to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts in urban development projects. At the same time, someone does not need to admire the physical appearances of urban life and ignore what are behind the scenes of moral and social lives, which destroyed social networks and patterns of interaction in an attempt to make those people's lives safe and liveable someday. Even beyond the social impacts, economic ones are much obvious and effective. Private housing prices increased with the decreased supply of low cost housing which upper income population are attracted to for residence and finding their new life. This happens rapidly, which traps people to have time to plan their future house location within a limited budget. Accordingly, reinvestment battlefields must be slowed down, otherwise the consequences will not be favourable and will be criticized. When new coming population arrive to a gentrified location, the original population use unsatisfactory words via graffiti, verbal abuse and other

ways to express their refusal to the changes occurring in urban neighbourhoods. This happens not only in the core reinvestment areas but also in outside areas. The waves of reinvestments extend and grow sometimes outside the main locations of inner city reinvestments which speculates the fears to the future of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

McGovern (2006) argued, in his study to the neighbourhood transformation process, that the Philadelphia neighbourhood transformation raised the initiatives towards Community Development Corporations (CDCs) to find affordable housing and reasonable economic development due to the inner city deteriorated alternatives. Even with that, CDCs had the power of equitable development to achieve social justice. As a result people lost their belief in public sectors and turned to find support from private sector. The private sector is interested in neighbourhoods that undergo land acquisition, demolition, relocation and site preparation for redevelopment, which should be in balance with the other needs and interests. Thus, political decisions were to produce a mixed market rate and subsidized housing to encourage profit and non-profit organizations to invest in transformed neighbourhoods trying to maintain the improved urban life, social mix and social networks' stability caused from gentrification. This example from Philadelphia showed that gentrification can benefit people by accepting the challenge to balance between urban development and equity imperatives according to the political role of the local government to deal with urban neighbourhoods in an executive, successful way.

So far, Peter Sundheim, in 2007, claimed that the unique state gave Philadelphia the complexity of gentrification and urban redevelopment concepts, as the historical parts hosted both of residential and commercial gentrification processes in the city. It started in 1970s when artists moved to the historical city which resulted in residential as well as cultural gentrification. Accordingly, the capital, culture and the newly built developments grew to show a successful urban redevelopment project. Both capital and culture, which is a combined model of Zukin and Smith, defined the development patterns of cultural institutions and population increases in the historical city of Philadelphia. On the other hand, the example of the Martini district developed in a different way by an entrepreneur who transformed many diners to restaurants and martini cars. Moreover, other entrepreneurs followed the same steps and the historic city rapidly changed to a nightlife destination. Somehow, the restaurants were pushed away from the historic city towards the south, which then provided a denser destination of nightlife and entertainment. Thus, the zoning of the historic city was overlaid, showing that development patterns are managed and controlled by such plans, and showing the important roles which politics played to achieve such results. This way, the conflict in zoning between restaurants and martini bars, and residential neighbourhoods, somehow allows them to achieve a compromise to live together. Accordingly, the political decision deciding to force the bars and nightclubs not to overtake the residential neighbourhood seems to be a good decision though. While the author suggested to have a ground land of partnerships between residents and entrepreneurs to create a dialogue between both stakeholders and solve common problems that may be caused by different uses, some adjustable zoning varieties may also help to solve further problems. As

this conflict between residents and entrepreneurs is going to last as far as the two coexist in an urban environment, both drive the market and capital to grow and prosper under the umbrella of gentrification. So far, each case study had to be taken seriously and separately to study its development and growth according to its special factors.

In 2007, another research was done by Jackelyn Hwang to illustrate the gentrification process in Philadelphia as an ethnic minority gentrification process against black people. Both black and white people lived together in the same neighbourhoods but the ideas behind where they belong is the issue. Thus, the perceptual deviations between ethnic groups have crucial consequences for sociological studies on urban neighbourhoods and their policies. This is why Hwang argued for the existence of three neighbourhoods in the same urban space: long-term black residential area, long term white residential area near the hospital, and the rest of the white residential area around both mentioned areas little towards the southern parts. She was influenced by the book of William Wilson, in 1987, titled 'The Truly Disadvantaged' which illustrated that urban economical changes caused high unemployment rates in black populations, which gets worse in isolated black neighbourhoods. According to gentrification, the study concluded that black low-income population is isolated from other residents in general, while, even in integrated neighbourhoods, isolation cases were found. The recognition of racial segregation gentrification must take a new vision and scope of research. As developers and businessmen interested in commercial activities tend to develop and build expensive houses, pushing low-income black population to isolation and segregation, gentrification created a racial integrated urban space.

Thus, the struggle between the different races and the new and old populations to represent each group's interest affected the land use distribution, tax structure, and development, which accordingly pushed low-income black population away from the political equation. As interests of black and white population differ and vary, white people, especially new comers, earn much more benefits from gentrification due to the fact that most interests were designed and oriented towards white high-income populations, excluding the black population. Thus, it results in displacement towards the black population more rapidly as gentrification continues processing. With more and more displaced long-term, low-income black population, new comers formed new characteristics for the neighbourhood with a significant culture shift. At the same time, cities look to the economic benefits of gentrification to allow them to compete in the global market, attracting more investments to urban neighbourhoods. As a conclusion for the case study, she summarized that the dissimilarity index, which is an indicator for the segregation, has been decreasing due to the gentrification process. Thus, policymakers should find other creative ways to integrate ethnic minorities with the economic benefits of gentrification.

Therefore, the lesson learned from Philadelphia is to consider different rehabilitation projects which seemed to call for reinvestment opportunities in urban neighbourhoods. Also, the social and economic patterns are affected by the gentrification process. Another thing is that the interest of investments to

invest in restaurants and urban amenities targeting higher middle-class population is evitable and important to give attention to real estate development which affects the future of gentrification. The special role of interested investors and entrepreneurs is to invest in the different urban functions.

4.1.4 Political, economic, and housing aspects (Gentrification in Vienna)

Liveable city and urban policy gentrification

Fassmann and Hatz argued, in 2010, that Vienna's urban renewal model, promoted by the municipality, in which public-private partnerships succeeded to decrease the number of apartments that lacked improvements, was a success. They mention that urban renewal did not cause displacement, reducing the undesirable consequences of the process. The researcher disagrees with the notion of urban renewal as what is mentioned in their research about gentle urban renewal is exactly gentrification but maybe the politics of the word gentrification were not so familiar in such argument. So far, the participation of inhabitants in the gentrification process was a main reason for success. In terms of demographic and social changes, improved and renovated neighbourhoods attracted inhabitants and investors who are interested in development and better urban quality. With their high purchasing power and accumulative profit of capital, they could return higher profits for stakeholders and owners. The authors claimed that the gentle urban renewal model in Vienna is considered as a sustainable urban renewal supporting social housing, which can be applied on other cities as well, on condition that those cities must afford their share of investments which may not be applicable for cities with tight budgets. Thus, urban renewal policies changed from renewal to improvement of housing which may be a future spot for urban renewal next. Meanwhile, the municipality established what some called the 'Area Renewal Offices' which work as an official office to regulate and organize housing projects in Vienna. Their tasks is to focus not only on renewal projects but also to consider and solve every day's problems and social conflicts between inhabitants.

Moreover, Johannes Riegler, 2011 argued, in a comparison between Vienna and Budapest, that both cities consider gentrification as an urban policy even if they were not directly claimed as such by decision makers. He referred to the gentrification process in Brunnenviertel in Vienna that was intervened by governmental decisions, establishing projects such as Urbion in 1998, with buildings renovation especially in public spaces, urban facilities targeting young population, bars, pubs, and concert venues. Also, the renovation of buildings, which used to be the worst among housing in Vienna initiated by a public-private partnership, raised gentrification opportunities especially with the production of high-class apartments suitable for higher middle classes. Still/Despite this, soft urban renewal was regulated, and rents and property values increased as gentrification occurs. Another two examples of physical renovation projects of Yppenplatz and Brunnengasse were oriented to revitalize the Brunnenviertel neighbourhood through attracting investors interested in the redevelopment of public spaces and commercial areas, thus improving the liveability and physical presence of the neighbourhood.

The gentrification in Brunnenviertel aimed to manage and create a kind of social balance and mix because of the 1990s projects which were somehow decaying. Nevertheless, gentrification still had the negative consequences of increased rents and exchanged population to achieve the social mix. As gentrification may threat urban neighbourhoods to reproduce middle- and higher-class enclaves, the government should consider the means to prevent that from happening in the future. It is even predicted that hospitality and commercial activities grow with further population exchange.

Another research, which was done by Yvonne Franz in 2011, dealing with urban sprawl and gentrification in the city centres, included an interesting part about the gentrification trends in Vienna. The study of Gumpendorfer street included the mapping of the physical typology and ground floors usage map to show the wave of gentrification taking place in the different kinds on the street. The street is known by its attractive appearance and the existence of trendy restaurants and small-scale shops, which is well-linked to the inner city centre of Vienna. Private investments could often be found on the street by refacing and creating loft spaces. As far as cities undergo urban transformations that give them more opportunities to compete in global markets, gentrification and urban renewal play an important role for this competition, along with political and economic systems. However, Franz claimed that gentrification was denied in Vienna due to the strict protection regulations of residents, compared to other cities in Europe. As more investors interested in private housing developments avoid inflexible rent contracts by investing in newly built housing apartments and condominiums, this caused the rising of renting contracts and properties, especially in inner city districts. Vienna is/was still considered a socially mixed and balanced city on the contrary to other cities like Berlin's Marthashof and Choriner Höfe housing projects. It is no longer effective to link direct displacement with gentrification due to the development of the gentrification process that became more complex via time. It was evident that cultural, social and residential exclusions occur in Viennese neighbourhoods due to soft gentrification. Therefore, low income population was excluded from newly built housing properties or increased living costs in renewed neighbourhoods. As a result, the importance of comparative research will support the argument of the gentrification process by analysing and synthesizing using different tools and methods. The main goal is to manage gentrification for what should be done in an urban context of different actors to maintain the positive consequences of the process in urban neighbourhoods.

In 2013, Mara Verlic argued that the rent gap had emerged in Vienna even within a highly regulated housing market. The researcher here encountered gentrification through four main elements: from one side, the changing appearances of neighbourhoods and the arrival of higher income population to the inner-city district, which were proven to occur in Vienna and from the other side, the possibility of capital reinvestment and forms of direct and exclusionary displacement, which were somehow denied by academic means. She proved that, as a contradiction to the fact that the housing market does not facilitate any conditions for the reinvesting capital to happen, those conditions had been changed and capital reinvestment became more likely to occur in urban neighbourhoods in Vienna, with the tendency of

direct and exclusionary displacements to happen. Accordingly, she suggested two directions of further research: first, exclusionary displacement, and second is direct displacement.

In 2014, Iraz Erpek and Emine Begüm Keleş argued that soft gentrification in Vienna appeared in many different projects through a successful urban policy, such as the Urban-Wien Gurtel Plus regeneration project, which contributed to regenerate many hopeless cases of urban neighbourhoods in Vienna, resulting in attracting higher level of functions which changed the nature of some districts. While Yppenplatz showed a successful example of neighbourhood improvement without changes in the district's nature, the importance of participating inhabitants in the gentrification process seemed to give more opportunities to maintain and improve the neighbourhoods according to the local needs without risking the danger of the gentrification process. Another intelligent programme was the urban programme which promoted the notions of public-private partnerships, participation and sustainability in a renewed local framework. Thus, it gives a push to declined neighbourhoods to activate their resources to improve the urban quality of life in Vienna.

Therefore, the lesson learned from Vienna is to consider investment and the capital evolution in urban neighbourhoods as well as the types of gentrifiers who cause different types of displacements. Moreover, commercial and residential gentrification processes should be considered, while sometimes hidden under regeneration and renewal projects in different urban neighbourhoods. Another thing is to use physical appearance studies using different typological maps of land use and what could be seen possible to identify and show the gentrification process developments. Moreover, the participation and public-private partnerships between the different stakeholders to get the maximum benefits of gentrification should be considered and attention be given to housing market dynamics and transformations. Finally, real estate development proved to be a powerful generator for the gentrification process in most cases as well as the historical/cultural tourism gentrification. Thus, it's time to add both real estate development and historical/cultural tourism gentrification as new geographies of gentrification to gentrification literature due to their importance and promising values to open further research fields to investigate more gentrification aspects in urban neighbourhoods.

4.2. Data Collection and sources

Data collection relied on different sources which considered published books, up-to-date papers, journals, newspapers, documentary movies, scientific conferences proceedings, satellite images, interviews with locals, specialists and experts, stakeholders, visitors and passing byers, and data collected from governmental organizations such as the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), Governmental Organization of Physical Planning(GOPP), and the Ministry of Housing, National Organization for Urban Harmony, non-governmental organizations such as Darb 1718 and the Heliopolis Heritage Initiative. After data collection, the research needed to purify and pick the really needed and essential data to prepare the analysis process. However, before analysing, the researcher

needed to identify and form the analysis tools and methods. The tools and methods dealt with the different aspects of the gentrification process in urban neighbourhoods, starting from the observation process, passing by social, economic, physical, political and cultural aspects and patterns of population and community perspectives and consequences, then ending by satellite images which illustrates the physical changes in real life.

As shown and learned from the four cities of gentrification geographies, the research will include a comparative analysis between Heliopolis and Elgamalia districts to understand more the transformation and evolution of gentrification in each district. Thus, the research combines quantitative and qualitative research approaches to get the best benefit for the applied research. Thus, the aim is to look for the real causes of the gentrification process and to touch the real reasons which lead to gentrification in urban neighbourhoods, defined by Neil Smith and Peter Williams in 1986, suburbanization and the emergence of the rent gap theory, deindustrialization, spatial centralization and decentralization of capital, falling profit and cyclical movement of capital, and finally the changes in demographics and consumptions patterns. Those causes will be also considered in the gentrification model of the provided indicators list. Then, there will be an attempt to collect all essential indicators from previous researches and purify them to define and propose a new model of indicators list which can be used to measure the exposition level towards the gentrification process (high, medium, undergoes and low exposition levels). This will allow decision makers to locate and knew future gentrification locations to mitigate gentrification's negative consequences.

4.3. Tools and methods

Thus, the tools and methods used are a normal response to the lessons learned from the four main experiences of gentrification geographies, adding to them the two new geographies of the gentrification process. So, the tools and methods will illustrate and focus on historical/cultural tourism and real estate development gentrification. The research uses seven different tools and methods of analysing the current situation of gentrification in Elgamalia and Heliopolis. As concluded, demographic analysis, social and economic patterns, and physical appearances are essential to understand the gentrification process. Thus, the research will analyse the population development, annual growth rates, the population pyramids, migration, family size, and rates of overcrowding. This analysis helps to understand the population composition of each case study and predict the coming composition.

While the main argumentation of the research was based on the social and cultural differences between gentrification in the core cities and developing countries, it is essential to have a deeper analysis of the social and cultural aspects of the Egyptian case studies. Thus, the analysis illustrates the labour professions, education status, unemployment rates, marital status, and dependency rates, hence an understanding of the social and cultural composition.

Gentrification flourishes with the economic changes in the city due to the movement and flow of capital Therefore, the economic analysis is essential to understand gentrification in Cairo. According to many authors, urban planners and geographers, the method of economic analysis is a way to determine the distribution of resources, while giving an insight to how markets are operating to expect how the market will behave in the future regarding the different events and actions. Thus, economic analysis is illustrated within the economic activities of labour, working sectors (public and private sectors), and participation of women in economic activities to understand the economic composition of the case studies and investigate that feasibility of the economic environment to attract investments.

The physical appearances and typology of the urban environment are the content of the different economic services, social and entertaining activities, and the outlet of different studies to host and balance the human needs and economic activities. This leads to successful economic development that increases the income of the inhabitants. The role of the physical studies and analysis focused on the materialistic framework of the different economic, social, cultural, and policies perspectives for the case studies. After all, main aim of physical planning is, generally, to increase the income of people by distributing different economic activities to attract investments and raise the quality of life. It also provides effective main housing facilities (e.g. houses, shops, malls, leisure, green, etc.), transportation (public and private) and infrastructure (e.g. water, electricity, gas, sewage and communications) which accommodates the social, cultural, environmental and economic needs of inhabitants, providing a well-organized and efficient connected network between them.

Housing real estate development analysis, which deals with the notion of real estate development and contracting indicators, emphasises their essential role in facilitating the gentrification process in Cairo. So, the main purpose is to understand the housing development, the increase or decrease of the number of buildings in general, number of residential units built, number of buildings according to ownership nationalities, percentage of owned and rented apartments, and housing types (e.g. villa, houses, apartments, etc.). Thus, it goes deeper to identify more details about how developed the infrastructure availability for families is and its connection to electricity, clean water and sewage systems. Another thing is the utilities' availability in families' apartments, kitchen, bathroom, and toilets, and the ownership of transportation means for families. The method and style of the analysis of housing real estate development is a collective work done by different authors and researchers who were mentioned in the literature review, while the researcher investigated and added more items to clarify the status of gentrification in each case study. Meanwhile, the researcher will explore the different property prices and rent prices (e.g. apartments, houses, villas, and land) to understand how the property prices increased and try to relate that increase to the different events and projects in each case study. Therefore, the different housing real estate developments items will be mentioned and illustrated in detail according to the overview of the whole gentrification process.

Before all used tools and methods, observation was used for two essential reasons. The first is that observation is most likely to be involved in quantitative research, while the second reason gives more enough results which cannot be concluded through other research tools and methods. Thus, the researcher records what is performed of behaviours and habits of the case-study population. One advantage of the observation tool is that it can generate ideas for the researcher, but the disadvantage of it is that the observed events cannot be repeated under the same circumstances. Accordingly, observation is used to observe six main aspects that affect the gentrification process – social, cultural, economic, political, architectural, and urban – which are also used to elaborate on the proposed model of the gentrification list.

On the other hand, during the observation process, data collection interviews are to be held using different interview types to open the discussion with the interviewees to speak out loud regarding all the consequences and circumstances of the gentrification process in their districts. The reason is that interviewees seem to be more supportive and helpful when interviews are flexible and not rigid. The interviews include the different social classes of population in the case studies and different economic incomes, which belong to various economic sectors. Thus, they aim for an understanding of the current situation of the gentrification process and try to figure out the previous experiences and predict future consequences. Besides, the interviews are done with experts related to architecture and urban planning professions, especially with experts who are interested in conservation, housing, real estate development, renewal, regeneration and rehabilitation projects. Government and non-governmental organizations were included in the interviews as will be illustrated in the next chapters. Also, owners and renters of properties (e.g. apartment, shops, offices, etc.), besides the passersby to both case studies, and visitors for different purposes (e.g. religious, culture facilities, commercial, etc.) are to be interviewed.

4.4. Identifying the study area

In order to prove the two new geographies of gentrification, the study areas must include historical monumental buildings with high architectural values, and real estate development and contracting activities since the criteria for the case study was identified by the four inter-related geography of gentrification of financiers, ethnic minority gentrification, third world immigration, and urban policy. These are added to the two proposed geographies suggested by the researcher, the historic/cultural tourism, and the real estate/contracting gentrification. Thus, the study areas include the potentials to allow them to ensure and show the research hypothesis.

Therefore, Elgamalia, as a historical cultural destination listed on the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) Heritage List in Cairo, is the best example to show the gentrification process in a historical site. Also, the long history of the district, due to the different periods of empires which formed layers of different architectural styles, resulted in monumental buildings and heritage. In terms of conservation and regeneration, the district undergoes some periods of deterioration

and decline, while it got more attention in the last two decades from many international and national organizations to conserve both the tangible and intangible heritage of the district. On the other hand, local small and medium enterprises had an interest in the district which allowed it to compete on the local level as a national destination for different cloth, gold and textile products as well as touristic and commercial activities, which brought more and more capital to invest in gastronomy to provide food and hospitality services for visitors. All worked together to form a cyclic movement of capital and changes in the social and economic patterns. Meanwhile, sometimes violations were done against monumental buildings from contractors who benefit from the dynamic transformation of the district to build deformed architectural styles that lack quality and architecture's basic aesthetics. Also, first-impression interviews and observations ensured that the district witnesses the gentrification process that was the main reason behind the researcher's fascination and his eagerness to go further in researching the district as a case study.

Moreover, Heliopolis district was established in a newer age in the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, it represents the modern face of history that is characterized by mixing different oriental and western architectural styles together to produce a newly hybrid style of architecture that fascinates the observer to research and argue the hidden consequences of the district. With a long history of housing, the district was a futuristic response to the surburbanization process to host the increased population and migrants from the delta region who seek economic benefits and job opportunities. The district has various types of housing opportunities, villas, apartments, and houses for the different social classes. However, recently, due to the real estate development and changes in housing demands, the district witnesses a transformation from large housing properties to smaller and more dense housing units, which sometimes takes over the historical buildings in the district. Also, the regeneration and conservation projects, which take place in the district, generated more and more patterns which lead to the gentrification process. Besides, the mixed land use of commercial, residential and entertainment uses transform the district to a laboratory for many events and consequences which increased the keenness towards exploring the gentrification process. This is in addition to the financial headquarters and subcontracting companies which are interested in residing in the district as well as the leisure, green areas and entertainment facilities that created an essential role to elaborate on the gentrification process.

4.5. Identifying Gentrification Indicators (GIs)

Regarding all the above-mentioned criteria, tools and methods, the researcher categorized and classified the gentrification indicators' types, combining different and previous works of researchers and authors interested in the gentrification process and indicating the consequences of the process. The researcher's contribution to knowledge stems from three aspects: first, the theoretical aspect (two new geographies of gentrification), and second is the comparative applied research (comparative analysis of two case studies in Cairo) which is the first and only research done to cover this part of research in gentrification literature, and third is the concluded model of the Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL) which is a tool for

urban professionals and decision makers to measure the level of exposition of urban neighbourhoods to the gentrification process.

According to the argument of Hart (2003) and Oleari (2000), the combination of several indicators together creates a 'measuring system', or model, that 'provide[s] (useful) information about past trends, current realities and future direction in order to aid decision making' (quoted in Phillips 2003, p.2). Thus, the social, economic, urban planning, political, culture and architectural indicators environment, that lead to gentrification process, can be proved. The researcher went through the main gentrification indicators and found out the work of many authors such as Kennedy (2001), Sunshine Mathon (2006), Research Report in 2009, Amy Twigge-Molecey, Alison LeFlore (2010), LISC- Local Initiatives Support Corporation, Virginia Commonwealth University – VCU (2002), Ashon J. Nesbitt, 2005, Galster, Quercia and Cortes (2003), Nakisha Fouch (2012), and Macalester College (2015). All included different types of indicators from leading, primary, and secondary indicators which the researcher recategorized to refocus on the main reasons of gentrification's exposition and added other gentrification indicators to be customized to the case study of Egypt.

Gentrification indicators' categories included social, cultural, economic, political, architecture, and urban indicators for gentrification in the case studies. The reasons behind choosing such categories are discussed here as each has its significance and importance which is represented by the weight of each indicator according to the number of indicators it has. Firstly, social indicators of gentrification consequently have the bigger amount of gentrification indicators. The reason is that the social effects of gentrification are the most significant and noticeable negative consequences that many people, authors and interested urban planners criticize gentrification for. Thus, social indicators are the leading indicators to measure the gentrification's exposition and to prove, at the same time, the existence of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. Then comes the urban planning indicators, which come second after the social indicators because of the interest and specialization of the researcher in the field of urban planning as a generator for housing, contracting and real estate development factors. Thus, urban planning indictors must go hand in hand with the social indicators to lead the model of gentrification indicators.

Thus, the economic and political indicators are two essential indicators for the gentrification process in urban neighbourhoods. They work as primary gentrification indicators due to the fact that gentrification is prospering with the economic activities that any neighbourhood enjoys. The political decisions are sometimes the generator for gentrification, as gentrification can be a political or economic decision to regenerate and renew urban neighbourhoods, creating extra urban amenities and facilities which attract different types of population, social classes and investors to invest and profit from the better improvements of the more liveable urban environment.

Then, finally the secondary gentrification indicators are given to the architectural and cultural aspects of the process where the researcher listed the cultural differences that are possible to indicate the

gentrification process in urban neighbourhoods. The interests of architecture appearances, styles and intended conservation, renewal and regeneration projects also create a prosperous and fruitful environment for gentrification to take place. Thus, the three corners are formed to measure the urban neighbourhoods' gentrification exposition with leading (social and urban indicators), primary (political and economic indicators) and secondary (architecture and cultural indicators) gentrification indicators.

4.6. Preliminary Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL)

Thus, the researcher integrated the previous experiences of the gentrification processes in the case studies of London, Brussels, Philadelphia and Vienna with Kennedy and Leonard 2001 indicators, as shown in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1, the preliminary Gentrification Indicators List

Source: developed by the researcher using the previous experiences of gentrification in London, Brussels, Philadelphia and Vienna and Kennedy and Leonard 2001 gentrification indicators.

Leading Gentrification Indicators - LGIs	Social	Population, marital status, density, ages, religion, family size, education, etc.	
	1	More availability for social mix to occur	Previous experiences
	2	More chances for displacement	Previous experiences
	3	Improved housing conditions	Previous experiences
	4	Increase in percentage of educated people	Previous experiences
	5	Improved quality of life	Previous experiences
	6	Increase in percentage of professionals	Previous experiences
	7	High percentage of young people (gentrifiers) from 20 to 40 years	Previous experiences
	8	Decrease in percentage of overcrowdings rate	Kennedy and Leonard
	9	Existence of religious minorities (Catholic, angelical, etc.)	Kennedy and Leonard
	Urban	Urban amenities, home ownership, housing values, renters, and land use	
	1	Coexistence of brownfields	Previous experiences
	2	More opportunities to accommodate gastronomic activities	Previous experiences
	3	Witnessed deindustrialization	Previous experiences
	4	Arrival of individuals or households interested in urban amenities/culture	Kennedy and Leonard
	5	Increase in percentage of homeownership	Kennedy and Leonard
	6	Low housing values next to high housing values	Kennedy and Leonard
	7	High and increasing levels of metropolitan congestion	Kennedy and Leonard
	8	High rates of renters	Kennedy and Leonard
Primary Gentrification Indicators - PGIs	Economic	Activities, income, private sector, and access to job centres	
	1	Less unemployed population	Previous experiences
	2	Increase in women participation in labour	Previous experiences
	3	High response to prices change in the real estate market	Previous experiences
	4	Ability to accommodate investment changes (investment, reinvestment and disinvestment)	Previous experiences
	5	Ease of access to job centres	Kennedy and Leonard
	6	Increase in income	Kennedy and Leonard
	7	Increase in businesses intended for high-income people	Kennedy and Leonard
	Political	Political decisions, projects, and	
	1	possibility of competitiveness in global market	Previous experiences
	2	Strictness of regulations and rules towards change in housing market	Previous experiences
	3	Presence of public participation in decision making	Previous experiences
	4	Presence of public-private partnerships	Previous experiences
Secondary Gentrification Indicators - SGIs	Cultural	Traditions, tolerance, diversity, etc.	
	1	Existence of tangible cultural heritage	Previous experiences
	Architectural	Buildings' conditions, heights, structure system and materials	
	1	Dire need of conservation projects	Previous experiences
	2	More opportunities to witness tourism	Previous experiences
	3	High architectural value buildings	Kennedy and Leonard

5.1 Introduction Cairo

Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) is the capital of Egypt and is located on the southern node of the Egyptian Delta, where the two main branches of the Nile separate (i.e. Damietta and Rosetta branches) to the north towards the Mediterranean Sea with an urban area of 606 square kilometres. The Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) consists of three governorates: Cairo, Giza and Qalioubya, with a total population of 23.2 million inhabitants in 2017 (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics – CAPMAS, 2017). Cairo, which was founded in 969 AD, is located on the East Bank of River Nile, with a population of 9.5 million inhabitants in 2017 (CAPMAS, 2017). Like many cities, Cairo had extended outside its historical fence and reached 1.34 square kilometres in the beginning of the 11th century to reach 306.6 square kilometres by the end of the 20th century. Since Cairo was founded, it had witnessed many economic, political, cultural and social changes, which form its existing situation nowadays and will form its future. Also, natural constraints played a big role in forming the structure of the city, such as the Mokattam Mountain and the Nile.

Cairo is the capital of Egypt which was established according to the Gawhar Al-sekeli, who established the foundation of the city in 969 AD when the city was aged 1049 years old. The city hosts many monuments which witnessed different periods and layers of history and civilizations: Ancient Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Coptic, and Islamic civilizations. The general features of Islamic Cairo started to appear after the Islamic conquest by Amr Ibn Al-Ass in 641 AD. Later, Fustat, Al-Askar, and Al-Katta'a cities were built to host the military camps of the Islamic troops at that time. Then, the Fatimid period started from 909 until 1171 AD when many streets which are famous today and still standing were made/constructed such as the Al-Azhar mosque and Al-Moez street (Elgamalia, case study 1 is in that area).

Followed by the Ayoubi dynasty from 1171 until 1250 AC, then the Mamluki dynasty from 1250 until 1516 AC, this period formed most of the Islamic architecture and arts, establishing many walls, schools, mosques, citadels and forecasts. Many of these buildings are still standing until now, showing the great historical architectural layers of Cairo. Later came/This was followed by the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516-1517 AD, back when Egypt was an Eyalet to the Ottoman empire until the year 1867 AD. Then, the country was ruled by the Khedivate with a European intrusion from 1867 until 1914 AD, later a British protectorate until the 1952 AD when the free officers movement took place. Thus, Cairo had a long history with different periods that affected its architecture, economy, social and cultural life, and its politics as well.

Figure 5-1. Al-Moez Street at night in historic Islamic Cairo.
Source: the researcher.

The city of Cairo is located on the East Bank of the river Nile, at the bottom vertex of the Delta triangle. The Cairo governorate administrative border is surrounded by four governorates: from the north Qalioubia governorate, from the west the Nile river and Giza governorate which together forms the Cairo Metropolitan region (CMR) which is the official administrative capital of Egypt, and from the east, the governorate of Suez. Cairo is considered a governorate and a city which means that it is a governorate where only one main city forms the whole governorate. Cairo consists of four main regions – north, east, west, and south – with thirty eight different districts. The total area of Cairo is 3084.676 square kilometres, the urban areas representing only 606 square kilometres (Cairo Governorate and GOPP, 2016).

Cairo was built as an agglomeration of separate locations starting with the 'Alfustat' city, which was built in 641 AD by Amr Ibn Alass (Khalifa of Prophet Muhammad PBUH), then during the Abbasi period, the 'Alaskar' city was built in the north-eastern part in 751 AD. In 870 AD, Ahmed Ibn Tolon built the 'Alkata'a' settlement, then later the Fatimid leader – Gawhar Alsekili – built Cairo towards the northeast of the previous settlements in 969 AD. Each settlement was a separate military settlement until Salah Eldin unified and merged them, then surrounded them by a fence before he started the campaigns against the crusades in 1187 AD. Since then, Cairo started to prosper and grow, as a political and military capital which formed the main structure of the city, until the year 1517 AD. Then, the city witnessed dark periods for about three centuries.

In the beginning of the 19th century, the city started to contest for its liberation from the Ottoman empire, when Napoleon invaded Cairo and elected himself as the president of the city in 1798 AD, until his withdrawal after the resistance of Cairo inhabitants. Then, came Mohamed Ali from 1805 until 1849 to renew and change the city from being demolished to renaissance by establishing new organizations to develop the city and Egypt in many fields. Then, the city started to prosper again during the period of Khedive Ismail from 1863 until 1879 with a vision to change Cairo to be a part of Europe or the Paris of the East. He ignored the city which was built during the Islamic periods and focused the urban development on the western part of the nowadays historic city of Cairo (case study 1) and east of the Nile (Tahrir Square nowadays). Later, Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 AD after the economic crises and bankrupts of the Egyptian government to European banks.

During the British colonization, Cairo accommodated many foreigners, and new settlements were built to take in the new comers' needs for housing that fascinate their needs and culture in a foreign country. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, new settlements were built such as Garden city (south of Tahrir Square), Zamalek (on the island between Cairo and Giza cities), Maadi (southern Cairo), and Heliopolis – Case study 2 – (Northeast Cairo). Such settlements ignored the middle- and low-income inhabitants while provided many different housing options for the high income, aristocrats, and elites of the Egyptian and foreign communities until the military revolution in July 1952 AD.

Since 1952, a new age of development and growth of the city started, adopting the socialism development to erase and dissolve class differences, and Cairo was a capital for the Arab countries in political terms. Then, in 1970, Sadat ruled the country after the death of Nasser and won the war in 1973. In 1974, Sadat adopted a new vision of the open door policy towards economic problems to open the Egyptian economy towards the international economy in all fields. Later, Mubarak continued leading the economy towards capitalism when he ruled the country in 1981 after Sadat's death in the same year. The country witnessed many changes to accommodate capitalism on the local and international levels, then began the wave of privatization in the beginning of the 1990s to sell the governmental sector to private companies. So far, the city of Cairo witnessed many changes on the economic, social, cultural and political terms, all of which formed a complex and compact urban settlements which are worth studying. Gentrification, in many terms, has been processing in Cairo, as it will be discussed in this chapter with two case studies from Cairo: the Historic City of Cairo and Heliopolis. Meanwhile, the coming lines will focus on the changes in Cairo as an urban settlement since 1952 until the beginning of the 21st century.

Cairo between 1952 and 1968

This period started with the military revolution in 23rd July 1952, which led to the increase of the urban sprawl in Cairo because of the concentrated industrial development in Shubra (north of the historic city border), Helwan (south of the historic city border), and Giza (the western bank of Cairo). Thus, many services, like universities, specialized hospitals, leisure and entertaining services were concentrated. So, the regional and local street and roads as well as railways networks played a very important role in the urban sprawl and growth of the city to promote Cairo as the terminal hub between northern and southern/Upper and Lower Egypt. The city was 120 square kilometres in 1952 and reached 198.2 square kilometres in 1970, as it will be shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Cairo between 1968 and 1982

This period witnessed a huge demand on housing due to the migration from rural areas to Cairo, and after the baby boom in the mid-70s after the 1973 war, with the return of many male soldiers back to home, getting married and having children. The open door economic policy that Sadat adopted resulted in the flourish of real estate development companies and contractors that tended to provide the housing market with many housing alternatives. In 1982, the city reached 254 square kilometres, and the urban sprawl witnessed illegal housing activities, which reached 84% of the total housing units built between 1970 and

1981. Illegal and random real estate development expanded on many agricultural, desert and state lands. As 1982 statistics showed, about 129 square kilometres, around 55% of the total area of Cairo, were previously agricultural lands, while the 45%, which represent 115 square kilometres, were desert lands (Bahnasawi, 1993).

Cairo between 1982 and 2000

Since 1982, the government started to initiate the notion of new cities to accommodate the population growth, targeting the first generation of the new cities, east (10th of Ramadan city), west (Sadat city and 6th of October city), and south (15th of May city). The main aim was to direct the urban sprawl towards the desert lands to stop the loss of agricultural lands and find new alternatives away from the Delta and Nile valley. Another reason was to renew, renovate and replace the existing infrastructure towards a better quality of urban environment as well as continue renewing and renovating the existing districts especially the deteriorated districts in Cairo. Moreover, new settlements are planned to be added beside the existing ones, each with 250 thousand inhabitants to accommodate the displaced inhabitants because of the renovation projects and to reorganize the urban fabric of the city by dividing the city to homogeneous self-sufficient sectors. Nonetheless/Still, there is a plan to improve the public transportation and building the ring road to belt the existing buildings as well as issue new laws that criminalize building on agricultural lands.

Cairo between 2000 and 2017

The main aim of the strategic plan of Cairo was to extend the urban settlements to accommodate the population growth until 2017, with 9.5 million inhabitants, by adding 524 square kilometres (the same existing area of the greater city of Cairo) as will be shown in Figure 3.

Table 5-1. The urban growth development, population, density, agriculture lands, economic activities, and working trips in the Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) from 1956 until 2017.
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) and General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP)

	Years	**1956**	**1970**	**1980**	**1997**	**2017**
1	Urban mass area (km^2)	120	198	326	524	606
2	Population (million inhabitants)	3.7	6.9	9.2	13.2	23.2
3	Density (thousand inhabitants/km^2)	31.1	44	28	24	19.4
4	Agricultural lands (km^2)	924	882	806	676	
5	Economic activities'/activity employers (million inhabitants)	0.7	1.8	3	3.7	5.8
6	Working trips (thousand trips)	37	211	572	475	

So far, according to the previous table and the following graph, the researcher concluded that, in terms of population, the population of the Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) increased from 3.7 to 23.2 million in the period from 1956 to 2017. It also increased about 40% in the last 20 years, from 1997 to 2017, due to the migration and natural growth of population, accompanied by an increase in the urban mass area as well, with the waves of suburbanization and new ages of new cities (missing verb/appearing) around the ring road of Cairo. Meanwhile, the density increased from 31.1 thousand inhabitants/km^2 in 1956 to 44 thousand inhabitants/km^2 in 1970 due to the massive migration of the Suez Canal and Delta region inhabitants to Cairo, with an increase in population. This/Such population did not affect the statistical population due to the fact that the new comers kept their old addresses and did not register in Cairo at that time. With the increase in population and urban sprawl, the density decreased suddenly to reach 28 thousand inhabitants/km^2 in 1980, then continued decreasing steadily to reach 19.4 thousand inhabitants/km^2 in 2017.

As shown in Figure 1, the agricultural land areas are decreasing rapidly since 1970 from 882 km^2 to reach 676 km^2 in 1997, and is expected to decrease with the increase in population and the urbanization process which take over the agricultural lands to real estate development. On the other hand, the working trips increased to reach 572 thousand trips daily in 1980. After 17 years, they decreased to reach 475 thousand trips daily due to the tendency of inhabitants to work near their homes inside Cairo.

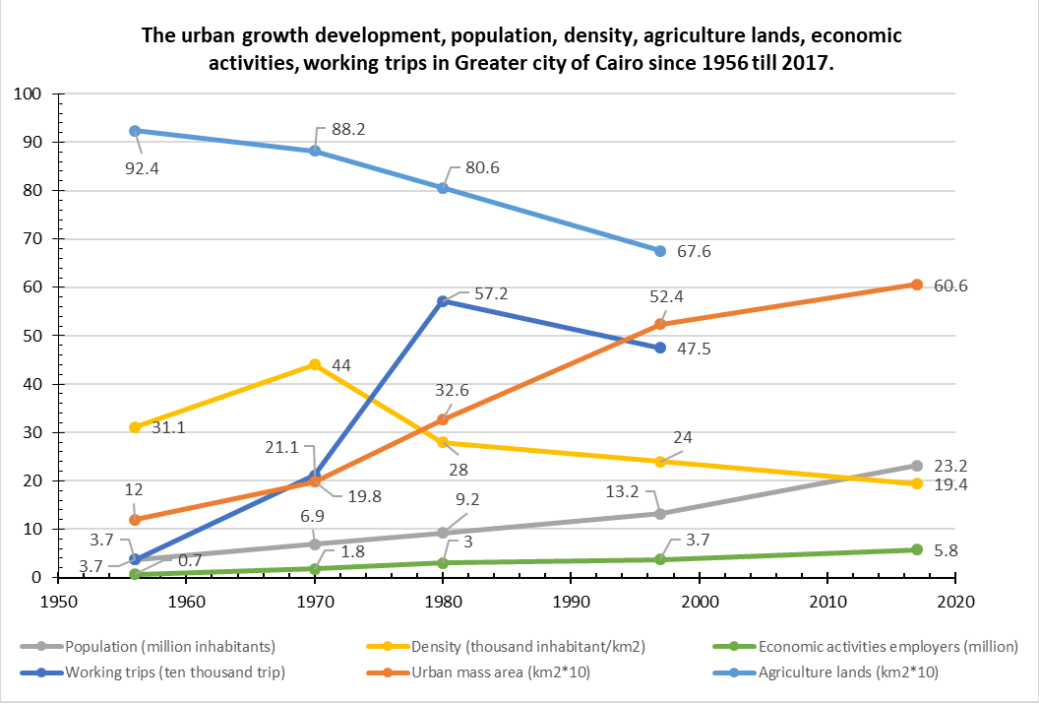


Figure 5-2. The urban growth development, population, density, agriculture lands, economic activities, working trips in Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) from 1956 until 2017

Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) and General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and modified by the researcher

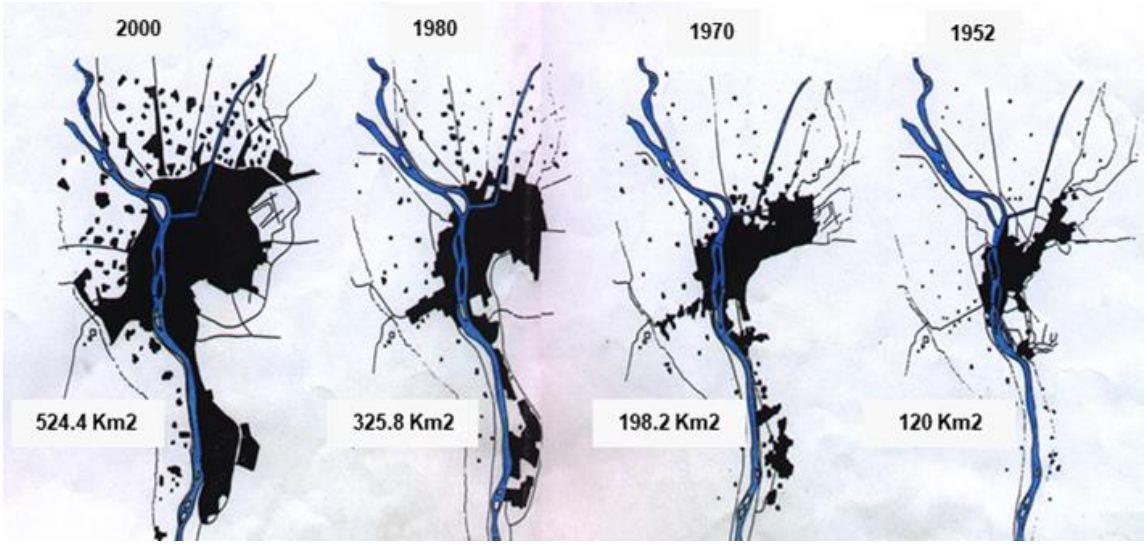


Figure 5-3. The urban growth development of Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) from 1952 until 2000.
Source: General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP)

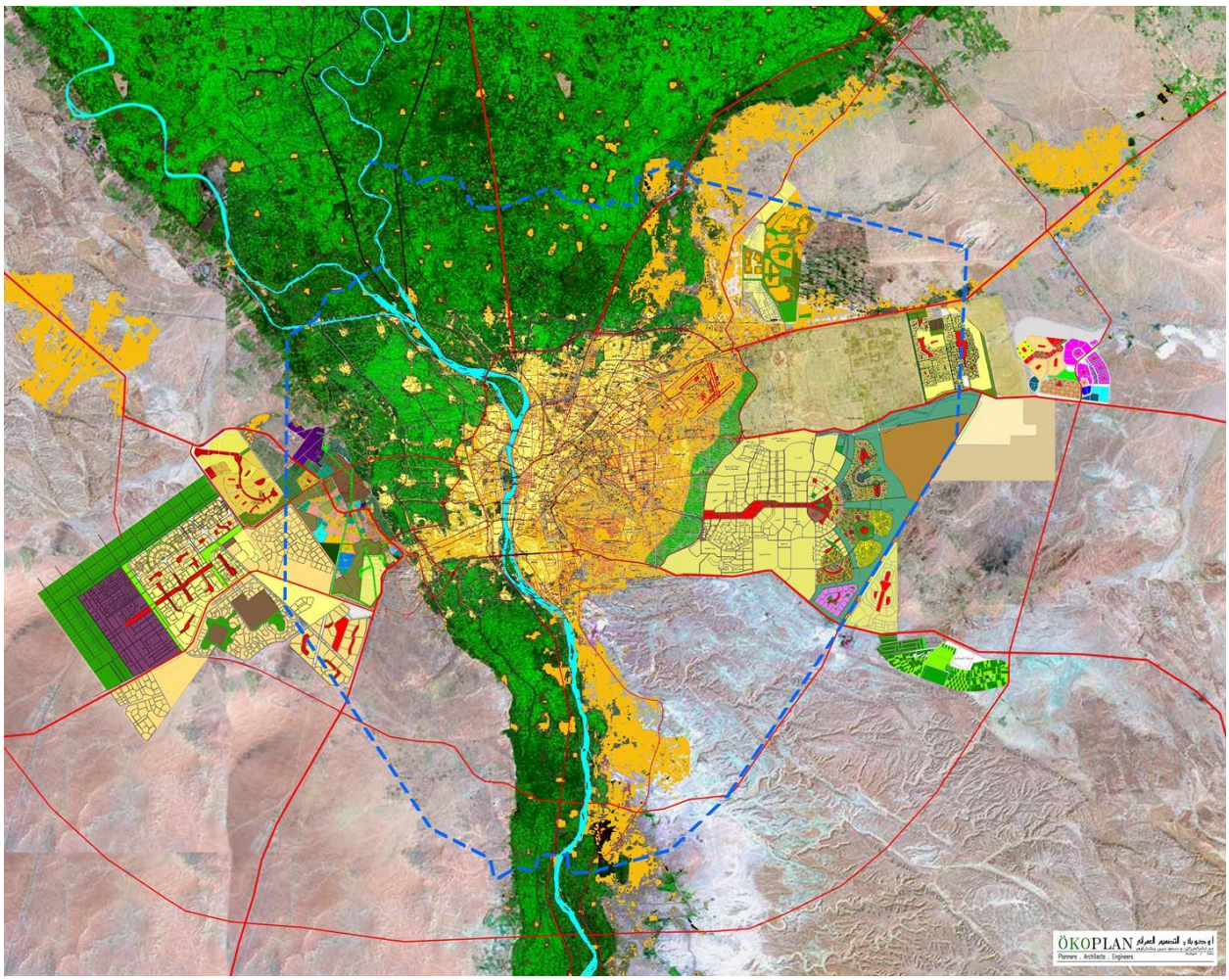


Figure 5-4. The Strategic plan of the Cairo Metropolitan Region (CMR) for 2017
Source: ÖKOPLAN Consultant office

5.2 Causes of gentrification in Cairo – do they exist?

Meanwhile, to illustrate the causes of gentrification in Cairo, it is worth mentioning that many authors, such as Neil Smith and Peter Williams (1986), argued that the main causes of gentrification are:

1- the suburbanization and the emergence of the rent gap,
2- deindustrialization,
3- spatial centralization and decentralization of capital,
4- falling profit and cyclical movement of capital, and
5- changes in demographics and consumption patterns.

Here, the researcher will mention the discourses which led and prepared the urban environment to host gentrification in Cairo. This will clarify if Cairo is ready for gentrification or not.

5.2.1 Suburbanization and the emergence of the rent gap

According to György Enyedi (1996), the definition of 'urbanization' is: 'a spatial process. It is the spatial reorganization of society by which, first, the geographical distribution of the population of a given country changes and (at least in the first stages of modern urbanization) gradually concentrates in cities and urban agglomerations; and, second, the urban life style, urban social structure and technology diffuse into the countryside, so that an urban/rural continuum (or a unified settlement system) replaces the earlier sharp urban/rural dichotomy.' So far, John Friedmann (2002) argued that there are three distinct meanings of the term 'urbanization': The most commonly used is the demographic one, which refers to 'the increasing concentration of people (relative to a base population) in urban style settlements at densities that are higher than in the areas surrounding them'. A second notion of urbanization is an economic one, consisting of 'economic activities that we normally associate with cities'. And finally, the third meaning of urbanization is socio-cultural, and 'refers to participation in urban ways of life'.

On the other hand, worldwide and due to the rapid industrialization, which was accompanied by a rapid urbanization between the 1850 and 1914, the cities became more crowded and new urban problems appeared due to the mixed land uses between industry and housing; problems such as lung diseases, poor living conditions and sanitation, and sharp class divisions. Thus, in 1920, two opposing notions appeared: the 'Urbanist School' and the 'Disurbanist School'. The urbanist school was led by the urban planner and economist, Leonid Sabsovich (1929), as a decentralized, compact example of cities that are located around the industrial areas with land-use zoning and uncommercial city centres, and s fixed population of around fifty thousand inhabitants in cities such as Kharkiv between 1924 and 1925, and Moscow between 1925 and 1926. Also, Leningrad in 1930 had the same idea, with actual plans of cities that adopted these ideas during that time. On the other hand, the disurbanist school was led by the sociologist and town planner, Mikhail Okhitovich, and the constructivist architect, Moisei Ginzburg, in the 1930s with a total dissolution of the differences between a town and a country, in a form of continuous ribbon developments, with settlements that are dispersed across the ex-Soviet Union. Cities that adopted that notion were, according to Magnitogorsk in 1930, with about twenty-five kilometres of ribbons converging on a metallurgical plant.

In Egypt, the case was much like the scenarios of the eastern European countries which were under the Soviet Union. However, the main difference was that Egypt was an alley to the Soviet Union in a later period, from the 1952 until the beginning of the 1970s, as will be discussed in the coming lines. Marton Berki, 2014 argued that investments and economic interests changed in cities which witnessed socialism and after they got rid of socialism regimes as shown in Figure 4. Figure 4 illustrates the political and economic interests and investments in socialist cities during and after the socialist period and as post-socialist cities.

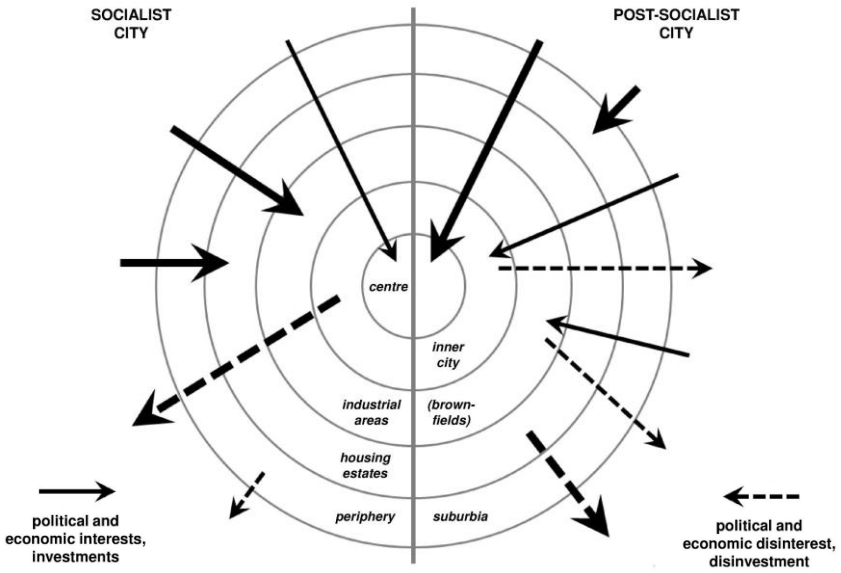


Figure 5-5. the economic interest and investments in socialist and post-socialist cities.

Source: Marton Berki, 2014, PhD thesis, Eotvos Lorand University

Between the period of 1848 until 1952, Cairo had expanded from 13 km^2 to double this area by the end of the 40s of the 20th century. The main core of the city deteriorated due to the importance which was given to build a prestigious city to compete with European cities by this period. Thus, the city expanded towards the west on the East Bank of the Nile, north and northeast as, by the turn of the century, a Belgian architect started to establish Heliopolis city as a new suburb outside the core of Cairo with a new tram line and a variety of housing condominiums, villas, apartment buildings, hotels, and entertainment facilities. There was also a tendency to create new boulevards to link the old core city with its periphery such as Alazhar street, Alorouba street, Port Said street, Salah Salem and others. Another reason is the shift in the housing mentality to use typical floor apartments instead of living in a family house, with a standardization of the architectural style, sometimes copied from western countries.

The new developed areas hosted the higher income inhabitants in the West near the Nile, where the middle-income inhabitants stayed at the northern neighbourhoods, while the low income inhabitants stayed in the typical old historical neighbourhoods (Fatimid Cairo). The migrants, on the other hand, found that the periphery is the best zone where they could manage to establish their illegal type of housing away from the government's eyes and an easy to escape back to their home towns in the Delta in order not to be trapped in the city with its crowd and legality. Even the governmental headquarter moved

from the Citadel (next to Historic Cairo nowadays) to Abdeen Palace (Khedivial Cairo). The main facilities and activities were concentrated in the new city centre, adding to that the new use of finance, bourse and banks which, until today, still exist in the same place. The opera was built, and more cultural and leisure activities were added. Some authors refer to this political and geographical shift as the period of the westernization of Cairo by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

From 1952 to 1973, Cairo started to enter a period of urban transformation development (Elmenshawy, 2007) where the urban mass increased and expanded by establishing new districts at the periphery of existing Cairo at that time. Also, the wave of factorization (socialist period) later left many brownfield areas in the city (for example, Abbasia district) with a shift from being an agricultural city to becoming an industrial one. East, preparing the mountain of Mokattam for urban development, Nasr city at north east was established with a socialist typical block building form which was named after the president of Egypt Gamal Abdel Naser. South, Helwan city next to the main cement treatment factories was established to host the working-class inhabitants near to their work. North, Shubra Elkhema was developed as an industrial zone. The mosque and souk were considered to be the nucleus of the urban neighbourhood as a notion of designing the new urban neighbourhoods.

The old urban fabric of the city was untouched, while the new development areas are characterized by wider spaces and streets to accommodate the public transportation and facilitate the commuting from the periphery to the core city. Commercial activities spread along the main commuting streets not only in the city centre, while industrial uses were concentrated inside the existing industrial areas due to the industrial knowledge which was transferred from the western countries for developing production to assembly lines during the Fordism and the consumption strategy. The appearance of mixed use neighbourhoods, as commercial activities, substituted residential uses in ground-floor residential houses.

The government set the first plan for Cairo in 1956 with the main objectives summarized in establishing new projects for industrial expansion and the expansion of agricultural lands in order not to stress and load the government with higher financial burdens caused by the expected urban expansion associated with industrial expansions. This means that less support was given to housing from the public sector, which somehow paved the road to the private sector to take over for contracting and real estate developments. The strategy also aimed to orient the urban expansion and suburbanization towards the East, Northeast and West, developing five industrial zones; mainly consumption industries, retaining the existing industries in the North to keep the economic and social structures even if their locations contradict with the prevailing wind direction.

From 1973 until 1999, the city started to expand and overtake many agricultural lands after the baby boom in the mid-1970s when the urban mass increased from 198 km^2 in 1970 to reach 326 km^2 in 1980, then 524 km^2 in 1997, as shown above in Table 1. The city started to lose its importance, which was why the government started, by the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, to launch projects to renew and replace the infrastructure of the existing urban (missing word). This was considered the first step back to the city movement – where the city tried to regain its position against the sequential waves

of suburbanization. Another step was to target the first generation of new cities and settlements at the periphery of the city. Some of these new settlements later merged with the expanding city and formed new core cities in the semi-periphery and later the periphery.

The city expanded in all directions with the waves of suburbanization by overcoming natural obstacles, depending on the theories of refraction and disruptiveness of the urban core, and finding new cores for urban development. There was tendency to unify the periphery settlements outside the ring road to form a new Cairo balancing the existing one. The city was formed of mixed urban fabrics: spontaneous, planned, random and sometimes rural forms to form a massive compact metropolis, hence more crowd and more traffic problems, which were solved by building bridges and tunnels which sometimes take over or passing through the historic districts to facilitate the crossing of public and private transportation services. Accordingly, the visual image of the city showed a paradox between new-built, historic and existing buildings, with various architectural styles as a result of the extension horizontal and vertical extensions of the buildings. The beginning of finding a link between the population density and the economic income for each district and region, where higher density districts tend to host low income inhabitants, was later linked to the cultural and educational levels. The presence of services and activities axes was to connect the city core with the new extensions, in the semi-periphery and periphery (missing word/areas), with the concentration of commercial and administrative activities in Heliopolis, Nasr city and Maadi. As a conclusion, the city expanded rapidly and started to form a compact form which contains the social, cultural, urban and economic structure of Cairo.

From 2000 until 2017, the strategy of Cairo focused on approaching more urban expansion and sprawl for 524 km^2 which is the same area of the existing capital (Cairo, Giza and Qalioub), thus hosting the increasing population inhabitants until the year 2017. The new cities started to grow more and more, but with a very slow rate due to the lack of sufficient services and transportation, since they needed to increase both the quality and quantity of transportation to reach the periphery and semi-periphery areas and provide more economic factors to facilitate the flow of inhabitants from the high dense zones. Economic factors will work as an engine to produce jobs for both inhabitants in the existing new settlements and attract new comers to inhabit them. In general, the distribution of housing, services and industry did not change much compared to 1982 when housing represented 68%, services 18 % and industry 14 %. The industrial zones at the northern part stayed untouched while the urban sprawl extended to surround the cemetery in some districts like Helwan. Downtown districts started to be saturated with services, thus repelling inhabitants to move out specially in the district by the old historic city of Cairo (Elgamalia, Attaba, Abassia, etc.).

The city represented a complex paradox of land uses which reflected the different social, cultural and economic forms of the inhabitants' incomes and traditions. Cairo worked as a multi-nuclei city with the appearance of sub-service centres away from the typical ones downtown and in the city centre/in city centres such as Heliopolis, Nasr city, Dokki, and others. The only two poles, which attracted industrial investments, were 6^{th} of October city in the West and 10^{th} of Ramadan city in the East, even with the

launch of the medium and small industrial zones in the new cities and settlements in the periphery but only a reasonable amount started to work due to the lack of partly and wholly suitable infrastructure.

So far, the urban mass has increased dynamically after the first decade of the 21st century and the loss of agricultural land which still occurred even if it was less rapid than the previous periods. In 1970, the area which was identified for urban sprawl was 7% of the total area of the capital city. It reached only 5.44% in 2000, which indicates around a 600% urban growth, while the population only increased to reach 200% of the existing population in 1970. This is considered misleading since, if compared with the real population concentration, it was found out that 96% of the population still lived in the extended core city, suburbs and semi-rural cities (semi-periphery). Thus, conclude the high dense urban areas especially at the periphery of the extended core city and suburbs. Meanwhile, the new cities seemed to be unsuccessful to host the increasing population, while, at the same time, those cities succeeded to host industrial uses with workers who tended to commute from their home cities or villages to work producing pendulum working trips. This was accompanied by a lack of services which, even though it was planned to represent 25% in 1966, it shrank to 23% in 1970, then to 18% in 2000. Thus, the urban planning of Cairo in the first decade of the 21st century lacked a comprehensive approach, on one side, to link between the increase in urban mass and population on, the other side, to link the suburbanization process of the expanding and growing city core with the semi-periphery and periphery zones.

The Emergence of the Rent Gap Theory

Here, the researcher will link between the rent gap theory, previously referred to in Chapter 2, and its projection to the Egyptian context. Thus, if the rent gap theory of Neil Smith, 1979 is applied to Cairo, the normal scenario of renting goes through the structure and sales values. Since the building is built, its renting value reaches its maximum. When time passes and the building becomes older, its renting value decreases consequently until it reaches a specific amount by which it is stabilized, with no interfering of renovation or renewing for the building. When the first initial development of the building starts, the building's rent value increases with the possibility of two scenarios. The first scenario is the potential ground rent which represents the rent value of the renovated and developed property in its best condition. Thus, the gain from it will be the maximum possible rent value. The second scenario is the capitalized ground rent, which represents the real economic return of the building after renovation and development.

Accordingly, the gap between the potential ground rent and the capitalized ground rent is called the rent gap. This rent gap makes investors, real estate developers and contractors interested in maximizing the benefit from the buildings by improving, renovating and developing them to reach the maximum rent value, hence the more economic benefits for those groups. Other factors include historical buildings and buildings inside the core city, which make investors, real estate developers and contractors more interested in investing in those neighbourhoods due to the high demand and use of such neighbourhoods. In Egypt, the two case studies of Heliopolis and Elgamalia were chosen to investigate and prove the existence of the gentrification process via the rent gap as a cause of gentrification in Cairo. Thus, the dynamics of urbanization and re-urbanization within Cairo generated rent gaps in different forms as the

government tends to develop within the city centre as a back (missing word) to the city movement. Nevertheless, many projects are undergoing (missing word/undergoing development?) nowadays which brings many investment to the core city and the buffering zones to benefit from this development such as the Maspero triangle district (Foster and Partners), Heliopolis Development project, Urban Regeneration for Historic Cairo (UNESCO Project) and others.

5.2.2 Deindustrialization

Meanwhile, since the change of regime in Egypt from being a British protectorate country to a country of a republic in 1952, Egypt has changed dramatically, especially after the stability of the constitution and the derive of president Nasser. Then, the nationalization of the Suez Canal from the British regime in 1956 and many foreign assets, mainly from the British and French remains, were nationalized such as the tobacco, pharmaceutical, cement and phosphate industries. Altogether, this gave new opportunities for national investment and the flow of capital to Egypt since Egypt is characterized by many potentials for urban development such as the Nile river, which gave the country the soul of agricultural lands from the Delta in the North to Lake Nasser in the south of Egypt. Thus, Egypt was a very fertilize land for agricultural activities and one of the leading countries for agriculture in Africa and the Arab countries, known by many agricultural products such as cotton, corn, wheat, and cane. Thus, it was important – after the country started exporting raw agricultural goods – to have its own factories produce instead of export and import. On the other hand, Figure 5 shows the status of urban areas during the socialist and post-socialist periods to show the shift from being an industrial city to a deindustrial city. The researcher proposed the shape of the graphed post-socialist cities as presented in Figure 5 with a red line.

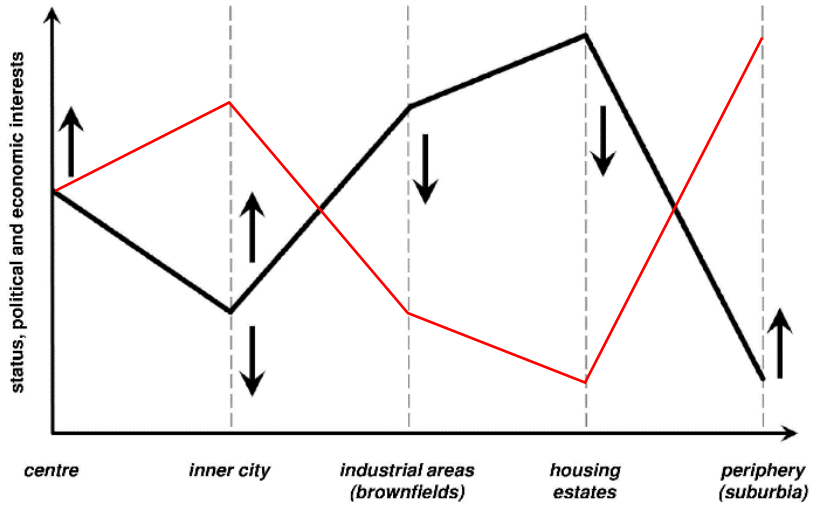


Figure 5-6. Sociopolitical status of socialist cities and the paradox of the post-socialist shifts of urban development
Source: Marton Berki, 2014, PhD thesis, Eotvos Lorand University, modified by the researcher

Later, the country witnessed a significant industrial development in all fields, industrialization went hand in hand with nationalization, and many factories were established such as weaving, cars, cloth and textile factories. New national projects were also established such as the High dam and Helwan city. Moreover, the coalition with the Soviet Union, at that time, was the main funding source of the High Dam after the withdrawal of the US funds to build it. This has, no doubt, affected the Egyptian policies afterwards to

promote for socialism and go under the umbrella of the international socialism movements. The projection of this affected the urban development of Egypt in general and Cairo as the capital in particular. Many typical housing blocks were built regardless to the architectural values or urban principles just to provide housing units for factory workers on one side and the population's needs on the other side. Industrialization rapidly increased, taking on the way many agricultural lands, especially those industries that are based on agriculture such as textile and cloth factories.

Industrialization continued to/until the mid-1960s, especially 1967 when the Zionist entity attacked Egypt and occupied Sinai, then started a recession period which the government tried to recover from the sudden severe attack. This period lasted until 1973 after Egypt succeeded to regain Sinai and had a peace agreement with the Zionist entity to allow a new period of peace and development within the coming decades. In 1969, Nasser died, and Sadat led the war against the Zionist entity and signed the agreement of Camp David Accords in 1978. In 1975, Sadat's policy was to open the economy for foreign investments to give a message that Egypt is safe and welcoming foreign investment to invest in it and to start recovering the Egyptian economy after years of the war and recession. Thus, in 1975, Sadat implemented the so-called open door policy, which was little after the oil boom in the 1970s from the Gulf countries. Thus, investments from many foreign and Arab countries started flowing into Egypt, and the economy started to breathe again after the war years. Then, the Egyptian economy was trying to balance between industry, agriculture, tourism and trading, as the four poles of economy, to prosper and grow.

Moreover, the government established the first generation of new cities at the end of the 1970s, while cities with industrial zones, such as the 10th of Ramadan city in the east and the 6th of October city in the west, were in charge with new regulations to encourage investors to have their factories in Egypt due to the cheap labour and living costs in it. Examples of such regulations are the 10-year tax exemption, the cheap land price and others. It is important to note that those kinds of cities attracted many capital investments and marked some as successful industrial cities achieving the industrial target, while failed to host the increased population in terms of demographics. Inside the core city of Cairo, small and medium enterprises, most alike (e.g. handcrafts, workshops and small factories, etc.), continued to flourish and grow within the city causing sometimes urban problems, noise, pollution and crowd.

Thus, until the beginning of the 1980s, industrialization was playing an important role in Cairo and in Egypt. After the death of Sadat in 1981, and Mubarak becoming in charge, Cairo was in need to develop and renew its infrastructure after the continuous migration from the northern and southern rural areas to the capital city. Thus, the government adapted a strategic plan to solve the commuting problems regarding where one/a citizen lives and works, trying to find solutions for that. This plan was accompanied with reorganizing the economic and social sectors in the city to find new job opportunities and encourage inhabitants to relocate in new built cities with new job opportunities and facilities. Also, it solves the problems of the deteriorated neighbourhoods by relocating the harmful industries outside the city within the new industrial zones even in the periphery or in the new cities. Since 1975, the city left

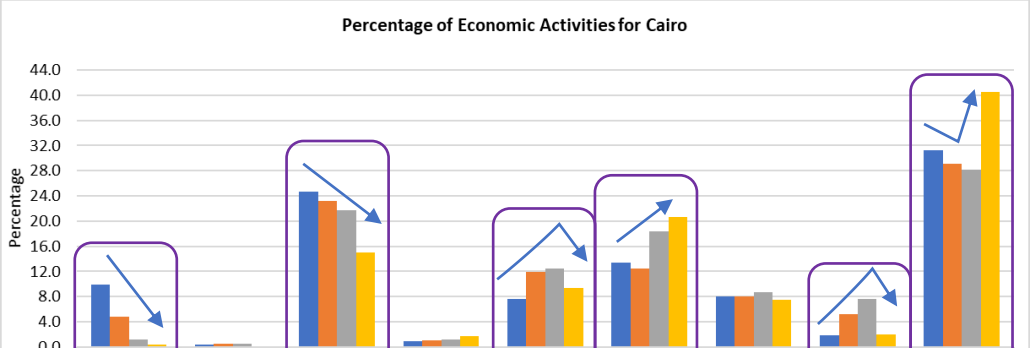
behind the socialism and approached the capitalism period with the free market economy, and entered the deindustrialization period. The figures (4 and 5) below show the percentage of labourers/of the labour force working in the economic activities in Cairo from 1976 to 2006 and the percentage of labourers/of the labour force by professional classifications in Cairo from 1986 until 2006.

The rapid deindustrialization processes started after 1975 and had many consequences in Egypt, especially after the Camp David Accords in 1978. The economy of post-socialist cities rapidly shifted from manufacturing to another sector, producing a relatively decent sum of brownfields (later, urban regeneration projects started to regenerate such areas within the cities) within the city which need to be somehow reused. As a positive result, the decay of industrial areas leads (led?) to a decline in residential densities. Before 1975, industrial areas used to be the most important social and economic base. After 1975, they became the biggest loser after the transition. Housing estates faced many challenges concerning the ageing of many buildings and the fact that they were old-fashioned with lack of maintenance and outdated technological solutions as opposed to the international fast technology development all over the world. Because of suburbanization, housing estates started to stretch and cross the traditional borders of the former socialist city. The population outflew to the suburbs with a fast spread of a new consuming life style culture that was copied from the American way of life due to globalization, accompanied by the liberalization of the real estate market and private car ownership. However, the potential environmental threats and the competing small- and medium-size enterprises face-to-face with the large multinational companies which (missing word/dominate) the city centre, hand in hand with the peripheral suburbs, will work together to form some futuristic dynamic developing areas.

After 1975, the implementation of the open door policy succeeded to find new solutions for the unemployed labourers following the 1973 war to host them in many different fields according to the market needs. As 1975 was a turning point in politics, it was also a turning point in economics since the economy shifted and changed, as socialism exited and capitalism entered the Egyptian regime and policies. Thus, the investors tend to invest outside the city for many reasons: the facilities and infrastructure inside Cairo were not efficient to tolerate more industrial uses; the regulations of tax exemption in new cities were more profitable to investors; the land prices were cheap and larger land were parcelled for different industrial purposes. On the other hand, the industrial zones inside Cairo lost their importance due to the shift from socialism to capitalism, considering more consumption products which reproduce/reproduced the capital cycle for more profit. The mentality of socialism establishing factories to create a kind of social equity and equilibrium changed the establishment's new mentality of the different social classes, dealing with the global economy and globalization leads. This did not happen suddenly; it required many years since 1975 until the end of the 1980s when another ambitious plan of privatization started in the 1990s. Thus, in these fifteen years of transition from socialism to capitalism, Cairo was deindustrialized, accompanied by the government strategy to move all polluted industries outside Cairo, leaving lots of land parcels of brownfields behind.

When capitalism extended its roots in the Egyptian economy, with the beginning of the 1990s, the government started another plan of privatization to sell most of the owned mega industrial factories to the private sector – steel, aluminium, cement, phosphate, textiles, and pharmaceutical factories. This caused another wave of unemployment after the new owners started to restructure the factory's employment plan. The reasons behind the privatization were that some of the factories deteriorated, there had been a lack of maintenance since the end of the 1970s, and to provide foreign currency by selling these assets – factories to foreign investors. This was accompanied by two (national and international) events. On the national level, it was the Cairo 1992 earthquake with a 5.8 magnitude, which left 545 dead, 6,512 injured and 50,000 people homeless, causing a decline, for a while, in the field of real estate and contracting. On the international level, it was the Gulf War in the 1990s, which Egypt participated in with other countries to liberate Kuwait after its invasion by the Iraqi army. This event provided Egypt with foreign currency as a gift for the successful participation in the Gulf War.

So far, the industrialization continued on the national level (Egypt) while, in Cairo, deindustrialization continued, which proves that the economic legalizations that the government considered in the 2003 and 2016 of devaluating the Egyptian currency in order to attract more and more foreign investments promotes cheap labour, cheap land parcels, and years of tax exemption when starting a business in Egypt. The city shifted more and more towards other economic activities such as the commercial, tourism and hospitality, real estate development, and most importantly, the services activities, ensuring that the economy in Cairo would be specifically based on consumption and services more than any other economic activities. Figure 6 illustrates in detail the different economic activities in Cairo from 1976 until 2006.



	agriculture & hunting	mining	Transform Industries	infrastructure	construction	commercial, hotels, restaurants	transportation	business services	services
1976	9.9	0.4	24.6	1.0	7.6	13.4	8.1	1.9	31.2
1986	4.8	0.5	23.2	1.1	11.9	12.5	8.1	5.2	29.1
1996	1.2	0.5	21.8	1.2	12.4	18.4	8.7	7.6	28.2
2006	0.4	0.1	15.1	1.7	9.4	20.7	7.5	2.0	40.6

Figure 5-7. Percentage of labourers working in economic activities in Cairo
Source: CAPMAS and adopted by the researcher

Figure 6 shows that, in 1976, the largest economic sectors were for services and industries, with 31% and 24.6% respectively, followed by the commercial, hotels, restaurants and the agricultural activities with 13.4% and 9.9% respectively. Transportation and construction came third with 8.1% and 7.6% respectively. So far, the economic activities for agriculture decreased rapidly (decreased by 3.2% every

10 years) from 9.9% in 1976 to reach 0.4% in 2006. This showed the transformation of the economy to depend less on agriculture, giving the chance to other activities. Mining also decreased from 0.4% in 1976 to 0.1% in 2006, which does not have much effect on the economy. In terms of industrialization, the city lost 9.5 % of its labour force that works in industries from 1976 until 2006 as it lost its importance from being a competent. The services sector also decreased from 24.6% in 1976 to reach 15.1% in 2006.

Infrastructure labour witnessed a slight increase from 1% to 1.7% during the same period. On the other hand, the labour force that works in the construction activities increased from 7.6% in 1976 to reach 12.4% in 1996 then decreased again to reach 9.4% in 2006, which illustrates the essential role of contracting and constructions which were done in Cairo from 1976 to 1996. This is the period after the implementation of the open door policy in 1975. Later, between 1996 to 2006, the labour force shifted from working in the construction to other activities as will be shown later. So far, the labour force that works with commercial activities, hospitality (hotels, cafes, bars, etc.), tourism and catering had increased from 13.4% in 1976 to 20.7% in 2006, with a drop from 13.4% in 1976 to 12.5% in 1986, as tourism was affected by the hijack of the Egyptair flight in 1985, then increased to 18.4% in 1996, and continued increasing until it reached 20.7% in 2006.

Meanwhile, transportation labour is neither affecting nor affected by any other activities as it had a slight decrease from 8.1% in 1976 to 7.5% in 2006, while the business services increased from 1.9% in 1976 to 7.6% in 1996 then decreased to reach only 2% in 2006. This disturbance invokes the disturbance of the construction labour force, while/since the last and biggest sector of services had generally increased from 31.2% in 1976 to 40.6% in 2006. Thus, more than one third of the labour force works with services in Cairo, which means that the industry is not the main economic activity, even if it is still on the third place with 15.1% in 2006 after the commercial and hospitality activities (which come second with 20.7% in 2006). Even the labour services decreased from 31.2% in 1976 to 28.2% in 1996. Because of many reasons, the real estate developments in the newly established cities and the new industrial zones attracted labourers to leave Cairo and work somewhere else. Such/This lack of labour force was substituted by the workers/labourers who lost their jobs in the industrial sectors and agriculture.

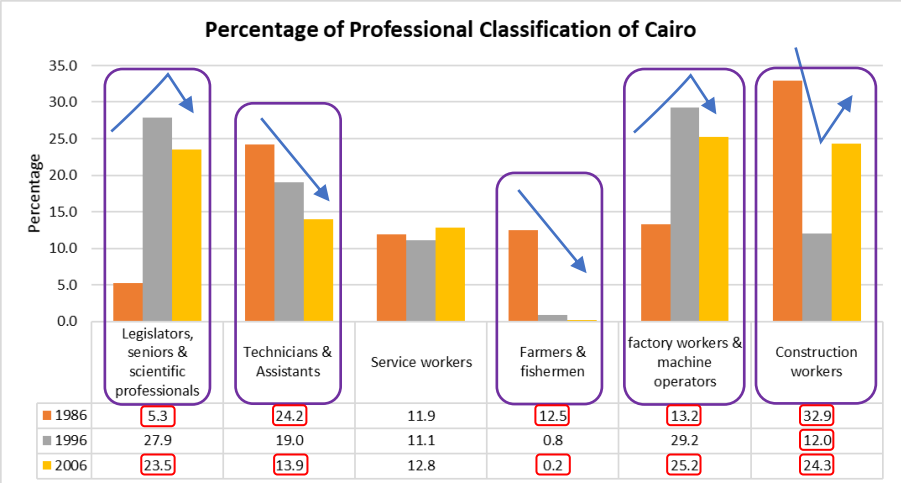


Figure 5-8. Percentage of labourers by professional classifications in Cairo
Source: CAPMAS and adopted by the researcher

Meanwhile, Figure 7 shows the distribution of the labour force according to their profession; professions which are written on their national identity cards, and which sometimes can be a misleading indicator. The previous figure, Figure 6, is more accurate in terms of knowing the real situation of the economic activities. It is misleading because people may have a profession and are graduated from a specific type of college or university to work as a teacher or an engineer, but they may practically practice another kind of job, but it is still important in this research to find the main actors of gentrification. Hence, according to Figure 7, the legislators, seniors and scientific professions (lawyers, engineers, doctors) increased from 5.3% in 1986 to 27.9% in 1996 then decreased again, reaching 23.5% in 2006, which means that after 1986, the community tended to be more educated to compete in the labour market with a higher level of education, and also as a successful policy of the government's to consider education as a priority in the strategic plans. However, after 1996, the educational level was not the indicator? to find a better job due to the shift of the community's economic structure towards services.

The real number (defined by the identity card profession) of technicians and their assistants decreased from 24.5% in 1986 to 13.9% in 2006, which is a normal result due to the higher education level the labourers tend to have, which means less electricians, less mechanics and other jobs as well. This does not mean that there is no technical education other than labourers with higher education working in technical fields as technicians and assistants. Moreover, the labourer who works in services is almost as stable as it was – 11.9% in 1986, which slightly decreased in 1996 to reach 11.1% and increased again to reach 12.8% in 2006. As a normal consequence, the number of farmers and fishermen declined suddenly from 12.5% in 1986 to reach only 0.2% in 2006 as those labourers shifted to other kinds of jobs which require more activity such as factory workers and construction works.

Meanwhile, the factory workers and machine operators represented 13.2% of the labour force in 1986, then it more than doubled, reaching 29.2% in 1996, while decreased again to 25.2% in 2006 with an increase in construction workers as the construction workers represented 32.9% of the labour force in 1986, then decreased to 12% in 1996, then doubled to reach 24.3% in 2006. This indicates the importance of construction activities and real estate development to the economy of Cairo as, in general, the labour professions started in 1986 with two leading professions, technicians and assistants with 24.3% and construction workers with 32.9% while the second leading professions were the farmers with 12.5% and the factory workers with 13.2%. Later, in 2006, the leading professions were construction workers with 24.3%, factory workers with 25.2% and finally, legislators and scientific professionals with 23.5%.

Thus, construction workers (24.3%) stayed in the leading labour profession, which, with factory workers (25.2%), represents 49.5% of the labourers'/labour force's professions, which represent the handworkers in Cairo's economy. The gap between, on one side, the legislators and scientific professionals and the construction workers and factory workers, on the other side, influenced the social class distribution as will be mentioned in the case studies as well. To sum up, Cairo witnessed deindustrialization in different ways. As mentioned previously, capitalism oriented the economy to invest more in services and real

estate development instead of factories which saw that unwanted activities needed to be evacuated from the city to the peripheral regions. The distribution of the economic activities and professions of the labour force in Cairo proved that the economy considered services and scientific professionality as opposed to working in industry and agricultural lands. Accordingly, Cairo is deindustrialized, which is the second reason to pave the way for gentrification to have a suitable environment to happen.

5.2.3 Spatial centralization and decentralization of capital

In this part, the researcher will cover the spatial centralization and decentralization of the capital in Cairo. Figure 8 illustrates the dynamic and directions of the economic growth in the neighbouring cities of Cairo and Giza since the 1950s until the 1990s as both cities rely on each other in many ways. As shown below, the purple colour shows the directions of economic growth during the 1950s and 1960s, the blue colour shows the 1970s, while the red colour shows the 1980s and 1990s directions of the economic growth in Cairo and Giza cities. The vertical red lines show/line shows the common directions of the economic growth in Cairo from the 1950 until the 1990s, which reflect the fact that the economic growth and centralization of the capital have been focusing the most on the downtown region, the city core of Cairo and more to the south than the north as well as along the River Nile which separates Cairo from Giza, as a north-south axis.

According to Figure 8, during the 1950s and 1960s, the capital and economic growth were directed to the northeast of Cairo, establishing new factories in Elmarg and Shubra Elkhema districts mainly on agricultural lands, also with concentrated capital towards the southeast of Cairo, the cement factories in Helwan district and brick factories in Maadi district. Later, in the 1970s, after the 1973 war, the capital continued towards the east and the southern east in housing in Nasr city and Mokattam districts, and the core city as well, which had a bigger amount of capital investment to rehabilitate the existing urban infrastructure. Afterwards, during the 1980s and 1990s, the economic growth and capital were decentralized from the previously centralized districts – northern, northeastern, eastern, southeastern, and southern districts – to stay concentrated in the main north-south axis with a relatively small tendency to the east, and the tendency to conserve the agricultural lands in the northern districts of Cairo.

Thus, the centralization of capital and investments were concentrated to the core city again which proves the back-to-the-city movement, which would sometimes occur in the western cities. The movement and shift of capital centralization and decentralization clearly occurred in Cairo, which again paves the way for gentrification to happen. It was even proven that the peripheral regions benefited from the centralization of capital for three decades as the core city carried and hosted most of the investments and economic growth, which is not the case for demographic and physical growths as will be illustrated in the coming lines.

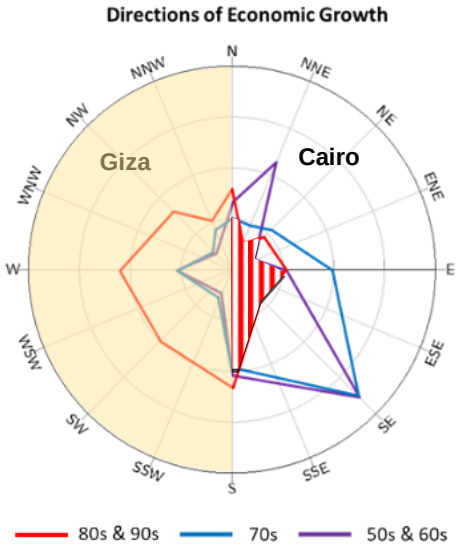


Figure 5-9. Directions of economic growth from 1950s until 1990s in Cairo and Giza
Source: General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP); modified by the researcher

5.2.4 Falling profit and cyclical movement of capital

Meanwhile, with the start of the open door policy in the mid-1970s, the economy started to be more oriented towards capitalism as a profit-oriented economy. The urbanization processes were surrounded by larger political economic systems worldwide no longer localized, with a hard need to systematic analyses and competing issues that emerged with a global research focus rather than macro-regional scales. Previously, socialism, as a social-economic system, was characterized by the social (public) ownership of the means of production and cooperative management of the economic system, with a political theory that aimed to establish that system. Socialism usually refers to cooperative enterprises, common ownerships, state-owned companies, and equity between citizens. Later, capitalism came with totally different ideas. Capitalism was launched as an economic system where trade, industry and different production means are partially or entirely owned by that private sector that are running for profit. The main characteristic of capitalism lies behind the capital accumulation, which is the main role of the whole economic system of capitalism, based on the competition between markets and waged labourers. Thus, in capitalist economy, the prices are determined as a deal between the different parties after calculating the assets, goods, and services exchange.

It is argued that the Muslim merchants in the ninth century were the first to deal with a capitalist ideology in their trading with neighbouring countries and the outlands. This was followed by the medieval European trading system in the twelfth century, then Protestant countries like the USA, UK, Norway, Australia, and other countries which followed the same ideology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then, with the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, capitalism started to be formed in the minds of the leaders of the economy at that time until the start of the twentieth century with Henry Ford, who was a leading businessman in the automotive industry. The first ideas of having an assembly line production and modern mass production was introduced by Ford as well as the idea of having a simultaneous production in the outlands to build a trading network.

As the capitalist economy is based on profit where the profit accumulated maintains the prosper and long-life period of the company, the falling profit may be seen as a positive consequence and healthy environment for the economy to continue to develop, which is a natural reason of the competition between the different companies on the local, national, regional, and international scales. In 1894, Karl Marx introduced a hypothesis arguing the same idea for the tendency of the rate of profit to fall (TRPF). On the other hand/At the same time, as part of the global networked economy (i.e. countries which participate in this share of the profit and the loss), any default will affect the other participants according to their share in the international economy. It is claimed that capitalism economy is very smart in the way that it has always managed to overcome any crises which can affect it, mentioning the twentieth century economic crises, the great depression from 1929 until 1939 in the USA, the OPEC oil price shock in 1973, the Asian crises in 1997, and finally, in the beginning of the twenty first century, the financial crises in 2007 and 2008.

Meanwhile, Egypt has also got its share of the economic crises which affected the economy and caused profit rates to fall since during the period from 1967 until 1973, part of the country was under the Zionist occupation that was a catalyst for the stopover of the economy for a while, as shown in Figure 8 – the annual GDP growth during the same period. Then, it was a turning point to start the way to capitalism. Later, the Gulf war took place in 1990 and 1991, then the earthquake in 1992, as mentioned before. Both events affected the urbanization and the economy as well, then the economic policies started to reform new policies for the economy to increase the economic growth. On the other hand, the international economic crisis also had its impacts on the Egyptian economy as will be discussed below and as shown in figures 7 and 8.

Moreover, Ichiki Tsuchiya, 2016, argued that, in the 2000s, the Egyptian economic growth rates experienced many fluctuation periods in the 2000s, as it decreased from 5.4% in 2000 to 2.4% in 2002, which was accompanied by high poverty rates. Nevertheless, it was difficult for households to deal with the rapid unstable circumstances and, therefore, vulnerable households did not benefit from that high economic growth. These fluctuations happened due to many reasons such as the population growth, high unemployment rates, the inappropriate development policies, and inadequate social policies, which led the government to devaluate the currency in 2006 to overcome this/such economic situation. The economic growth increased from being 3.8% in 2001 until 2004 to an average of 7% in 2004 until 2007. Also, the export and import rates increased faster than the GDP, following the previous policies of opening the Egyptian economy in the 1990s.

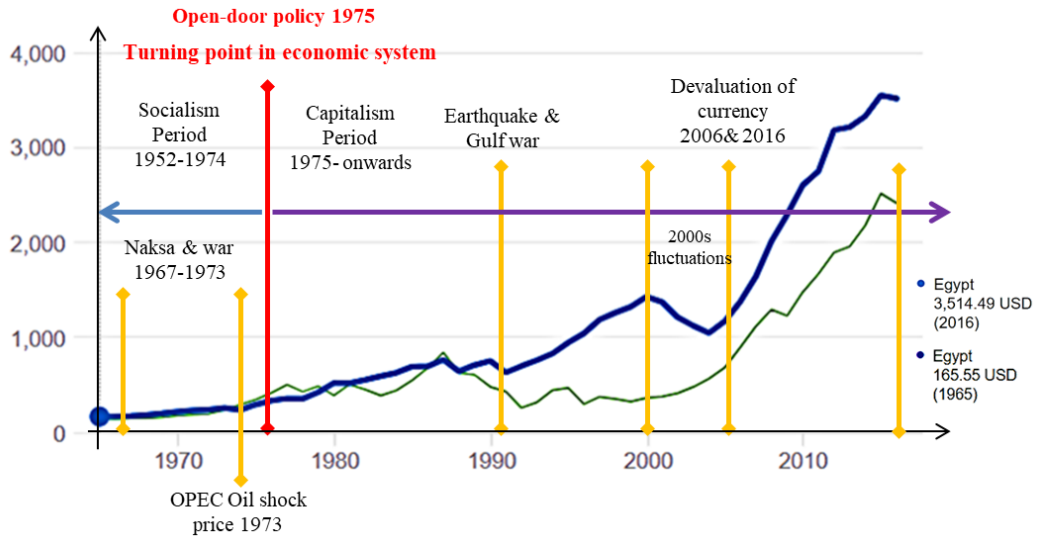


Figure 5-10. The GDP per Capita in Egypt from 1970 until 2016.
Source: The World Bank; modified by the researcher

It is important here to mention that there is a difference between the GDP growth and the GDP per capita as Dan Kopf, 2018 argued that, for countries whose population does not grow that much, the differences between the GDP per Capita growth and the total GDP growth is minimal (countries such as Norway, Italy, and Spain, with low fertility rates and a low percentage of population increase). With other countries which have rapid growing populations (countries such as Egypt China, Vietnam, and India, with higher fertility rates and a high percentage of population increase), showing GDP growth would be misleading.

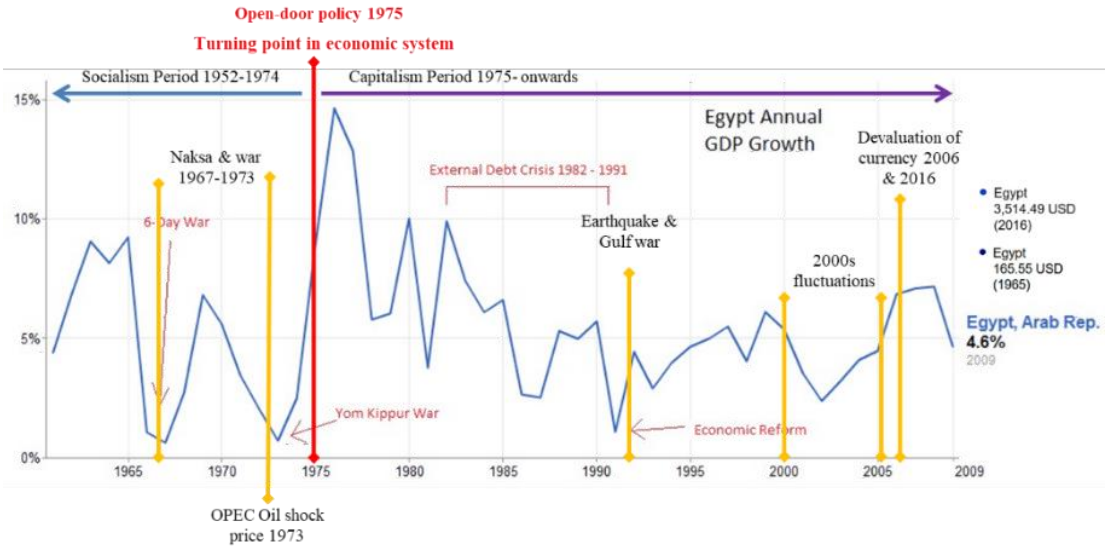


Figure 5-11. The annual GDP growth in Egypt from 1960 until 2009
Source: https://sinostand.com/tag/economy/; modified by the researcher

However, Egypt also had its share of the international economic crisis that stroked the USA and UK economies in 2008. As Samir Radwan, 2009 argued, the effect of the international crisis affected Egypt on many fields where the Egyptian GDP growth rates declined, and accordingly, so did the domestic and foreign investments, with a sharp drop in the remittances. On the other hand, late 2007 witnessed a rush of foreigners to liquidate their assets for a financial guarantee of their enterprises due to the mortgage

crisis in their home countries. Later, the May economic declarations that investors construed to roll back their investment incentives took place. Also, an increase in the food prices which occurred, also in 2008, caused an unexpected inflation, and turned/caused investors not to trust the performance of the Egyptian economy stock exchange. Accordingly, in mid-2008, the different sectors of the Egyptian economy had declined – tourism recorded -7.8% declination, building and construction declined from 15.4% to 9.3%, and the Suez Canal income decreased by -2.5%. The sectors which survived this was the communication and petroleum sectors.

To sum up, the capitalism system had claimed that the smartness of that system will make it survive even with the different recession, inflation, and turbulences periods it may go through. Moreover, the Egyptian economy showed that the profit increased and decreased many times, and that the capital had been moving away and then somehow returned. According to the economic policies, the Egyptian government may follow during the study period. That again ensured the good environment to host the gentrification process in Egypt in general and in Cairo, in particular, as the capital city of Egypt.

5.2.5 Changes in demographics and consumption patterns

In terms of demographics, the next figure shows that the demographics of Cairo have generally increased from 1882 until 2017, while it is interesting that the annual increase from 1882 until 1937 was almost the same as the population increased from 0.4 million in 1882 to reach 1.3 million in 1937. Later, the rate of the increase in population went faster within the period from 1947 until 1996, as it increased from 2.1 million in 1947 to 6.8 million in 1996. In the last two decades, from 1996 until 2017, the population reached 9.5 million in 2017, with an increase of 28% in the last twenty years only. Also, the year 1976 (e.g. the post-war period after 1973) showed an increase of almost 18% of the population from 4.2 million in 1966 to 5.1 million in 1976.

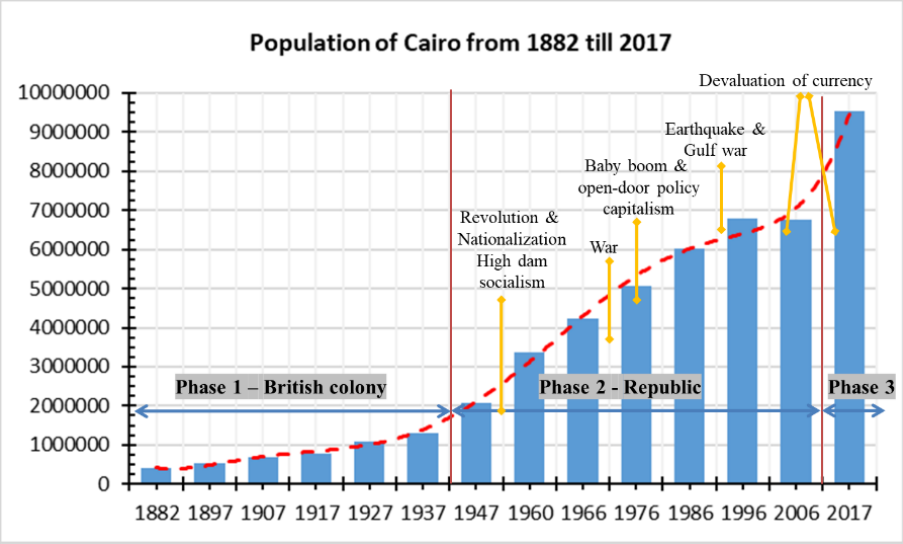


Figure 5-12. Population of Cairo from 1882 until 2017
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS); modified by the researcher.

As shown in Figure 8, the highest annual growth rate was recorded between 1937 and 1947 with 4.5%. This was due to the first wave of migration from the Delta to Cairo and the urbanization process which

started early in this period before the 1952 revolution. While the lowest annual growth rate was between 1996 and 2006, as it reached -0.1%, the city lost some of its population and land that was planned to be new separated cities, but this plan was not successful as the urban mass of Cairo extended to include new cities due to the nature of the strong economic, social and cultural bonds between Cairo and those cities. Thus, the population increased in 2017 to 9.5 million with a 3.1% growth rate due to the addition of new settlements to the Cairo urban mass and population in 2017.

Generally, the annual growth rate reached the peak points between 1937 and 1966 from 2% to 3.8% respectively, in the ending era of the colonial period and during the flourishing of socialism and nationalization. Since 1966, the annual growth rate decreased from 3.8% in 1966 to -0.1% in 2006, with more tendency to have less children to give them more chance to have better education and better life standards. The government also pushed the awareness of family planning and birth control strategies to decrease fertility rates. So far, the dynamics of the city tolerate flexibility regarding demographical changes as the annual growth rate is expected to stabilize within the coming years due to many reasons, mainly economic ones. The instability of the market took place due to the unstable political events in the last five years of the revolution in 2011, presidential elections in 2012, demonstrations in 2013, new elections in 2014, change of constitutions, and the devaluation of the currency in 2016. All this affected the income of the inhabitants, which is why the annual growth rate is expected to decrease or, in the worst case, to stabilize within the coming years.

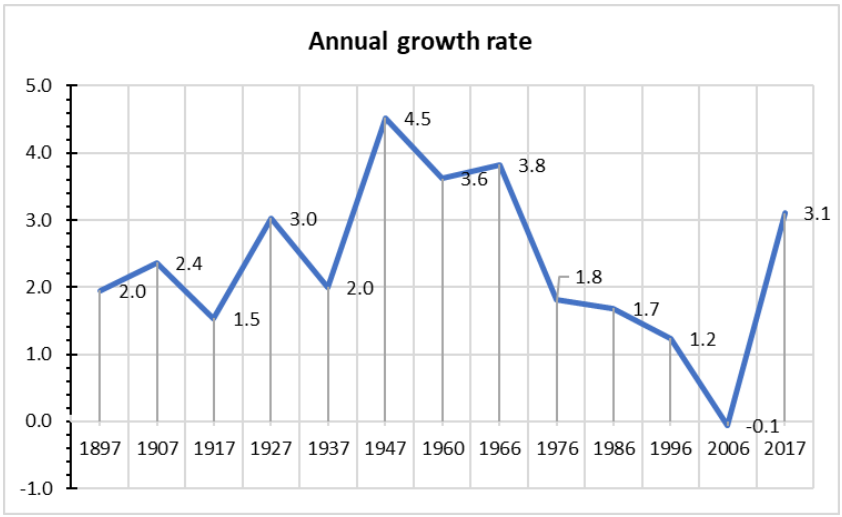


Figure 5-13. Annual growth rate of Cairo's population from 1882 until 2017
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS); modified by the researcher

Table 5-2. The population and annual growth rate of Cairo city in millions from 1882 until 2017
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS)

years	1882	1897	1907	1917	1927	1937	1947	1960	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2017
Population (millions)	0.4	0.56	0.68	0.8	1.1	1.3	2.1	3.4	4.2	5.1	6	6.8	6.8	9.5
Annual growth (%)		2.0	2.4	1.5	3.0	2.0	4.5	3.6	3.8	1.8	1.7	1.2	-0.1	3.1

The directions of the demographic growth in Cairo, as shown in Figure 8, seemed to be different compared to the directions of the economic growth. The demographic growth in the 1950s and 1960s was concentrated towards the city' core to the peripheral districts of the northeastern and southern districts of Cairo. While the economic growth was oriented to the southeastern districts which was accompanied by the opening of Helwan steel and cement factories, the population tended to live near their working places – as a natural influence of socialism. Thus, the southern districts hosted the demographic growth of the 1950s and 1960s, while the northeastern districts accommodated the population within the industrial zones as nowadays this is a problematic area in the sense of polluted and contaminated land, low level of education, physically deteriorated housing conditions, and health problems.

Later, in the 1970s, the demographic growth continued towards the northeastern districts – Nasr city, Heliopolis, and Abbasia districts – with a decent amount on the northern districts, sometimes over agricultural lands, even if the economic growth stopped to occupy and invest in these districts. Housing and illegal housing sometimes found a way to construct on it. While the eastsouthern quarter of Cairo did not witness a remarkable demographic growth during the 1980s and 1990s, the demographic growth, nonetheless, continued to increase more and more towards the east and northeastern districts, with the establishment of new settlements in eastern Cairo in the peripheral districts outside the ring road.

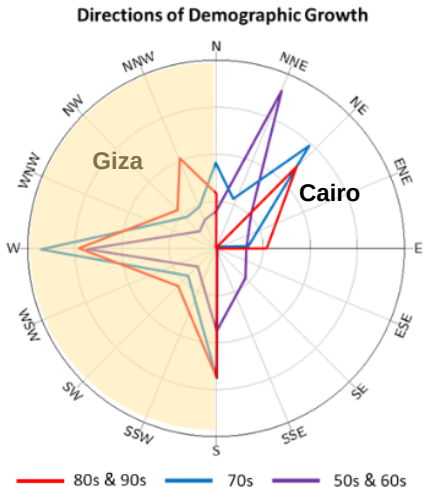


Figure 5-14. Directions of demographic growth from 1950s until 1990s in Cairo and Giza
Source: General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP); modified by the researcher

However, the population pyramid of Cairo clarified more hidden reasons of the demographic changes in the city. Figure 10 shows the population pyramids of Cairo for 1976, 1986, 1996, 2006 and 2017 respectively. The population pyramid represents the population in sections where each section represents ten years of age: less than 10 years old; from 10 to 20 years old; from 20 to 30 years old; from 30 to 40 years old; from 40 to 50 years old; from 50 to 60 years old; from 60 to 70 years old, and the last section represents the population aged more than 70 years old. In 1976, the 10 to 29 year olds section had increased in an abnormal way. Thus, Cairo was attractive for this age section in the first wave of migration from the neighbouring governorates in an early age to search for a job in the city. These

migration waves did not stop as they continued in the population pyramids of 1986 and 1996. In 2006, the case was a little different as the migration process attracted two sections – the first section is from 10 to 20 years and the second section from 20 to 30 years old. It was also significant that more females than males were migrating to live in Cairo, with the tendency for males to work abroad and their families move to live in the urban settlements. This reflects the later-on interviews which will mention some of the cultural backgrounds of migration to the city. It is also important to mention here that the social distinction was essential for some social groups in order to mix up with the city life. In 2017, the migration to Cairo for work and living was more attractive to the section from the 20- to 30-year-old population.

Moreover, the migration sections that migrate to Cairo seek three main targets in the city. First, they seek work, searching for better income and more open job opportunities in the city as some decide to stay and live in the city and the others commute between their house and work, generating many travelling trips. Second, they seek housing to live in a better urban environment in the city. Third, they seek work and housing together. The second and third types are the real gentrifiers of urban neighbourhoods which gentrify the city and are the main reasons for creating the rent gap, helping to raise the rent and property prices by stressing on the housing market to provide them with housing opportunities. Migrants who do not join the legal housing market turn to search for illegal housing markets in the city. This puts the city under stress even for providing housing or struggling against the illegal activities of the housing via contractors. The migrants, on the other hand, are also trapped between high, rising and increasing rent and property prices and the illegal cheaper opportunities of housing as well.

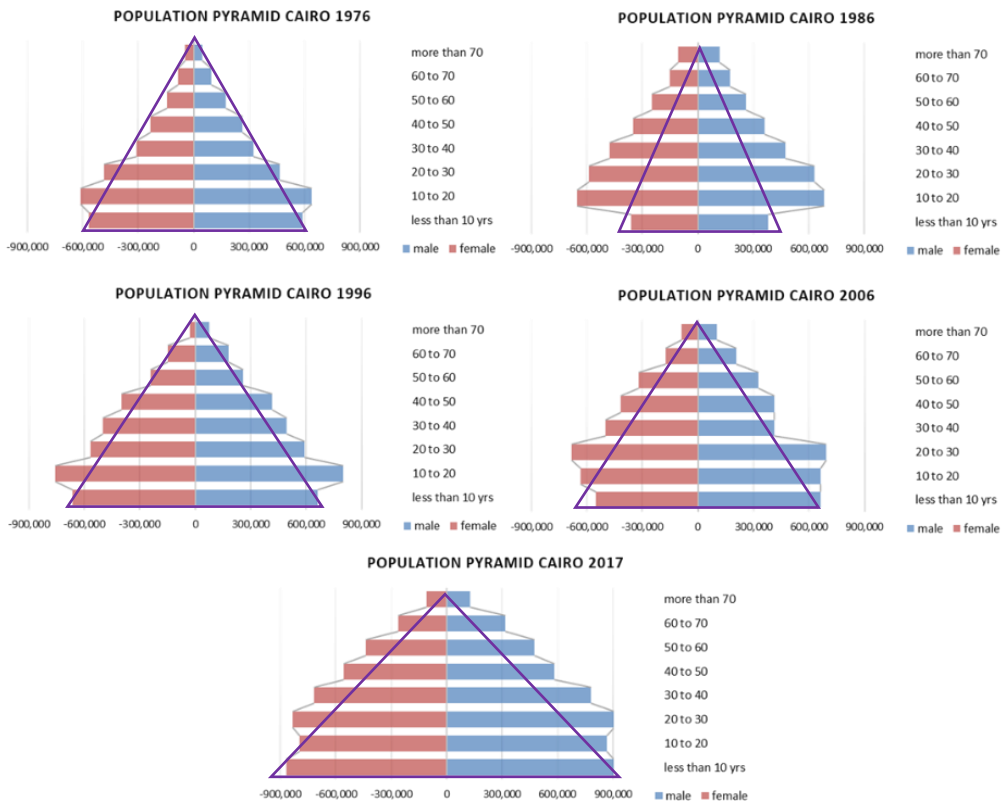


Figure 5-15. Population pyramid of Cairo in 1976, 1986, 1996, 2006 and 2017
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS); modified by the researcher

So far, the consumption patterns, as discussed in Chapter 3, are categorized to seventeen different items: food, utilities, contributions, clothing, personal care, housing equipment, shelter, transportation, healthcare, reading, entertainment, travel, household operations, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, education, and miscellaneous other items. According to the World Bank data, as shown in Figure 11, the Egyptian expenditures was 4.402 billion US dollars in 1965, while they reached 313.99 billion US dollars in the year 2016. However, the expenditures of consumptions were affected during the two periods of economic unbalances, firstly during the period of the external debit and debit crisis after the death of Sadat in 1981 until the 1991, with the Gulf War and the earthquake that hit Cairo in 1992. The second period was during the economic fluctuations in the beginning of the twenty-first century as mentioned before, when the final consumption expenditures decreased form 86.922 billion US dollars to 66.563 billion US dollars, which means a decrease of about 23%. This was the period that witnessed the lowest annual growth rate of population in Cairo (1.7% in 1986 and 1.2% in 1996).

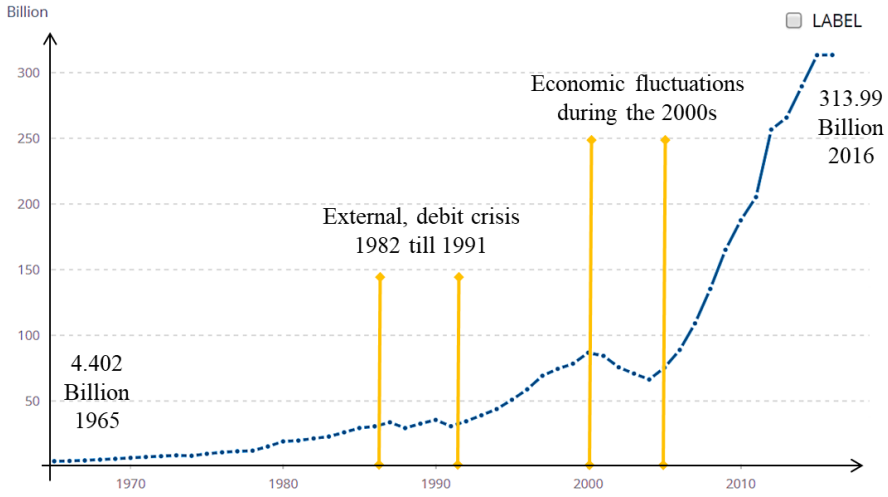


Figure 5-16. Final consumption expenditure (current US$) from 1965 until 2016
Source: The World Bank open access data; modified by the researcher
https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.CON.TOTL.CD?end=2016&locations=EG&start=1965&view=chart

Moreover, Figure 12 shows the data from the World Bank Open Access Data and the final consumption expenditure of Egypt as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which illustrates the long period of unstable consumption patterns from the 1975 (the turning point in economic system) until the 2015. In 2015, Egypt witnessed the highest percentage of consumption expenditures that reached almost 95%, even more than in 1975 with 94.5%, then declined again to reach 94% in 2016, maybe due to the devaluation of the currency like what happened in 2006, with 83% as well.

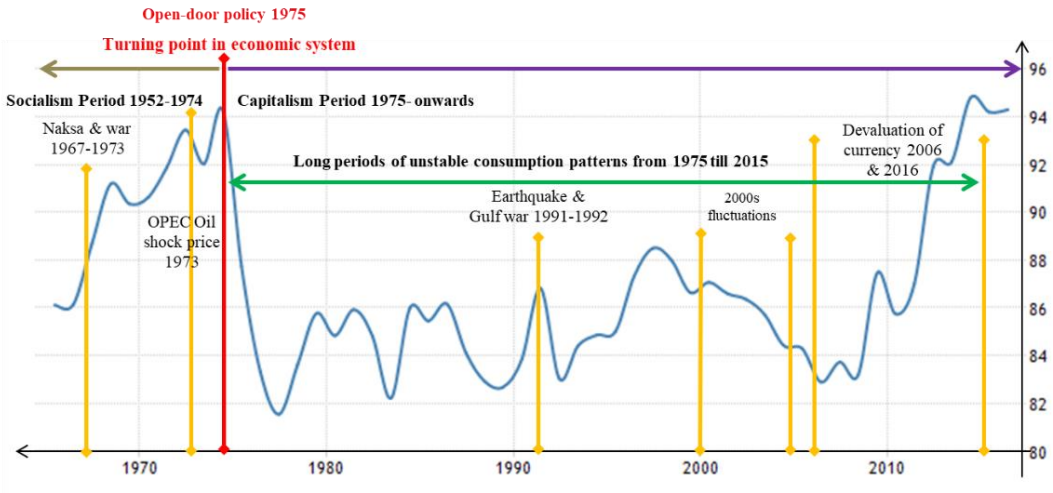


Figure 5-17. Final consumption expenditure (% of GDP) of Egypt
Source: The World Bank open access data; modified by the researcher

To sum up, the previously discussed figures, tables and argumentation showed that the changes in demographics and consumption patterns again paved the road for gentrification to occur. It formed and created a perfect and suitable environment for gentrification to happen and flourish, sometimes even with an easier way than in the developed countries.

5.3 Tools and Methods used to investigate the case studies

The research case studies were chosen according to certain criteria to fill in the gap in the gentrification literature regarding the culture and social differences from the core cities of gentrification towards developing countries which witness the gentrification process in a different way, as mentioned before in chapters 1 and 2. Thus, the researcher relied on many tools and methods in order to investigate and find out the process of gentrification in each case study. The researcher succeeded to use and analyse seven different tools and methods of analysis in the case studies. Different tools and methods were used, starting with observation, interviews, demographic analysis, housing circumstances, socio-cultural analysis, economic analysis, and physical analysis. Each focused on a different part of the gentrification process in which the researcher witnessed, lived and explored gentrification through seven years of research and study, since 2011 until 2018. One of the case studies even took more than seven years of research – Elgamalia took around eleven years of exploration and research. So far, the tools and methods used will be briefly illustrated in the following lines, and in each case study, they will be mentioned in more detail going deep into each case study to explore all its circumstances and perspectives. All the used tools and methods complement each other, which altogether form the full impression and give an integrated understanding of the gentrification process in the case studies in/of Cairo. Thus, they cover the economic, social, cultural and political perspectives of the gentrification process.

5.3.1 Direct Observations

McLeod, S. A. (2015) argued that there are three different observation methods: Controlled Observations, Natural observations and Participant observations. Since then, controlled observations

have mainly been used in laboratories, for example to observe chemical reactions, while a participant's observations rely on living for a specific time in the case study to play a role in the local inhabitant to get to know deeper and in detail every day's life which was not the case for the research. Thus, the researcher used natural observation, which is more realistic and applicable for the case study as, by definition, natural observations stem from the direct observation of the behaviour of the inhabitants in natural circumstances. The researcher recorded what was performed of the behaviour and habits of the inhabitants in the case studies within their natural environment, so they would not need to pretend to be dealing with the research through any abnormal or unnatural behaviour. This is like recording what is going on in a specific place with a hidden camera and trying to understand the situation through an outsider's eyes. One of the advantages of these kinds of observations is that they can generate ideas for the researcher, but their disadvantage is that the observation cannot be repeated under the same circumstances as when the research was done, due to time constraints.

The observation process was made within five different days during different periods of time – two during the day between 07:30 to 11:00 and one visit during the afternoon between 12:00 to 17:00. Another one was between the late afternoon and night from 17:00 to 21:00, which are usually the peak hours of starting the leisure activities and entertainment for the middle aged and young couples. Finally, there was one at night, between 21:00 to 23:00, to understand how the night life was going.

5.3.2 Interviews

According to: Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick, 2008; Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick, 2008; and Morse and Corbin, 2003, there are three main types of data collection interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The researcher used semi-structured and unstructured interview types since the interviewees feel more open and helpful if they are answering to open and semi-open questions. The research interviews varied from the different types of interviews; semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used. The interviewees were classified according to their different age groups. The researcher covered all the age groups from students (between 12 to 20 years old) to the young labourers (from 20 to 30 years old and from 30 to 40 years old) and old people (from 40 to 65 years old). The interviewees' economic activities varied between labourers who work in services, construction, industry, transportation, and hospitality and tourism. Also, the questions covered property owners and renters of apartments, shops, and restaurants. Nevertheless, the situation of where they live, whether they currently live in the case studies, left and own some property, left and have family ties, left with no attachments to their ex-locations or are not living in the case study. Accordingly, Table 3 shows the interviewees' study population, methods, sampling techniques, classifications and numbers for both case studies. Table 4 shows the study's population classifications according to the situation of living, age and economic activities as well as their numbers for both cases studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

The interview questions were designed with regard to the indicators developed by Kennedy, M., and Leonard, P. (April 2001) to answer specific points which are reflected to illustrate the different indicators

of gentrification. Thus, sometimes there were open questions to give more space for the interviewees to enunciate during the interview to mention more unconsciously hidden (missing word/information), especially with unstructured interviews. The list of questions is shown in Table 4.

Table 5-3. Study population, methods, sampling techniques used, classifications and numbers for both cases studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis

Study Population	Number of Interviewees	Methods	Sampling Techniques
Heliopolis for Housing and Development	1	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful then snow-balling
National Organization for Urban Harmony	2		
Local authority	3		
Housing and Building National Research Center	2		
Ministry of Housing	3		
Supreme Council of Antiquities	4		
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	3		
Total	18		
Apartment owners	46	Unstructured interviews	Stratified random sampling then snow-balling
Shop owners	28		
Apartment renters	36		Purposeful
Shop renters	26		
Users, passersby, others, etc.	67		
Total	203		

Table 5-4. List of interview questions which were designed regarding the indicators developed by Kennedy, M., and Leonard, P. (April 2001)

Rate of renters

1- In your opinion, are there more renters than owners in your neighbourhood? Please mention by average per cent.

Ease of access to job centres

2- To what extent is it easy for you to find your essential and daily needs and services?

3- Does Elgamalia/Heliopolis have accessibility to job centres at all?

Levels of Metropolitan Congestion

4- To what extent do you think Elgamalia/Heliopolis are crowded and why?

5- What are the reasons for the crowd and what kind is it (i.e. services, traffic, random markets, etc.)?

High Architectural Value

6- To what extent do you think that Elgamalia/Heliopolis enjoys a valuable architectural value?

7- Is architectural value important for you and why?

Housing Values

8- Do you know any housing which has a low housing value next to a relatively high housing value? Where and why do you think so?

9- For owners who are living in their own apartments, do you make annual/monthly/5-year-maintenance for your apartment? And do your neighbours do the same or not?

10- For owners who rent their apartments, do your renters make annual/monthly/5-year maintenance for your apartment? And do your neighbours do the same or not?

11- For renters, do you make annual/monthly/5-year maintenance for the apartment? And do your neighbours do the same or not?

Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership

12- To what extent do inhabitants tend to change from rentship to ownership in Elgamalia/Heliopolis? Do you know any examples?

Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture

13- To what extent do new comers like to own apartments/shops in Elgamalia/Heliopolis because of its urban amenities and culture?

14- Do you think that the new comers are richer or less rich than the inhabitants who were living here?

15- What type of new comers do you think they look like (e.g. singles, families, elderly people, students, tourists, etc.)?

Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income People

16- In Elgamalia/Heliopolis, what kind of commercial activities (i.e. shops, clothes shops and restaurants) tend to open and be a good business here?

17- Are newly open commercial/administrative activities targeting specific social class inhabitants?

Change in Racial Composition

18- Does Elgamalia/Heliopolis have any kind of different races or groups (e.g. foreigners, Syrians, etc.)?

19- What is the average number of residents in one/in a single apartment?

Change in Income

20- How do inhabitants improve their income in Elgamalia/Heliopolis?

21- Do inhabitants tend to have a one-life job or more?

Level of education

22- What is the level of education the neighbourhood enjoys?

Change in tradition and customs

23- Did you notice any difference/change in the people's behaviour and traditions concerning new and old/existing inhabitants?

24- When do inhabitants tend to leave Elgamalia/Heliopolis?

25- What is the average age of inhabitants in Elgamalia/Heliopolis nowadays and 20 years ago?

Diversity of visitors

26- What kind of visitors visit Elgamalia/Heliopolis (e.g. students, elderly people, young people, etc.)?

General open-end questions

27- To what extent do you feel the change in Elgamalia/Heliopolis (e.g. restaurants, shops, services, atelia, etc.)?

28- How much was the increase in price in the last 2-3 years (e.g. doubled/tripled, etc.)?

29- How much is the average current prices of land and apartments since the 1950s until now?

30- Do new comers help to conserve the architectural value of Elgamalia/Heliopolis?

31- Do commercial and other activities in Elgamalia/Heliopolis help to conserve the architectural value?

32- To what extent do newly built residential buildings solve the housing problem?

33- What is the average square meter rent price for shops and apartments?

34- What is the average square meter price for buying and selling for shops and apartments?

35- Do you think that the new projects will solve the main problems in the neighbourhoods?

36- What do you know about gentrification?

37- Do you have any information were the displaced inhabitants move to? And why?

38- Does the Ministry of Antiquities help to conserve the architectural heritage of Elgamalia/Heliopolis?

Table 5-5. Study population classifications according to the situation of living, age and economic activities and their numbers for both cases studies, Elgamalia and Heliopolis

Study population		**Economic Activities**					**No.**
Situation	Age	Industry	Services	Construction	Trading & hospitality	Transportation	Total
Currently living in the case studies (age)	From 12 to 20	4	10	-	-	-	14
	From 20 to 30	4	18	-	6	-	28
	From 30 to 40	6	7	-	4	3	20
	From 40 to 65	2	5	-	3	1	11
Left and own some property (age)	From 12 to 20	-	-	2	-	-	2
	From 20 to 30	2	4	-	-	-	6
	From 30 to 40	2	3	-	5	-	10
	From 40 to 65	-	1	-	2	-	3
Left and has	From	-	3	-		-	3

family ties (age)	12 to 20						
	From 20 to 30	-	3	-	1	-	4
	From 30 to 40	2	-	-	4	-	6
	From 40 to 65	-	2	-	2	-	4
Left with no attachments (age)	From 12 to 20	2	4	-	2	-	8
	From 20 to 30	2	1	-	1	-	4
	From 30 to 40	2	2	-	-	-	4
	From 40 to 65	2	1	-	-	-	3
Not living	From 12 to 20	1	7	-	8	-	16
	From 20 to 30	2	12	4	10	-	28
	From 30 to 40	2	6	2	5	2	17
	From 40 to 65	1	3	2	6	-	12
Total		36	92	10	59	6	203

So far, the gentrification indicators of Kennedy (2001), as mentioned previously, will be used to introduce the interview questions asked to the interviewees for the case study of Elgamalia. Later in the conclusion, the researcher will summarize the indicators list applied for the case studies to illustrate the level of exposition each case study has.

5.3.3 Demographic Analysis

Since the demographic studies are the most important to identify the main structure of population in such case study, the researcher used the demographic, socio-cultural and economic analysis based on the methodology of A. Salah Othman, 2004 using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). The demographic analysis analysed the population's development, annual growth rates, the population pyramids, migration, family size, and rates of overcrowding. This analysis helped to understand the population composition of each case study and predict the coming composition. Each of the items of the demographic analysis are defined here to have a common, basic understanding for the terms to facilitate the description of each of them. Population development means the total number of inhabitants (census) who are living in each case study by the year

of collecting the statistical data, every 10 years, since 1976, namely 1976, 1986, 1996, and 2006. Consequently, it is important to mention that the statistical data of the case studies for 2017 has not been issued until now (March, 2018), and that the only available data for 2017 is for the Cairo governorate as a total number. The annual growth rate is the percentage of increase in population per year, which is usually measured between two different consequent censuses such as the annual growth rate between 1986 and 1976, which can be calculated as shown in Box 1.

Box 5-1. Annual growth rate equation

Source: A. Salah Othman (2004)

Annual growth rate (%) between 1986 and 1976 equals:
{(1986 census – 1976 census) x 2 x 100} ÷ {(1986 census + 1976 census) x (difference years between census (1986-1976 = 10))}

The population pyramid is the age classification of the population census to different sections of males and females. Each section represents a different age group, usually every 10 years: less than 10 years old; from 10 to 20; from 20 to 30; from 30 to 40; from 40 to 50; from 50 to 60; from 60 to 70; and over 70 years old. The population pyramid is represented in a graph where the right side represents the male population and the left side represents the female population. The base of the pyramid starts from the youngest age gradually until the top of the pyramid where the eldest age is. So far, the migration is the number of the population which migrates from or to the city. It indicates whether the case study is attracting or repelling inhabitants to it.

Migration can be measured by comparing the natural increase in population to the statistical increase in the population of a specific city or neighbourhood, as shown in Box 2. If the natural increase of population is less than the statistical increase, it means that the city is attractive for the migrating population, while if the natural increase is more than the statistical increase, it means that the city is repelling for the migrating population. Measuring the natural increase of population, it is found to be equal to the difference between the birth rate and the death rate, while the statistical increase is the difference between two censuses of the same calculated census of the natural increase in population.

Box 5-2. Migration, natural increase, and statistical increase equation

Source: A. Salah Othman (2004)

Natural increase, for example, between 1986 and 1976 equals:
{children born from 1976 until 1986} – {deaths from 1976 until 1986}
Statistical increase for example, between 1986 & 1976 equals:
{1986 census – 1976 census}

Moreover, the average family size is the average number of family members, which is calculated by dividing the population census by the number of families in a specific city, neighbourhood or district, as shown in Box 3. This is also related to the rates of overcrowding which is the average number of family members in one room, which is calculated by dividing the population by the number of rooms, as shown in Box 4. Generally, if the family size increases, the rate of overcrowding increases which indicates a negative effect on population, meaning less opportunities for a healthy housing environment and maybe less opportunities for education, hence an increased leakage of education.

Box 5-3. Average family size equation

Source: A. Salah Othman (2004)

Average family size (members) for example in 1986 equals: {1986 population census} ÷ {1986 number of families}

Box 5-4. Rates of overcrowding equation

Source: A. Salah Othman (2004)

Overcrowding rate (member per room) for example in 1986 equals: {1986 census} ÷ {number of rooms in 1986}

5.3.4 Housing circumstances and real estate development

Meanwhile, housing real estate development deals with the notion of real estate development and contracting indicators which emphasise their essential role in facilitating the gentrification process in the case studies. Therefore, the main purpose is to understand the housing development, the increase or decrease in the number of buildings in general, the number of residential units built, the number of buildings according to ownership nationalities, the percentage of owned and rented apartments, and housing types (i.e. villa, houses, apartments, etc.). Each item is clarified using graphs and charts to compare the past with the present situation of housing and real estate development since 1976 and until the last updated data in 2006. Thus, (missing word) goes deeper to identify more details about how developed the infrastructure available for families is and its connection to electricity, clean water and sewage systems. Also, the utilities' availability in the families' apartments, kitchen, bathroom, toilets, and the ownership of transportation means for families are identified, as well. The analysis of housing real estate development's way and style is a collective work done by different authors and researchers who were mentioned in the literature review, while the researcher investigated and added more items to clarify the status of gentrification in each case study. Meanwhile, the researcher will explore the different property prices (i.e. apartments, houses, villas, land) to understand how the property prices increased and try to relate that increase to the different events and projects in each case study. The prices will be collected from newspapers and real estate mediators from the 1970s until 2017. So far, this chapter will mention and illustrate, in detail, the different housing real estate development items according to the overview of the whole gentrification process with explanatory graphs and charts using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS).

5.3.5 Socio-Cultural Analysis

While observation, interviews, demographic analysis and housing real estate development are not the only perspectives of gentrification, and while the argumentation of the research was based on the social and cultural differences between the gentrification in the core cities and the developing countries, it is essential to have a deeper analysis which was introduced by A. Salah Othman (2004) on the social and cultural analysis of the Egyptian case studies. The analysis will illustrate the labourers' professions, educational status, unemployment rates, marital status, and dependency rates. Therefore, the social and

cultural composition using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) could be eventually understood.

The professions of the labourers are the jobs which are mentioned in the citizens' national identity cards. They can, sometimes, be misleading because a labourer can have a profession that was obtained as a result of studying at a specific university or college, which may not necessarily be the labourer's real or current job. So far, the professions of the labourers can indicate the general job preferences of the community which must be compared to the real economic activities as will be mentioned in the economic analysis of the case studies. Thus, the labourers' professions in each case study are classified according to their professions as follows: legislators, senior officials and scientific professionals, technicians, assistants and complementary workers, service workers, sales, transport and communication, farmers and fishermen, craftsperson, factory workers and machine operators, and ordinary workers, dependents, construction workers and non-profilers. This will be presented as a classified number and percentage of labourers, using a bar chart and tables, to compare the decrease and increase in the different professions since the year 1976 until 2006.

The educational status of the inhabitants will introduce the level of education each case study enjoys. It will be categorized into eight different categories which will be presented as a percentage of the total number of each case study's population. The categories are the illiterates, read-and-write population, elementary educated, under intermediate (preparatory education), intermediate (secondary education), above intermediate (i.e. special industrial education), university (i.e. bachelor or license degrees), and master's and Ph.D. holders. As the illiteracy rate decreases, the community becomes more educated which indicates a positive indicator that increases the probabilities of gentrification to occur. The educational status will be presented as a categorized number and percentage of inhabitants, using a bar chart and tables, to compare the decrease and increase in the different educational categories from the year 1976 until 2006.

Unemployment is represented as a percentage of the total number of the population in the working age (labour force) not the total population number which is sometimes misleading to indicate the unreal unemployed population. Thus, it indicates whether the case study has more access to job centres, and whether it formulates and facilitates the opportunities and environment to find jobs or not. Then, presenting the marital status of the case studies shows the percentage of the singles, married, divorced, and widowed population which will show the tendency of the community to marry less, and the increasing rates of divorce, also with a general tendency to have less children and stay single for longer periods. Both unemployment and marital status will be illustrated, using bar charts and tables, to compare the decrease and increase in the different categories from the year 1976 until 2006.

Moreover, the dependency rates, which show the population that has income compared to the total population, indicate the real population that works to keep the community moving. As this dependency rates increases, the community is more positive and dynamic. The dependency rates are calculated, as

will be shown in Box 5, and will be illustrated, using bar charts and tables, to compare the decrease and increase in the different rates from the year 1976 until 2006.

Box 5-5. Rates of dependency

Source: A. Salah Othman (2004)

Dependency rate (%) for example in 1986 equals: {Total number of labour force (over 15 years old) + retired population – total number of unemployed population} x 100 ÷ {Total population}

5.3.6 Economic Analysis

Gentrification, as mentioned in the previous chapters, flourishes with the economic changes in the city due to the movement and flow of capital. Thus, the economic analysis is essential to understand gentrification in Cairo. According to many authors, urban planners and geographers, the method of economic analysis is a way to determine the distribution of resources, while giving an insight to how markets operate to expect how the market will behave in the future regarding the different events and actions. A. Salah Othman, 2004 argued that economic analysis can be illustrated within the economic activities of labour, working sectors (public and private sectors), and the participation of women in economic activities to understand the economic composition of the case studies and investigate that feasibility of the economic environment to attract investments. This will be presented as a classified number and percentage of labour, using charts and tables, to compare the decrease and increase in the different economic items from the year 1976 until 2006, using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS).

The total number of labourers participating in the different economic activities was classified into six main categories: hunting and agriculture, industrial and crafting, services, construction, trading and commercial, and transportation activities. The reason is to compare the percentage of the different activities' increase and decrease since 1976 until 2006 in the case studies. This will identify the leading and the leftover economic activities, then comparing these graphs with the unemployment rates will identify the relation between the economic activities' increase and the unemployment rates' increase. In other words, for example, when the service activities increased, whether this positively or negatively affected the employment and whether unemployment rate increased or declined will be identified/known (any verb because the sentence has to have a verb). Thus, to evaluate the economic situation of the case study and investments, it is important to pose the question of whether this is the truthful direction for the economy to flourish and income of inhabitants to increase or if it needs/requires modification.

Then, calculating the total number of the labour force working in the private and public sectors, according to the different economic policies, starting from the socialism in the 1950s until the emergence of capitalism in the 1970s, then the consequent waves of privatization from the 1990s until the first decade of the 20th century, ensures that the private sector takes over the public (governmental) sector, generally in Cairo and specifically in the case studies. If the working sectors are compared with the

unemployment rates, this may indicate the good manners of the followed policies in the case of the decrease in the unemployment in the case study. The working sectors are represented in percentages in a form of chart graphs as a comparison to the previous census of 1976, 1986, 1996 and 2006.

Since the different policies call for the effective role of women in the economy, and women are becoming more and more independent due to their participation in the work force in the different economic fields, it is essential to mention their effective role in the community. Thus, the participation of women in economic activities indicates that gentrifiers are not only men but that there is an equal possibility to include women as well, with the general increase in the divorce rates and the free mobility of women, as will be shown in the related figures.

5.3.7 Physical Analysis

The urban studies are the content of the different economic, service, social, and entertaining activities, and the outlet of the different studies to host and balance the human needs and economic activities. This leads to a successful economic development, which increases the income of the inhabitants. The role of the physical studies and analysis focused on the materialistic framework of the different economic, social, cultural, and policies perspectives for a specific case study. The main aim of physical planning is, generally, to increase the income of people by distributing different economic spots to attract investments and raise the quality of life. Another aim is to provide effective main housing facilities (i.e. houses, shops, malls, leisure, green, etc.), transportation (i.e. public and private) and infrastructure (i.e. water, electricity, gas, sewage and communications) which accommodates the social, cultural, environmental and economic needs of the inhabitants, providing a well-organized and efficient connected network between them.

Meanwhile, H. Churchill (1948) defined urban physical planning as the planning of land use and the distribution of the different zones from the functional structure of the city it achieves to order the different common social aims of its inhabitants. Goderitz (1957), on the other hand, identified urban planning as finding the correlation between the residential, working, entertainment, cultural, and traffic zones in the city, adding to that providing the economic, social, healthiness, aesthetic, and security needs for the inhabitants. T. Thomas (1982) argued that urban planning is a science of art and politics, aiming to develop the city according to the social and economic needs, considering giving and assembling the different functions that formed the city and their ideal relations composed together with the aim to create a secure and comfortable environment for the inhabitants. Later, the international conference of new buildings announced that urban planning aims to organise the different functions related to the common daily life of inhabitants, with the four main functions of: house, work, entertain and traffic. So far, Elwakil Shafak (2006) identified that urban planning is concerned with the following: organizing and assorting the land uses so as not to have conflicts which may lead to negative effects in the city; planning road network to have an easy and fast economic network; planning neighbourhoods and new cities; re-planning and renewing deteriorated urban neighbourhoods; and the general improvement of the environment, especially the urban environment.

The physical analysis will explore the different urban planning layers which formed the case studies by exploring the different typologies of the land and buildings' uses (i.e. residential, commercial, industrial, admirative, etc.), buildings' heights, conditions, structural system and materials, and the density of inhabitants in the area of Elgamalia and Heliopolis. Exploring the typologies of both cases helps to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to the near gentrification process. The Geographic Information System (ARC GIS) was used as a tool for mapping the land and buildings typologies according to the defined criteria in Chapter 1. Each typology was mapped separately with the detailed items in a table and graph chart with the different area and percentage. Then, the typology maps will be overlaid with the interview results and the different indicators from the indicators list mentioned in the previous chapter.

The physical study and analysis started by using the AutoCAD files provided from the CAPMAS with a scale of 1 to 500, which the researcher used as a reference for the survey for the case studies. Then, the manual survey started by writing down all the details of land uses, buildings' uses, conditions, heights, structural systems, and materials used for buildings as well as documenting the heritage buildings, changes and alterations in each case study with photos taken by the researcher to document the survey and the circumstances.

The survey was done on five different visits for each case study, in different time periods to observe the dynamics and flow of people inwards and outwards of each case. Two took place during the day between 07:30 to 11:00, when the residents start their daily routine to go to their schools, universities, or work – the start of the real commuting period out and into the case study. One visit took place during the afternoon between 12:00 to 17:00, which is the time when people usually come back from their schools, universities, or work – the end of the real commuting period outwards and inwards. Another visit took place between the late afternoon and night between 17:00 to 21:00, which is usually the peak hours of starting the leisure activities and entertainment for the middle aged and young couples. Finally, one took place at night to understand how the night life goes between 21:00 to 23:00, which is usually the time when young people tend to hang out and use public cafes and restaurants. Thus, the researcher tried to cover most of the different time periods to observe, investigate and explore the dynamics and behaviours of the community and its uses, using the different urban facilities and spaces.

The survey was done in parallel with the data collection for each case study, history, iconic buildings, architectural style used, demographics, economic analysis and interviews. Later, the data collected was categorized, modified and filtered according to the research criteria, tools and methods. The surveyed data was inputted to/entered in the Arc GIS software to be stored and presented later, according to the usual comprehensive planning methods used in Egypt known through the Governmental Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP). Then, the collected data was operated by analysing and categorizing it, according to different typologies to operate calculations, and cartographic functions. Finally, the data output was put in the form of graphs, maps, tables, and reports, and to recall the data stored to remodify them or create new attributes of data, if needed.

The coming lines will illustrate the two case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis in more detail with a special reflection of all the previously mentioned tools and methods, starting from introducing both cases in Cairo, their location, and the historical background the causes of gentrification which are clearly seen in the two cases. Not only that but also to get to know the results and discussions of the tools and methods used to understand the dynamics of gentrification, and to give a professional feedback on the gentrification process in Egypt.

5.4 Conclusion

The research concluded preliminary definition of gentrification will be more explored and identified according to the case studies to conclude a suitable definition for gentrification in Egypt. While, the concluded remarks released from the most relevant historical and theoretical background of the gentrification process. Such remarks covered the most significant scholarships which were dedicated to gentrification process and mentioned the different shifts through a historical timeline. The present findings of scanning the relevant literature answer the main questions of the gentrification process. The different methods and trials to measure gentrification process by reviewing different theories, such as, the rent gap theory, functional gap, and value gap were illustrated and reviewed. Results provide a basis for exploring other recent notions of gentrification, such as, commercial, tourism, and new build gentrification. Then reflecting the international gentrification literature on the Egyptian case study, more attention was given to the gentrification waves in the USA and Egypt as one of the countries which witnessed gentrification in an early stage.

The previous experiences chosen regarding the different geographies of gentrification process in London (Super gentrification), Brussels (third world immigration gentrification), Philadelphia (ethnic gentrification) and Vienna (urban policy gentrification), were reviewed and explored. Also covered the main perspectives of gentrification socio-cultural, economic, political and physical. Moreover, the concluded remarks founded the basic means and procedures for data collection and sources used in the case studies in the coming chapters. In addition, the tools and methods concluded from the previous experiences are applied on the case studies. While the researcher noticed and considered the social and cultural differences between the previous experiences and the Egyptian case studies.

Meanwhile, investigating the gentrification process in Egypt showed that the gentrification process causes occurred in Cairo. Such causes illustrated by the suburbanization, rent gap emerged, and deindustrialization, also the movement of capital spatial centralization and decentralization occurred, proved that the process emerged even earlier than the research conducted. Also, the changes of in demographics and consumption patterns due to the waves of migration and social, economic and political changes clarified that gentrification takes place in Cairo. Economic changes of cyclical movement of capital and falling profit brought the most significant effect of the gentrification process. Moreover, the suggested two New Geographies of Gentrification in terms of culture and social differences between western cities (core cities) witnessed gentrification in early stages are well identified in the Egyptian case as illustrated in this chapter and the previous chapters. Thus, the proposed geographies of Historic / Cultural Tourism and Contracting / Real Estate are explored and identified in the coming chapters in the two case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

6. Case study 1: Elgamalia District

6.1 Introduction

Cairo is considered an embrace for many historic districts and significant monuments. It does not only reveal the city's architectural wealth, but also its significant urban fabric which is 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 part of the city centre of Cairo, well-known for its historical mosques and other Islamic monuments. It overlooks the Cairo Citadel as a strategic spot to control and protect the city. Medieval Cairo or Fatimid Cairo was founded in 969 (A.D.?) as the royal enclosure for the Fatimid caliphs. The historic centre of Cairo bears impressive material witness to its international importance on the political, strategic, intellectual and commercial levels of the city during the medieval period.

The district of Elgamalia is part of the middle district of Cairo, which contains Elgamalia and Al-Darb Al-Ahmar districts. The total area of the middle district is 7.74 square kilometres (Cairo districts), around 1843 feddans, with a total population of 94857 inhabitants in 2017 (CAPMAS). Elgamalia represents about 50% of the middle district which is equal to 3.8 square kilometres or 905 feddans. Elgamalia district is located in the east of Downtown Cairo, with walking distances of about 3.3 kilometres from Tahrir square, 2.2 kilometres from Attaba square, 2.5 kilometres from Ramses square and the national railway station, and 17 kilometres from the Cairo International Airport via car. Elgamalia District is one of the oldest districts in Cairo; it has the collective heritage of Cairo since it was built. The district hosts many important monumental buildings such as the Al-Azhar headquarters, Al Hakim mosque, Al-Aqmar mosque, the monumental wall of Historic Cairo, the historical wall of Cairo, Ayoub and Mamluk schools, bazars, most famous of which is Khan Khalili, gold and silver shops and handicrafts, and other interesting monuments which are worth observing and visiting.

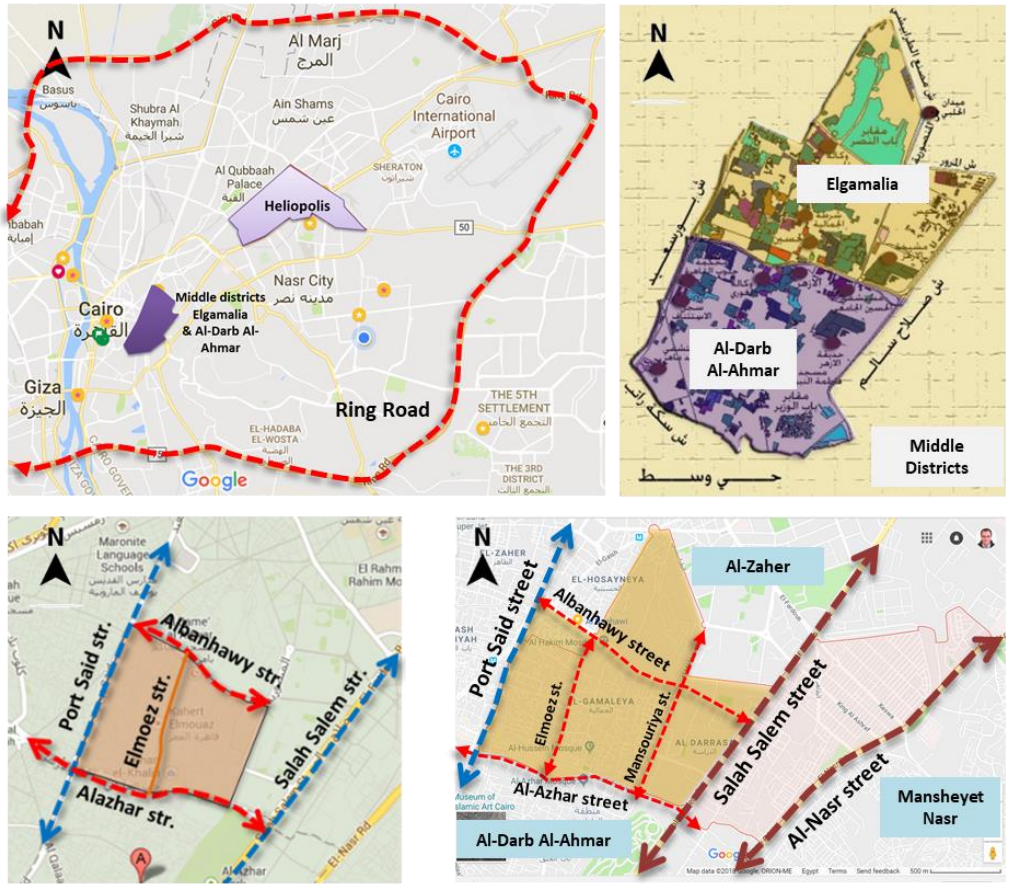


Figure 6-1. The location of Elgamalia (case study 1)
Source: Google Maps and Cairo districts; modified by the researcher

Figure 6-1 shows the location of Elgamalia district and its neighbouring districts, from east of the Mokattam Mountain, which is considered a natural barrier that limits urban expansion towards the east from north Elzaher and Hussainia districts, two old districts which are characterized by a mixed land-use commercial, handicrafts, residential and a big number of educational buildings. From the west, Bab Elshaeria and Moski districts could be found, both of which considered as the parallel city centre to Khedivi Cairo city centre, again with mixed uses of commercial, handicrafts (especially electronic devices and clothes), residential, and food products like cheese, smoked meat and small traditional restaurants. From the south, lies the Darb Alahmar district which represents the other half of Historic Cairo, hosting many monumental buildings and heritage of Islamic architecture throughout many historic periods, such as Al-Azhar mosque, with mixed land and commercial uses, especially clothes, tent handicrafts, cover sheets, stores, small restaurants, wood and marble handicrafts, and cafes. Elgamalia district is formed of eighteen different zones (Sheiakhat), Elgamalia, Barkouk, Qait-bay, Albendkdar, Elmansouria, Aldarasah, Al-ahram, Al-otouf, Qasr-Elshouq, Al-khawas, Bab-Alfotouh, Khan Khalili, Al-khoronfosh, and Bein-Alsoreen. The district has the most important historical, commercial street, Al-Moez Le-Din Allah, which separates the old historic zone of Elgamalia into two parts.

6.2 Historical Background

Elgamalia is bordered by historical monumental walls and gates from the north and west (Fotouh and Nasr gates), from the south, Al-Azhar street, and from the east Salah Salem street and the cemetery area.

This district was used to host the palaces and Qasrs of the Fatimid Khalifa dynasty. By the end of the Fatimid dynasty in 1171 AC, the palaces and Qasrs deteriorated and were inhabited by people with low income. Later in 1382 A.D., one of the Mamluk princes, Jaharks Khalili, established the Khalili Khan after his name. In 1409 A.D., Gamal Eldin Youssef built schools which were followed by many other facilities and, since then, the district was hosted by low-income and middle-class people. The district is also a religious touristic destination due to the big number of mosques and houses that were built in the Islamic period such as Al-Sehemi, Gamal El-Din Al-Zahabi, and Al-Kadi houses. The district is an open museum for Islamic architecture in general.

The district's location is very important because of the unique architectural style, monumental buildings and commercial district. The area, which witnessed many different eras and years of neglect during the last decades, is even a UNESCO (United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization) World Heritage Site. So far, the case study area is popular for its bazars and antique shops (Khan Khalili district) because of the high architectural and historical values it enjoys, which makes it a significant destination for many tourists to visit, especially a headquarter for many jewellery workshops and showrooms as well as an open market for selling handmade products and a market for textile goods such as sheets, towels, blankets, and other similar products. Some places even work as storage backyards for these shops. Thus, this neighbourhood is highly rich and diverse, with a lot of economic facilities as well as chances for deterioration.

6.3 Results and Discussion

6.3.1 Direct Observations

The observation of Elgamalia district was very essential to understand more the behaviour and habits of the inhabitants and visitors. The observation results were as follows: socially, the inhabitants are more related and connected to each other, they are close to each other's social networks, and they do behave well with visitors, especially those visiting the district to buy from the different shops. They offer help when needed, and are even more helpful with foreigners. Most of the observed people were young people aged from 20 to 40 years old. The district is generally crowded during the day, more crowded from 12:00 to 17:00 and less crowded at night from 21:00 until 23:00 but still very socially liveable. Some beggars were observed, especially in highly dense commercial zones, while homeless people were rarely found. People tend to go to mosques within prayer times due to the existence of many monumental mosques, and greet each other when coming and going from home to work or when passing by. Thus, the social life in Elgamalia is very essential and vital for the people living and visiting the district.

Culturally, shop owners and young people are used to smoking cigarettes or water pipes even in front of their shops or in cafes. The culture of hassling for selling their products is very important. The community is dominated by male traders, which is normal in the districts of Middle Cairo, while visitors are mainly females who are more interested in shopping except at cafes which, again, are dominated by males. On the other hand, in bigger brands and shops, there are relatively more female than male sellers. There are no churches, which means that most or all the people living there are from the Muslim

community, speaking the same language – colloquial Egyptian Arabic. The economic system depends on trade and commercial uses, cafes, and traditional restaurants. People have similar customs and wear similar clothes; one can differentiate between locals and visitors by their clothes and walking styles, especially local women who tend to wear black dresses and people over 40 years old who walk slowly and do not stop to browse through the shops. On the other hand, visitors tend to stop, ask and browse products as well as negotiate prices.

Economically, the economic activities are very essential for the inhabitants as they tend to live near their shops and bazars. The handicraft workers, who make silver, gold and bronze crafts, inherited their experiences from their grandparents. The economic environment is suitable for local, small and medium investments. Young couples and brides used to visit the district to buy jewellery. The dominant economic activity is purchasing jewellery, silver and bronze handicrafts as well as using the district's many cafes and traditional restaurants. There are also shops that sell spices, local drinks (sugar cane), food (fava beans and falafel), grilled dishes, liver sandwich shops, beauty products and handmade clothes and clothing shops. The inhabitants and traders are close in terms of income and economic behaviours. Even if the gaps in income and ownership are not clear enough, it does not mean that they do not exist. Inhabitants belong to the middle-class income, and no observation recorded economic gaps which may exist due to the long existence of trading activities of the district during the different periods that consequently accumulated capital and richness to business owners who invested their capital somewhere else. That differences are not so clear during the observation, but they will be illustrated more in the other tools and methods used.

Politically, people are happy with the renovation and regeneration projects. The district has also gained international and national fame after it has been listed on the UNESCO Heritage list, which raised the possibilities of gentrification to take place due to the increased prices of property values that follows the listing of such areas. The government is also interested in regulating and developing the urban and architecture of the district by organizing the entrance time of motor vehicles during the day and the unloading of goods and merchandise.

As for the architectural aspect, the architectural style of the buildings varied from the different periods of Islamic architecture: Mamluk, Fatimid, and Ayoub styles. Old buildings were characterized by their mono functionality while new ones are multifunction buildings. The architectural value for monumental and historical buildings is very high in terms of architectural values for their architectural proportions and scale. Sometimes the buildings even tend to have an enormous scale compared to the street width, but this may refer to the greatness and eeriness of architecture that these periods tended to have. With a very clear message of symbolism and ornamentations, the buildings enjoyed accurate proportions – a building style with stone bricks and workers who are professional enough to construct such buildings with detailed motifs since it has become hard to find anyone who can make such work nowadays. The values and principles of privacy and hierarchy between the different spaces in monumental houses can be seen in the indirect entrances and public buildings (khans, souks). Houses tend to have more simplicity than

public buildings which tend to be more complex in form, shape, aesthetic values and ornamentations. As for newly built buildings, they lacked those values and principles in design and concept, which really lacked the minimum sense to respect, integrate or harmonize with the old buildings. Sometimes, they would show a chaotic picture of old and new in one place, especially with the buildings' heights and proportions. Old beside new, with no respect to buffering the old buildings from the new ones, sometimes with many different uses in one building (residential, commercial, handcrafts, and stores), many monumental buildings had deteriorated overtime and recalled for renovation, conservation and regeneration projects. Therefore, possibilities for gentrification were starting to take place. Thus, the architecture reflected a period of traditional Islamic architecture that considered many aspects of privacy, proportions, values, aesthetics, symbolism, and richness of architectural history.

On the level of urban design and planning aspects, it has been noticed that when it comes to old buildings, there is a general mix between the buildings with an architectural style (monuments) and the newly built and already existing buildings, which lack harmony and integration. The district is densely used by visitors and seems to be densely populated while the population statistics show that the residents numbers are decreasing. This may refer to the fact that even if they are registered somewhere else and still living in the district, the buildings are mainly used for storing and commercial activities and are not residential anymore. The dominant use of the ground floor of all buildings is the commercial uses, followed by monumental and handicrafts uses. Moreover, the first floor is surprisingly used as a storage area to supply the shops with all the required goods, beside the residential and sometimes administrative uses. The main streets network is clear, walkable and well connected, while the in-between streets network is complicated, and one can get easily lost inside. This is due to the privacy which dominated the street design at that time to create narrow and small streets that follow privacy principles against house gates that face each other.

According to Kevin Lynch's 1960 mental map of the key elements of city (i.e. the city's paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmark), Elgamalia has all those elements represented in the clear paths which have clear hierarchy. It is regulated to be only friendly walking streets during some times of the day, except for the main motor way streets. This is more clear especially in the historic zones under the UNESCO list, even if this is sometimes not followed and corrupted by the motorbikes and tricycle motor users who fight with the pedestrians to have enough space within the waking streets. On the other hand, the main streets surrounding the historic zone outside the main gates of historic Cairo district work as clear edges visually and physically. Moreover, the district of Elgamalia may work as a whole district dominated by commercial uses as mentioned before – a vital and essential shopping area for the downtown Cairo where visitors tend to shop from all over CMR and from Egyptian different cities as well. Nodes are maintained at the main mosques of Al-Hussain (major node), and Al-Hakim (moderate node) while other small souks and praying corners work as minor nodes as well. The landmarks are very representative with the high unique and symbolic minarets of the mosques. Also, with their unique architectural style, buildings, represented in mosques, houses, schools, and Khans that are still used after they were conserved and adapted are reused to catch up with the modern life. Mosques mainly work as

mosques, houses are used as public open museums during day time, while schools are converted to museums and Khans are the only buildings which were kept with the same use due to the nature of the district as a commercial zone and Khans are not conflicting with that.

When it comes to urban life, the district is found to be very liveable most of the day. Shopping dominates the time from morning hours at 9:00 until late in the afternoon at around 19:00, while visitors tend to visit the district from late afternoons until night hours at around 23:00 and sometimes until the first hours of the next day. Night life is represented in cafes, where young people are used to hang out to smoke water pipes and drink tea or coffee, and local small and medium restaurants which offer traditional food to tourists such as the kind of restaurants lining up the streets next to the Khans and souks where the shopping takes place. Nevertheless, the religious visits to Al-Hussain Mosque and others take place on Fridays.

Thus, the district observed showed many possibilities of gentrification on the different aspects which will be illustrated in the following parts of this chapter to ensure the gentrification process in the district with deeper tools, methods and analyses.

6.3.2 Interviews

During interviews, the interviewees seemed to be somehow a little conservative towards the study area, maybe due to the frequent developments the area witnessed during the last decades, in addition to the deterioration stages that the area was 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 rental prices which they cannot afford to pay on time. There are also some other problems related to the government's ability to deal with recent problems which has always been below their expectations. Meanwhile, asking about the educational level and awareness would sometimes embarrass the interviewee, so it was asked in an indirect way to avoid getting off the point and focusing on the main issue of the research. So far, the next table introduces the study population of the research for the case study of Elgamalia district.

The Supreme Council of Antiquities argued that '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 of which may result in abundant housing or become a suitable spot for crime 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 (i.e. five years of high school). Most 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. It also explains the general spread of peddlers all over the area, especially at the main commercial zones (Elmoez Street, Elgamalia district, Elhussein district, etc.), which was confirmed by the speaker of the local authority of Historic Cairo. Also, their encroachments pollute the visual and physical appearance of the monuments, with nothing against peddlers but which is still a problem that

hardly needs a comprehensive radical approach to solve from its roots which requires public participation from all sides. Table 6-1 shows the detailed study population for Elgamalia district.

Table 6-1. Study population, methods, sampling techniques used, classifications and numbers for Elgamalia
Source: Determined and developed by the researcher

Study Population	Number of Interviewees	Methods	Sampling Techniques
National Organization for Urban Harmony	1	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful then snow-balling
Local Authority	2		
Housing and Building National Research Centre	1		
Ministry of Housing	1		
Supreme Council of Antiquities	3		
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	1		
Total	9		
Apartment owners	23	Unstructured interviews	Stratified random sampling then snow-balling
Shop owners	14		
Apartment renters	18		Purposeful
Shop renters	13		
Users, Passing by, others, etc.	33		
Total	101		

On the other hand, as residents 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 the mentalities (users) need to change’, and in this case, the residents have been claimed by one of the land owners. Therefore, replacing local residents by other new comers who will, eventually, accept to pay higher rents to enjoy social, cultural and economic satisfaction due to the proximity to urban facilities, emphasizes the main concept of displacement. Ad for 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 in 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 styles 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 laws showed no care towards any hopes for renovating any buildings, which 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, the renovation price increases.

So far, the gentrification indicators of Kennedy (2001), as mentioned previously, were used to introduce the interview questions asked to the interviewees for the case study of Elgamalia. Later in the conclusion, the researcher would summarize the indicators list applied for the case studies to illustrate the level of

exposition each case study has. Accordingly, the gentrification indicators, shown in Table 6 as a response to the conducted interviews, are evaluated and classified into two categories according to the level of agreement, as interviewees agreed and disagreed about the mentioned indicators. Then, the total percentage out of 1400% would be calculated to show the interviewees' opinion results.

Table 6-2. The following table summarizes the analysis and examination of gentrification indicators in Historic Cairo

Source: Determined and developed by the researcher (2013) based on the gentrification indicators; developed by Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (April 2001)

No	Gentrification Indicators	Agreed	Disagreed
1	**Leading Indicators: Areas Most Likely to Experience Gentrification**		
A	High Rate of Renters *'The area witnessed so much development and we are always the ones who have to suffer,' says a local resident. 'They put us away from our homes, renovate the monument then bring us back, and we want to live, but the owners want to kick us out or increase the rent and we do not have any other place to go.'*	80%	20%
B	Ease of Access to Job Centres *'It is a big problem to deal with peddler retailers who are spread all over the Historic Cairo district, especially in the commercial zones [where] you can find famous brands of retailers next to very small merchants, which represents the diversity and differences in this district,' states a local authority.* *'I left school when I was 12 years old and I cannot get any decent job,' says a bagger, 'so I am here to carry goods from the store to the shops, or sometimes I help people who do their shopping.'*	85%	15%
C	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion *'Why move out?' says a shop renter. 'Here, I'm in the middle of the market; many customers come from all over Egypt to shop here.'*	90%	10%
D	High Architectural Value *'Historic Cairo is very rich with its architectural values and enjoys a very significant urban fabric,' states the Supreme Council of Antiquities*	70%	30%
E	Comparatively Low Housing Values *'[…] most of the buildings have either no active owner or have been inherited to many people who lost interest in the area and who we cannot communicate with anymore,' states the Supreme Council of Antiquities* *'Why should I renovate an apartment or building that's not mine?' says a local resident. 'I just pay the rent and I do not care about the building. The owner should.'*	70%	30%
2	**Primary Indicators: Strong Signs of Gentrification's Occurrence**		
A	Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership *'Do you see these shops?' says a worker. 'There are small shops everywhere. Their owner is one person who used to work in one of these shops a long time ago.'*	60%	40%
B	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture *'Well, in order to conserve the achieved progress,' says a land owner, 'sometimes the mentalities (users) have to change.'*	80%	20%
C	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people *'You can find famous brands of retailers next to very small merchants, which represent the diversity and differences in this district,' states a local authority.*	60%	40%

3	**Secondary Indicators: Less Strong Signs of Gentrification's Occurrence**		
A	Change in Racial Composition	5%	95%
B	Change in Occupancy Rate	50%	50%
C	Change in Income *'[…] Most of the inhabitants work two or three part-time jobs to cover their living costs. They also do unregistered temporary jobs which means that their income is not constant and always changes due to the market's demand and support,' states the Ministry of Housing.*	60%	40%
4	**Other Indicators the Researcher Would Like to Test**		
A	Low Level of Education *'The level of education for the inhabitants at the age of education, in general, is moderate, as about 25% of the population has university certificates, 15% has elementary education, 45% has some kind of diplomas or middle education, 10% are uneducated and 5 % unknown,' states the Ministry of Housing.*	40%	60%
B	Change in Tradition and Customs *'I have lived here for almost 45 years,' says a local resident. 'I like this place so much. This is my home and I do not want to move out. There are many mosques here. My mosque is 20 meters away from my house and I can practice my religion every day.'*	50%	50%
C	Diversity of visitors *'Nowadays, many tourists like to live in this district. They say that this district is nice and that they enjoy the old historic atmosphere.'* *'From time to time, we see students who would sit in front of some monuments and try to sketch it, to draw a picture of Fatimid Cairo.'* *'I really enjoy hanging out here, walking around, smoking shisha by the cafes,and eating local food. It's a nice place, and I know a colleague who had moved to live here already. I will consider it, too.'* Some local residents and tourists.	80%	20%
	Agreed to the gentrification indicators were 880% and the disagreed were 520% out of 1400% in total which means that the interviewees agreed with almost 63%.	**880%**	**520%**

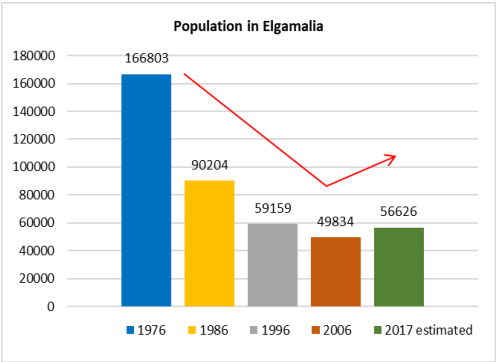
From the table above, the researcher concluded that the case study has strong, leading, primary and secondary indications for gentrification, which means that many precautions had to be taken into consideration when dealing with this area for future upgrading and development plans. Meanwhile, it turns out that there are some other indicators that must be considered. The first of which is the low level of education, as it indicates the level of awareness and behaviour dealing with monumental values. Second, is the change in tradition and customs as people tend to live near religious monumental buildings seeking the blessing and to have them get closer to God. Finally, the diversity of visitors is another indicator as it will show whether the district has a big fame, and whether people tend to hang out there or not, which means more powerful gentrification towards Historic Cairo.

6.3.3 Demographic Analysis

The demographic analysis analysed the population's development, annual growth rates, the population pyramids, migration, family size, and rates of the overcrowding of Elgamalia through the last four census data provided by CAPMAS. Meanwhile, the population of Elgamalia decreased from 166,803 inhabitants

in 1976 to reach 56,626 inhabitants in 2006, losing about 66% of its population in the last four decades. This indicates the fact that this neighbourhood is repelling its inhabitants to move out to the neighbouring neighbourhoods where the existing buildings are reused or converted for another use. If compared to the economic activities with the increased need for services, this proves the changing of Elgamalia from a residential neighbourhood to a service and hospitality neighbourhood, which calls for urban development projects by which increases the possibilities of gentrification. According to the observation, the district of Elgamalia has a high density, but this observation contradicts the statistical data that states that the district is losing its population, hence the decline in density. This may refer to the high density of the different economic activities. Many or most of the labourers in Elgamalia are not living in Elgamalia but commute to work in Elgamalia then return to their home districts. This refers to the long period of deterioration and neglect the district has witnessed which has slightly changed in the last decade. The population even decreased from 1976 to 2006, but may witness a slight increase from 2006 to 2017 according to the last census estimations.

Moreover, the annual growth rates of the census from 1976 until 2006 showed that the annual growth rate increased from -6% in 1976 to -1.7% in 2006 while it is expected to increase to reach 1.2% in 2017. This means that the decline in the population rate is getting less and less through time, which increases the gentrification possibilities for conveying richer inhabitants to the district due to the urban regeneration for the Historic Cairo project which was initiated in 2009 and started to cooperate with the local authorities in 2010 to regenerate the district, and prepare the planning and management tools to conserve the heritage value besides the socio-economic revitalization and environmental upgrading of Historic Cairo.



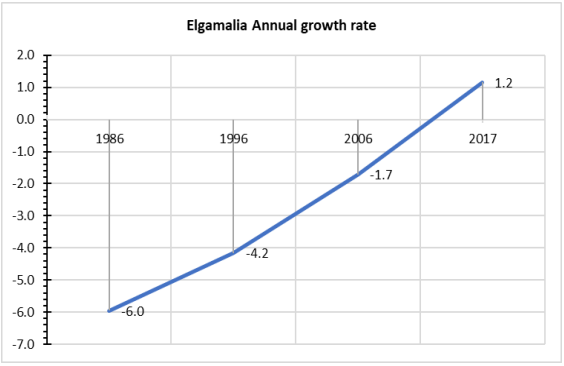


Figure 6-2. The population development of Elgamalia
Figure 6-3. The annual growth rate of Elgamalia
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The population pyramids of 1976, 1986, 1996, and 2006 show the different age categories as defined in the beginning of this chapter. On the other hand, Figure 6-4 shows the decrease in the population for the same periods by following the progress of the population born in Elgamalia in 1976 as shown with the doted red arrows. The newborn population was 38182 inhabitants who reached 17445 inhabitants in 1986, 10926 inhabitants in 1996, and 6427 in 2006. Generally, the population pyramids show that even if the population has been decreasing in the previous four decades, it has always witnessed new comers (gentrifiers) and migrated inhabitants who are moving to the district for different reasons; reasons that

will be discussed in the economic activities of the coming methods. According to the figure below, the new comers are all from different ages, but the most dominant are from the inhabitants who are aged between 10 and 30 years old, where males are even more than females. On the other hand, the violet dotted lines show the ideal form of the pyramid based on the newborn inhabitants, showing that in 1986, the new comers were from the 30 to more than 70 years old of age. Thus, the district is attractive to the different ages that come to live then leave in short time spans within less than 10 years. This kind of pyra mids can be seen only in developed countries with a high percentage of immigrants who tend to immigrate seeking economic benefits and a slow population growth, especially in the 2006 pyramid.

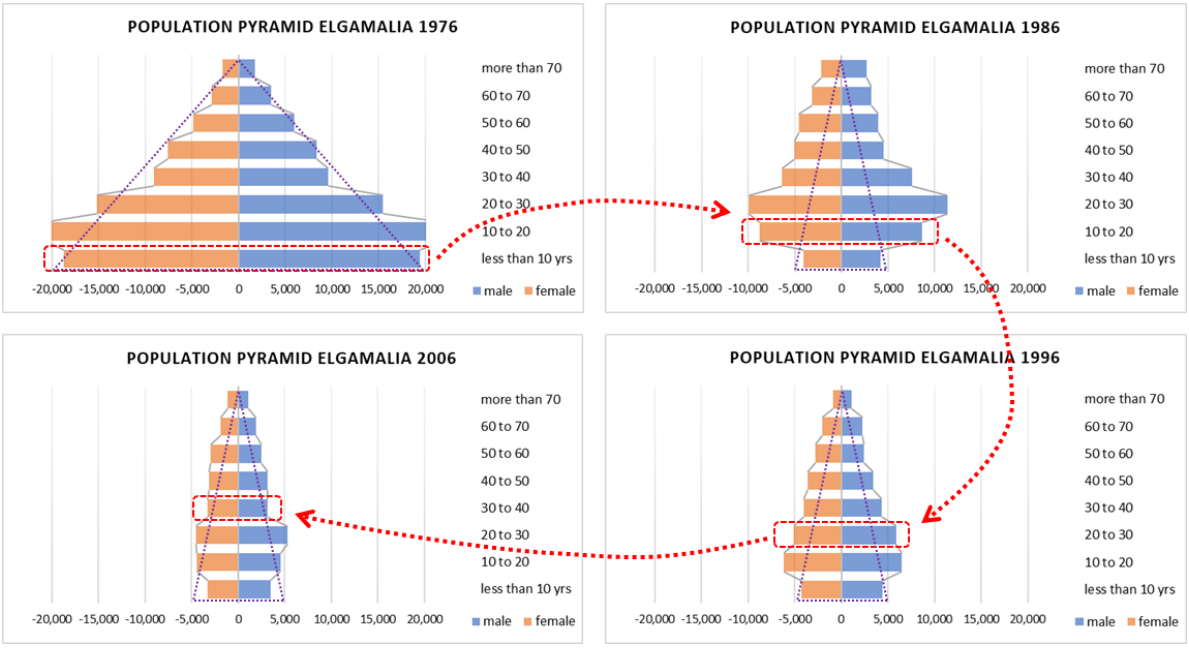


Figure 6-4. The population pyramids of Elgamalia in 1976, 1986, 1996, and 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

So far, migration studies showed that the statistical increase in population is far lower than the natural increase in population, which means that the district is repellent for the population. It has also been found to attract migrants and new comers, while the number of new comers is far less than the leaving population. Thus, it is important to a number of comprehensive strategies to maintain and protect the district from decay.

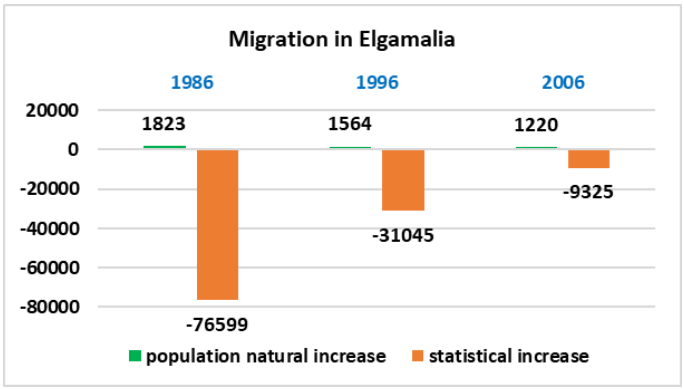
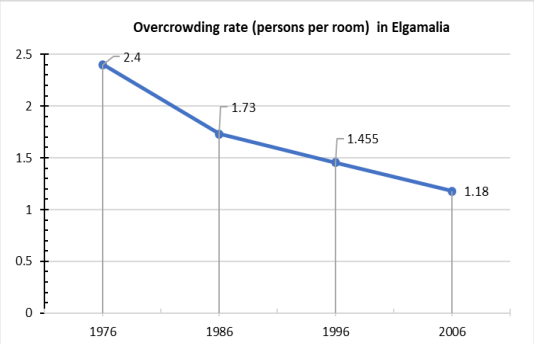


Figure 6-5. The population's natural increase and statistical increase (migration) in Elgamalia in 1986, 1996 and 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The next two figures show the overcrowding rates and family sizes of Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006, confirming the decrease in family size and the overcrowding rates, which is a positive effect. The reason has to do with the general tendency and policies to have less kids to provide them with better education and a better future, thus increasing the opportunities for a better healthy housing environment and less density neighbourhoods. Gentrification here appears via the increased opportunities of income for inhabitants; the increase in income prospers with the decrease in family size and overcrowding rates.



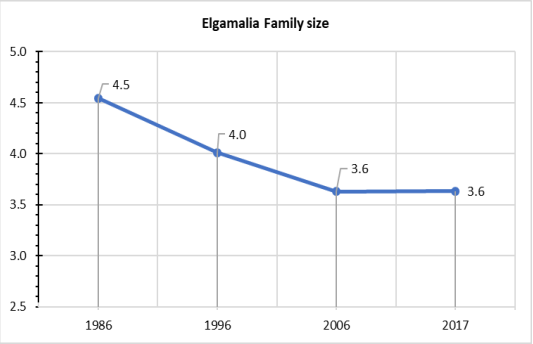


Figure 6-6. The overcrowding rates in Elgamalia
Figure 6-7. Family size of Elgamalia
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

6.3.4 Housing Circumstances and Real Estate Development

Housing circumstances and real estate development deals with the notion of real estate development and contracting indicators which emphasises their essential role in facilitating the gentrification process in the case studies. This (please add a suitable word) the number of buildings in general, number of residential units, number of buildings according to ownership nationalities, percentage of owned and rented apartments, and housing types (villa, houses, apartments, etc.). This also includes the main infrastructure's availability for families and its connection to electricity, clean water and sewage systems as well as the utilities' availability in families' apartments, kitchens, bathrooms, and toilets, ~~nevertheless~~ (especially?) the ownership of transportation means for families. Then, the different property prices (apartments, houses, villas, land) are compared for an understanding of how the property prices have increased.

According to Figure 6-8, the number of buildings increased in Elgamalia from 12037 in 1976 to 13837 in 2006 – about 1800 buildings were constructed in 40 years. As for the first, while someone may think that the residential buildings increased as well, on the contrary, this increase added to buildings with non-residential uses. Figure 6-9 shows that the number of residential units decreased from 34832 units in 1976 to only 13707 in 2006, which means that the residential units decreased by 60%. Therefore, it is no wonder that the population also decreased during the same period with 70% as shown in the population's development in the previous section.

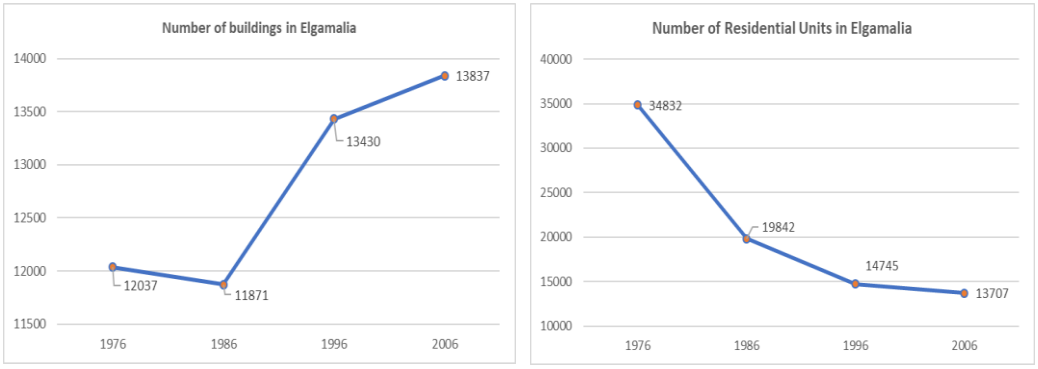


Figure 6-8. Total number of buildings in Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006
Figure 6-9. Total number of residential buildings in Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher.

Analysing the housing circumstances, it can be seen that gentrification is becoming more and more obvious in the case study. Provided housing circumstances data indicated gentrification with many means and nationality owners for all buildings regardless of their use. They were classified into Egyptians, Arabs and other foreign nationalities. Also, the percentage of owned or rented apartments indicated to which direction the ownership is oriented in the neighbourhood – more rented or owned. Figure 6-10 shows the number of buildings according to Egyptian ownership which reflects an increase in the number of buildings owned by Egyptians in Elgamalia from 1986 until 2006. This increase did not affect the occupancy rate. On the contrary, the occupancy rate decreased from 2.4 to 1.18 person per room in Elgamalia. This is accompanied by a general decrease in the number of units built per year in Cairo with an expectation to rise again due to the waves of re-urbanization in the last two decades. So far, Elgamalia repels foreign investments as the number of buildings owned by foreign nationals represented in Arab and other nationalities decreased from 26 to 5 buildings for Arabs, and decreased from 57 to 2 buildings for other nationalities, between 1986 and 2006 as shown in Figure 6-11. In other words, gentrification has led to the occurrence of national gentrifiers in Elgamalia.

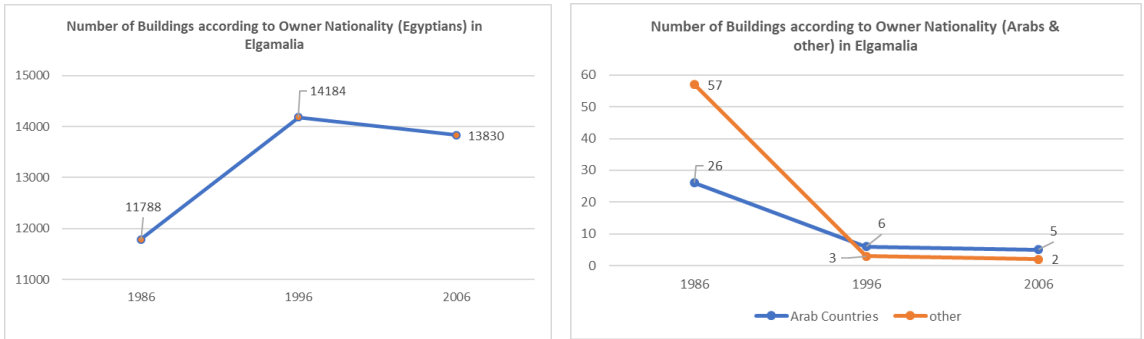


Figure 6-10. Total number of buildings in Elgamalia according to ownership nationality of Egyptians, from 1986 until 2006
Figure 6-11. Total number of buildings in Elgamalia according to ownership nationality of foriegners (Arabs and other nationalities), from 1986 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Since 1976, residents tended to own their apartments instead of renting them as in both case studies, there is a tendency to own more than to rent, which is considered a primary indicator for gentrification (Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership). Despite this, in Elgamalia, the rented apartments are triple the

number of owned apartments, as shown in Figure 6-12, which is normal in old and historic neighborhoods due to the old rent contracts which have slightly been changing recently. The figure shows that the percentage of rented apartments decreased from 82% to 75% due to the newly built buildings. This indicates that there is a strong tendency for gentrification to take place. As shown in Figure 6-13, the renting contract of apartments in 2006 is 94% with the old rental law contracts and 6% with the new rental law contracts which means that 94% of apartments will lack maintenance and call for near-future renewal projects, then gentrification will take place. Again, one of the leading indicators of gentrification is the high rates of renters (see Kennedy and Leonard, 2001) which clearly exists in Elgamalia.

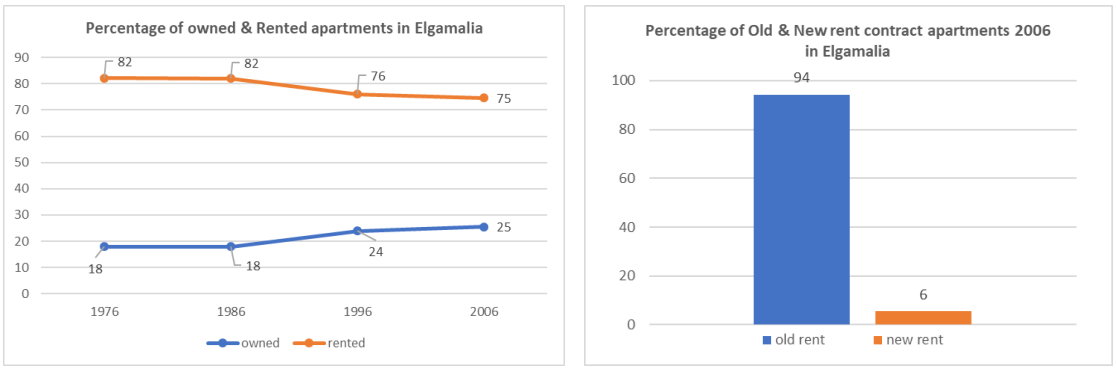


Figure 6-12. Percentage of owned and rented apartments in Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006
Figure 6-13. Percentage of old and new rent contract apartments in 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Figure 6-14 shows the housing types in Elgamalia categorized between houses and apartment houses with no existence of the villa type of residence/villas. The percentage of apartment houses increased from 31% in 1986 to 42 % in 2006 due to the need for housing with the tendency to have a denser neighbourhood with the loss of houses. This may indicate the openness of the neighbours for external new comers who tend to live in apartments due to the high rental prices and increased property values in Elgamalia.

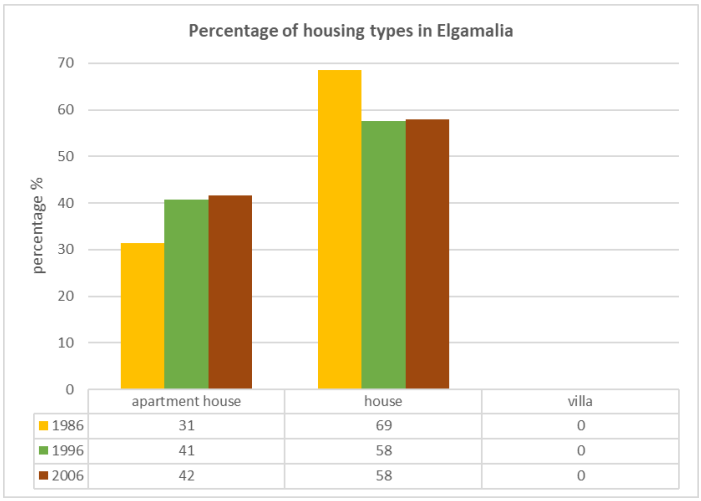


Figure 6-14. Percentage of housing types (i.e. apartment house, houses and villas) in Elgamalia, from 1986 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Elgamalia district housing circumstances and development show that the district has witnessed some development in the main infrastructure of water supply, electricity and sewage network. Figure 6-15 shows that 33.2% of families in 2006 had connected to the main clean water supply since 1976, while only 1.6% of families had water supply in the buildings and 9.6% outside the buildings.

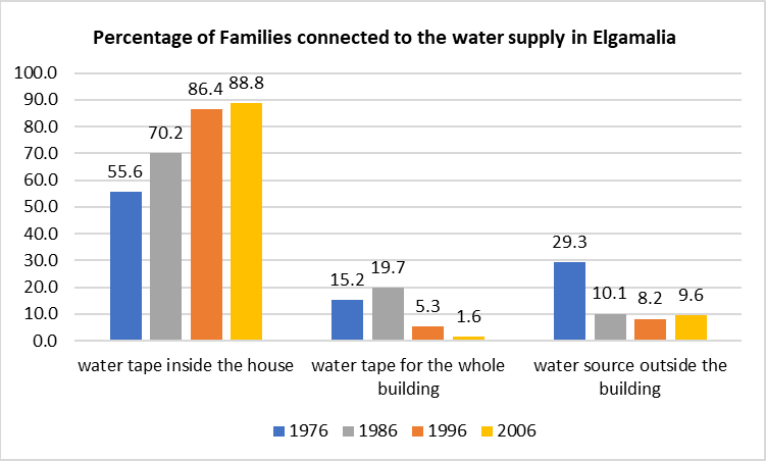
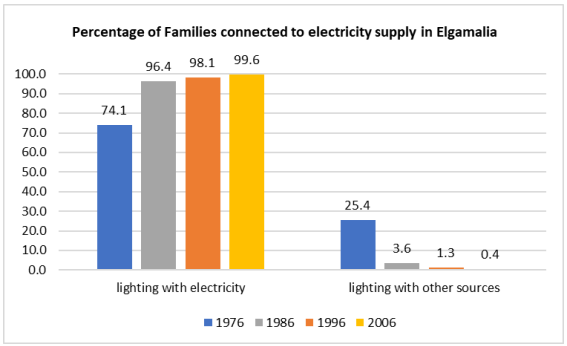


Figure 6-15. Percentage of families with water supply in Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Figures 6-16 and 6-17 show that the percentage of families who are connected to the electricity supply had increased from 74% in 1976 to 99.6% in 2006. This means that the 1980s focused on providing electricity for the district and legalizing the illegal situations of electricity beneficiaries. Also, the connection to the sewage network had increased from 96% to 98%, with all the information showing that the district had been developed with regard to the connection to the main infrastructure elements in the last four decades.



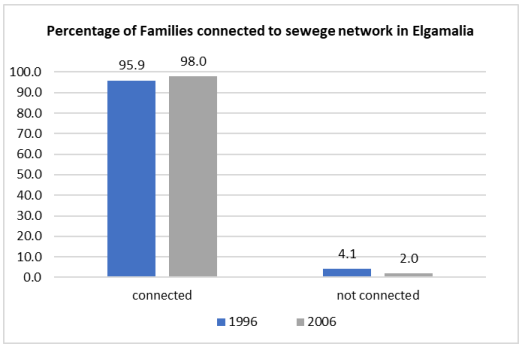


Figure 6-16. Percentage of families have electricity supply in Elgamalia, 1976-2006
Figure 6-17. Percentage of families with a sewage network in Elgamalia from 1996 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The district also showed an improvement regarding the different utilities in apartments as the sharing of kitchens, bathrooms and toilets gradually decreased which calls for an increase in rent and income as well. Thus, gentrification will again find possible ways to increase its activities in Elgamalia. Figure 6-18 shows that the percentage of private kitchen increased from 51% in 1986 to 83.2% in 2006, while the percentage of families without a kitchen decreased from 39.6% to 9% in the same period. Also, the percentage of families with no private bathrooms and toilet increased from 57.2% to 78.6% and so did the percentage of the separated bathrooms and toilets, which increased from 90.4% and 83% in 1986 to

91.8% and 98.4% in 2006, respectively. As a result, the district families got more independent regarding utilities which means that the existing residential buildings were modified and renewed to accommodate the different separated families in the district.

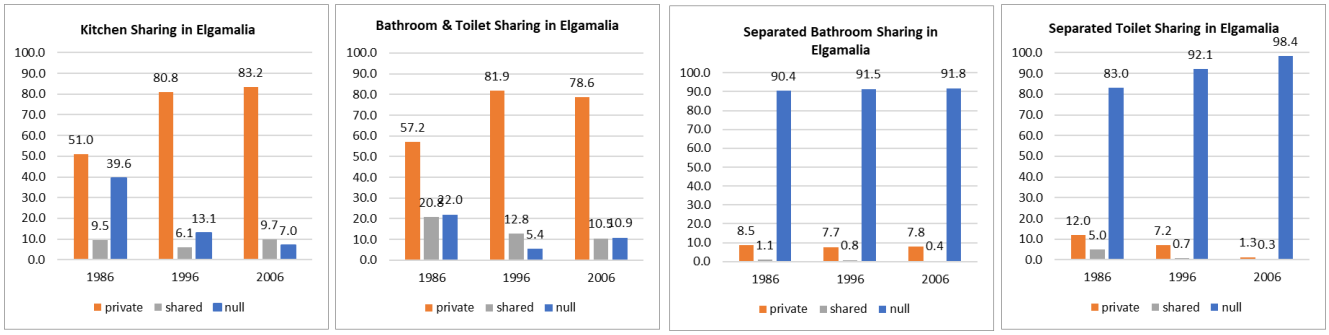


Figure 6-18. Percentage of families with different utilities in Elgamalia, from 1996 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher.

Finally, the percentage of owning different means of transportation declined during the previous 30 years, with more strategies to have more walkable streets and regulating the time of using motorways inside the historic districts, and with more crowd and traffic jam, as population decreased, and other non-residential uses got over which stressed more and more on the district to provide parking places for users and visitors. Thus, the percentage of cars, motorbikes and bicycle owners decreased from 6.1% in 1986 to 4.1% in 2006, as shown in Figure 6-19.

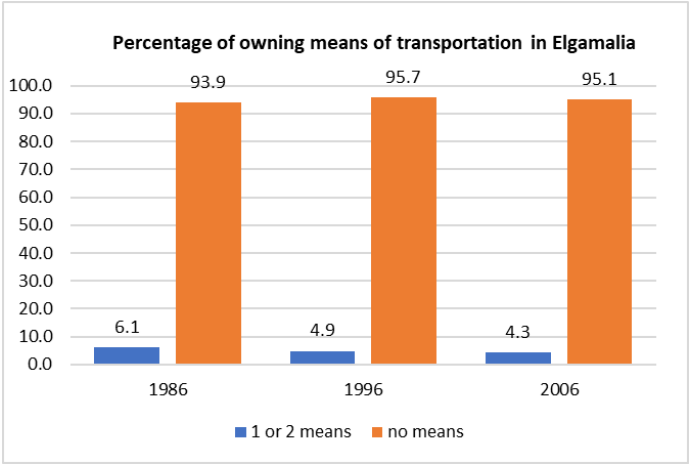


Figure 6-19. Percentage of owning means of transportation in Elgamalia from 1986 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher.

Meanwhile, according to the data gathered from Al-Ahram newspaper during the last 37 years, in 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2017, the figure below shows the development of apartments' average prices in Egyptian pound per square meter in Elgamalia. Thus, the prices increased 6.5 times from 1990 to 2000 due to the attention which was given on the national and international levels for the districts of Middle Cairo. This occurred again from 2010 until 2017 as the prices were doubled compared to those in 2012 and 2017. The district has been fairly responsive for the price change of the economy, which indicates that gentrification will always find a place to take place.

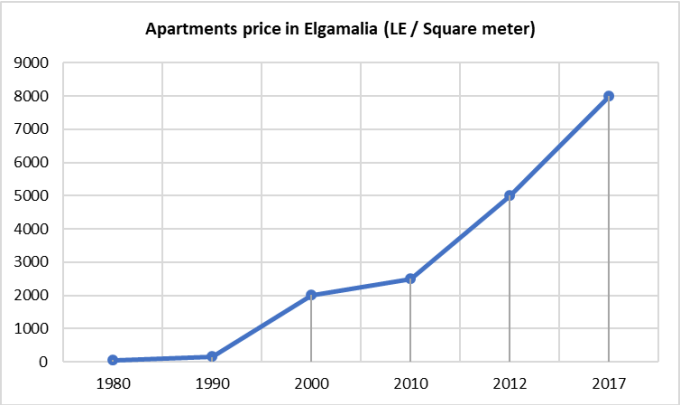


Figure 6-20. Apartment prices in Elgamalia (EGP/square meter)
Source: Al-Ahram newspaper; modified and represented by the researcher

6.3.5 Socio-Cultural Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction to the socio-cultural analysis, here, the researcher will illustrate the labourers' professions, educational status, unemployment rates, marital status, and dependency rates. The aim is to understand the social and cultural composition using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). So far, the following figure illustrates the percentage of professional classification in Elgamalia from 1976 until 2006. The professions of labourers were classified into six main categories: legislators, seniors and scientific professionals; technicians and their assistants; labourers working in the service sector; farmers and fishermen; factory workers and machine operators; and finally, construction workers.

As shown in Figure 6-21, factory workers and machine operators as the only leading professions of the 1970s representing 47.3% of the labour force is no longer the case in the 2000s which decreased by 14.4%, reaching only 32.9% in 2006. Thus, Elgamalia booming's need for factory workers and machine operators in 1976 had rolled back to pave the way for other professions to compete in the labour market Even if factory workers and machine operators still acquire the labour professions with almost one third, the other professions are still competing to find a way to lead the economy. Thus, in 2006, legislators, seniors and scientific professionals increased from 5.4% in 1976 to 19.5% in 2006, technicians and assistant labourers increased from 9.5% in 1976 reaching 23.9% in 1986, then decreased/declined again recording 15.4% in 2006, while service workers fell from 31.3% in 1976 to reach 6.8% in 1986 then started to increase again until it recorded 21.6% in 2006, and it is expected that this will be the leading profession in the coming years. Moreover, factory workers and machine operators that represented 47% in 1976 soon decreased to 35% in 1986 and then to 33% in 2006, also with another boom in construction workers in 1986 from 6% in 1976 to 22% in 1986. This was due to the shift from an industrial country to a country relying on segmented sectors such as tourism, services, administration and finance where the need for technicians, scientific professionals, and service workers is much more efficient than working in a factory.

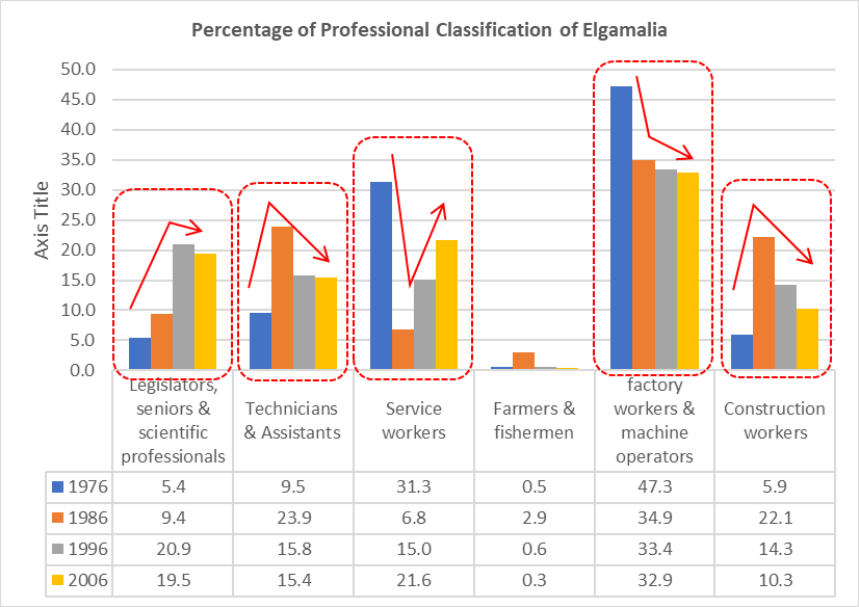


Figure 6-21. Percentage of professional classification in Elgamalia, from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The following figure (6-22) shows the educational status in Elgamalia for the period between 1976 and 2006. In Elgamalia, there is a noticeable increase in the percentage of residents with university degrees, as they increased from 1.5% in 1976 to 11.4% in 2006, which means that they have been eight times more than in 1976. Moreover, the percentage of residents who have elementary education only has disappeared from 10.1% in 1976 to only 0.3% in 2006, also with the decrease in the percentage of illiterates from 48% to only 27% during the same period This took place despite the increase in the percentage of under intermediate and intermediate education which increased from 6.4% and 6.7% in 1976 reaching 20.6% and 25.2% respectively. Generally, the residents of Elgamalia are becoming more educated than before, thus calling for possible young people who are going to work as possible gentrifiers in the future.

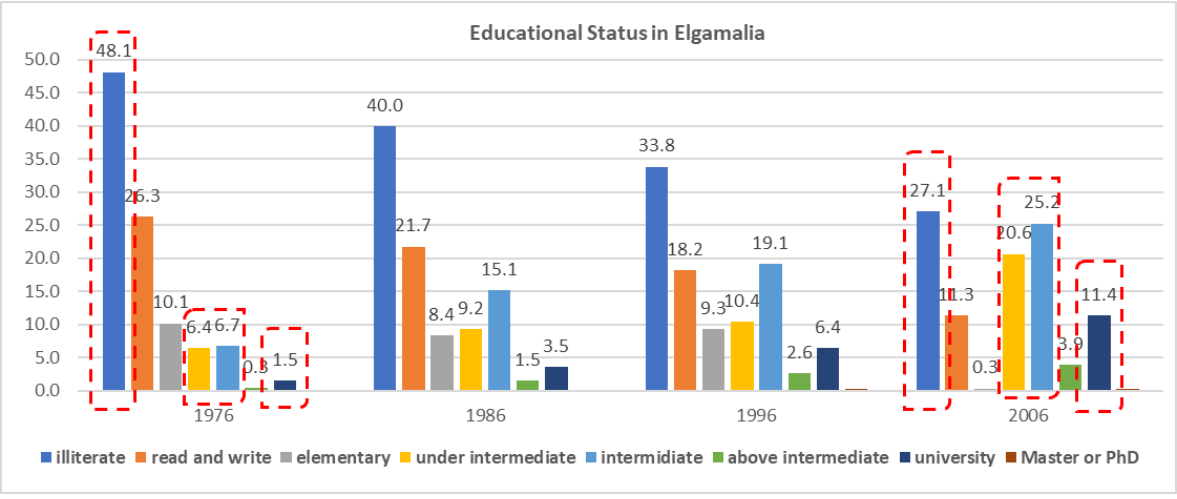


Figure 6-22. Percentage of educational status in Elgamalia, from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Moreover, the unemployment rates in Elgamalia showed that the highest unemployment rate was in 1986 with 15% of unemployment. Since then, the unemployment rates declined to reach only 7.8% in 2006 which is an indicator of gentrification, proving that the district is inside the labour market and that for the inhabitants living there, it is easy to find a job and have easy access to job centres. Thus, the district always acts as a motivator for success as the commercial, tourism and hospitality sectors are so far successful.

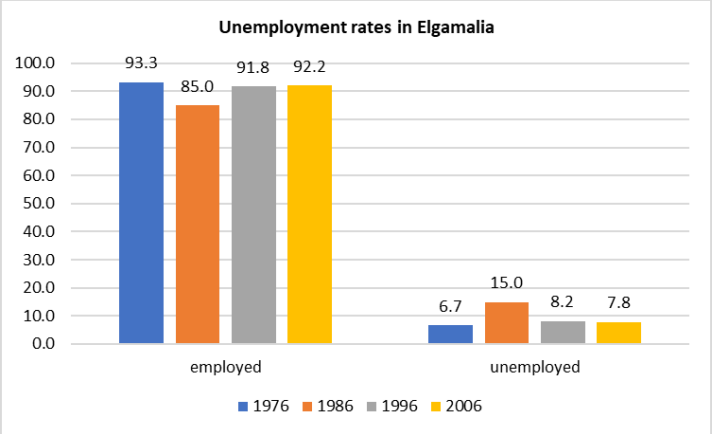


Figure 6-23. Unemployment rates in Elgamalia, from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

So far, the marital status in Elgamalia showed that the percentage of widowed inhabitants increased from 7.5% in 1976 to 12.1% in 2006. This means that the first generations who lived in the district died with the general decline in population, which calls for more opportunities for renewal and regeneration projects to update the existing buildings to accommodate other classes. It is also clear that the percentage of marriage decreased from 60.9% in 1976, reaching 51% in 2006, as mentioned before, with a tendency to live independently and postpone marriage and an increase in the divorce rates. The district witnessed a slight increase in the divorce rates as it reached 1.9% in 2006 compared to 1.3% in 1976, which means that divorce rates increased by almost 32% in the previous 40 years in Elgamalia. Later, the dependency rate will show to what extent people tend to postpone marriage in Elgamalia.

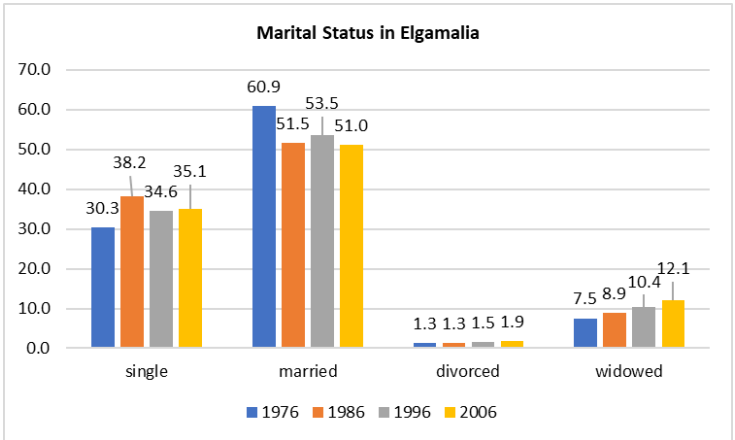


Figure 6-24. Marital status in Elgamalia from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Finally, the dependency rates showed that the dependency rate has increased from 28.8% in 1976 to 29.2% in 1986 then jumped to reach its peak with 33.4% in 1996, then slightly declined to record 32.4% in 2006. This means that, in 1976, for every inhabitant there was 3.5 inhabitants depending on that inhabitant. Thus, the ratio is 1:3.5, which decreased in 2006 to reach 1:3, meaning that the community has less dependency ratio. Accordingly, the stress on the working labour becomes less as the dependency ratio decreases.

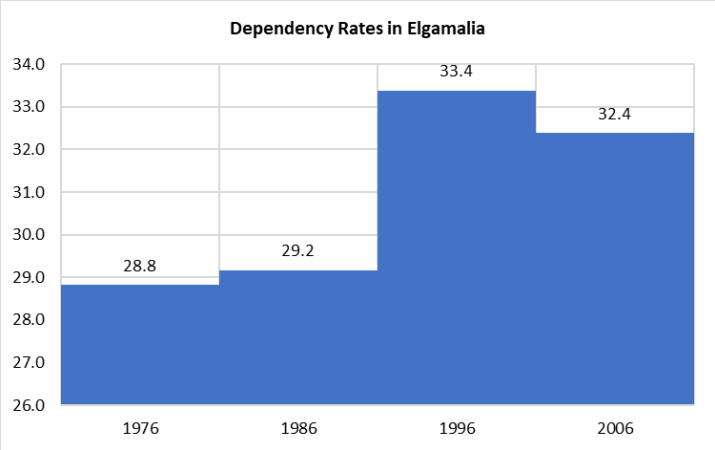


Figure 6-25. Dependency rates in Elgamalia, from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

According to the socio-cultural analysis, the possibilities of gentrification to take place are getting higher and higher. This confirms the research methodology that gentrification is taking place in the case studies in a different way. The low unemployment rates, high dependency, higher percentage of divorce, professional classification with a high demand towards services and other segmented professions, with more educated inhabitants and more singles have all paved the way for gentrification to occur in Elgamalia.

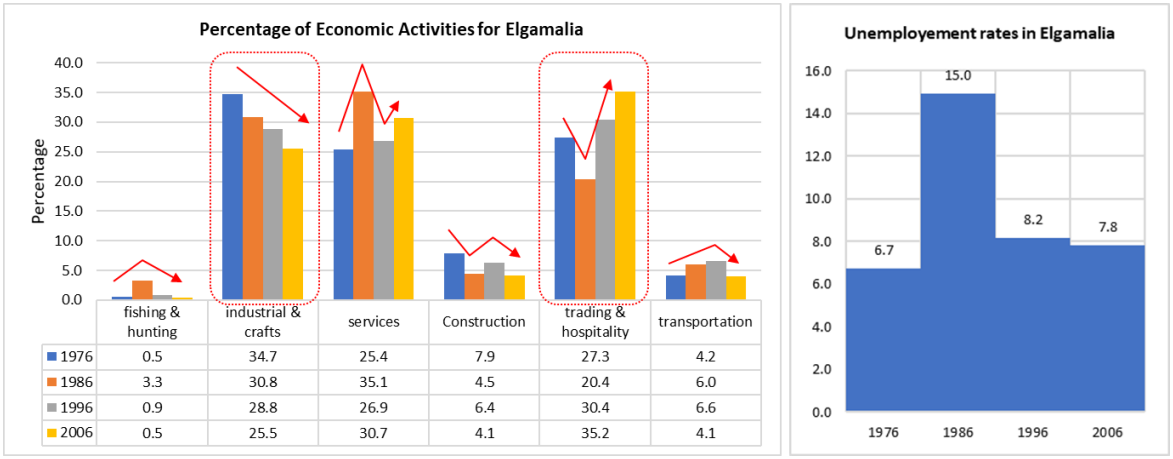
6.3.6. Economic Analysis

The importance of economic analysis stems from the relationship between the gentrification process and the economy of any district. Accordingly, the analysis in this part will focus on the analysis of economic activities of labourers/the labour force, working sectors (i.e. public and private sectors), and the participation of women in the economic activities to understand the economic composition of Elgamalia and investigate that feasibility of the economic environment to attract investments. This will be presented using different figures to compare the decrease and increase in the different economic items from 1976 to 2006. Accordingly, the labourers participating in the different economic activities were classified into six main categories: hunting and agriculture, industry and crafts, services, construction, trading and commercial, and transportation activities. Therefore, the leading and the leftover economic activities can be identified and conveyed with the unemployment rates to identify the relation between the increase in the economic activities and the increase in the unemployment rates.

The economic analysis shows the different economic sectors and activities that each case study has regarding the residents who are living in Elgamalia. The economic activities indicate the main identity of

the community living in the case study. Accordingly, in Elgamalia, the economic activities depend on three main sectors: industry, trading, hospitality and services, followed by construction and transportation. The three main sectors represent around 85% of the economic activities. There is even a gradual stable decrease in industrial activities from 35% in 1976 to 26% in 2006, while trading increased from 27% in 1976 to 35% in 2006, and services increased generally from 25% in 1976 to 31% in 2006 marking a noticeable increase in 1986 with the booming open-door policy in the beginning of the 80's. Moreover, construction activities have decreased from 8% in 1976 to 4.5% then increased to reach 6.4 % in 1996 and decreased again to reach 4.1% in 2006. This indicates the instability of construction activities due to the supply and demand of the real estate market. Thus, Elgamalia district's leading sectors are trading and hospitality followed the services due to the increase in the number of commercial activities and stores for textile companies. Thus, the community in Elgamalia is a community of services, which may be obvious with the change from residential to commercial, trading and hospitality activities. Thus, the change in the income shows the presence of a secondary indicator of gentrification.

On the other hand, the economic activities were compared to the unemployment rates in Elgamalia, showing that unemployment has reached its peak when the services rate increased, trading and hospitality's rate declined. When it rose again starting from 1996, the unemployment rate declined reaching 7.8% in 2006, as shown in Figure 6-26. The decline in the unemployment rates indicates the presence of some leading gentrification indicators in the district.



	fishing & hunting	industrial & crafts	services	Construction	trading & hospitality	transportation
1976	0.5	34.7	25.4	7.9	27.3	4.2
1986	3.3	30.8	35.1	4.5	20.4	6.0
1996	0.9	28.8	26.9	6.4	30.4	6.6
2006	0.5	25.5	30.7	4.1	35.2	4.1

Figure 6-26. Economic activities of labour in Elgamalia with the unemployment rates, from 1976 until 2006

Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Identifying total number of the labour force working in the private and public sectors, according to the different economic policies starting from the socialism in the 1950s until the emergence of capitalism in the 1970s, followed by the consequent waves of privatization from the 1990s until the first decade of the 20th century, ensures that the private sector is taking over the public (governmental) sector, generally in Cairo and particularly in the case studies. If the working sectors were compared to the unemployment rates, they may indicate the good manners of the policies followed in the case of the decline of the unemployment rates in the case study. The working sectors are represented in percentage in a form of chart graphs as a comparison to the previous census of 1986, 1996 and 2006. Therefore, the public

workforce in Elgamalia decreased from 29% in 1986 to 22% in 2006, giving more opportunities to private national and international investments and real estate to flow, indicating more gentrification occurrence in the district as shown in Figure 6-27.

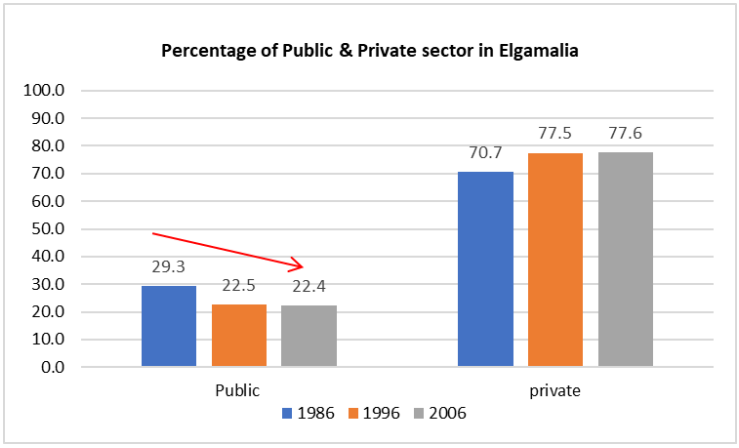
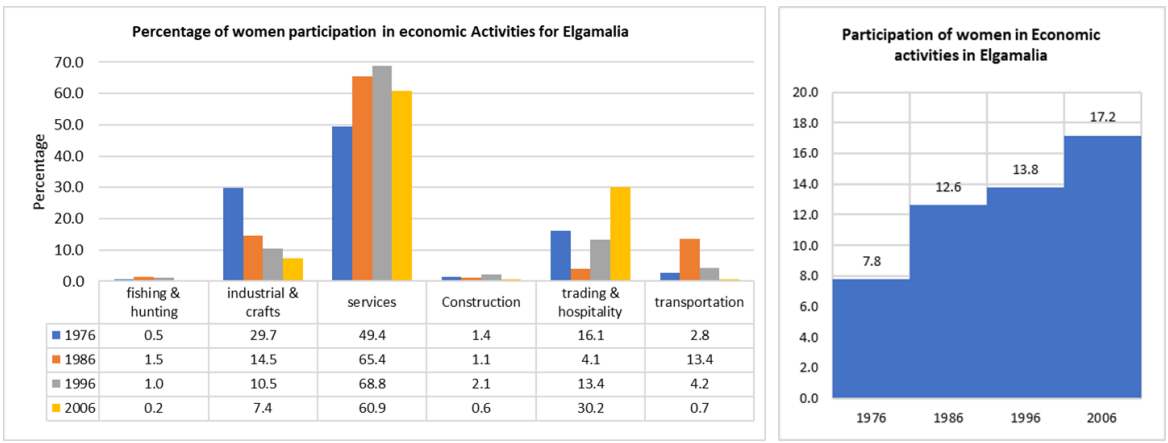


Figure 6-27. percentage of public and private sector in Elgamalia, from 1986 until 2006.
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher.

Since the different policies call for the effective role of women in the economy, and since the women are becoming more and more independent due to their participation in the work force in the different economic fields, it is essential to mention the effective role of women in the community. Thus, the participation of women in economic activities indicates that gentrifiers are not only men but there is an equal possibility for them to be from among women as well, with the general increase in the divorce rates and the free mobility of women, as will be shown in the related figures. Thus, indicates gentrification in different means, as women participation increases, gentrification will find more environment to work and take place. Accordingly, the women's participation increased from 7.8% in 1976 to reach 17.2% in 2006, meaning that the women's participation had increased 2.2 times in the previous 40 years. The women's participation in the economic activities, in Elgamalia, is mainly represented in the services sector with 60.9% alone as the only leading activity in the district's economy. Also, women entered the trading and hospitality sectors in the 1990s, which reached 13.4% in 1996 and doubled in 10 years only to reach 30.2% of the economic activities becoming the second leading economic activity in Elgamalia.



	fishing & hunting	industrial & crafts	services	Construction	trading & hospitality	transportation
1976	0.5	29.7	49.4	1.4	16.1	2.8
1986	1.5	14.5	65.4	1.1	4.1	13.4
1996	1.0	10.5	68.8	2.1	13.4	4.2
2006	0.2	7.4	60.9	0.6	30.2	0.7

Figure 6-28. The participation of women in economic activities in Elgamalia
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

To sum up, the economic analysis indicates that the district had leading and primary gentrification indicators with easy access to jobs, domination of private sectors which are getting more and more dominant, less unemployed population which increases the income of the district, and the increase of women's participation searching for more economic resources to increase the income of families.

6.3.7 Physical Analysis

The physical analysis will explore the different urban planning layers which formed the case study, determining the density of the inhabitants to the district as well as by exploring the different typology of the land and buildings' uses (i.e. residential, commercial, industrial, administrative, etc.), building heights, conditions, structural system and materials. Exploring the typology of both cases helps to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to the near gentrification process. The coming lines will illustrate Elgamalia in more detail with a special reflection of all the previously mentioned tools and methods. So far, the figure below shows the development of the population of Elgamalia district compared to the clear density of the population (the district's population is divided by the urban area measured in person per feddan). Accordingly, the population decreased in 2006 to almost 30% of what it was in 1976. Thus, the density decreased as well reaching less than the average (150 person/feddan – according to the GOPP) as in 2006 the density was 77.7 person/feddan. On the contrary, the observation showed that the district is characterized by the stress on commercial and tourism/religious activities, especially in weekends. It is important to mention here that the district is getting more commercialized than it had been before due to the low density and increase in visitor numbers. The land use plans will illustrate more on that point.

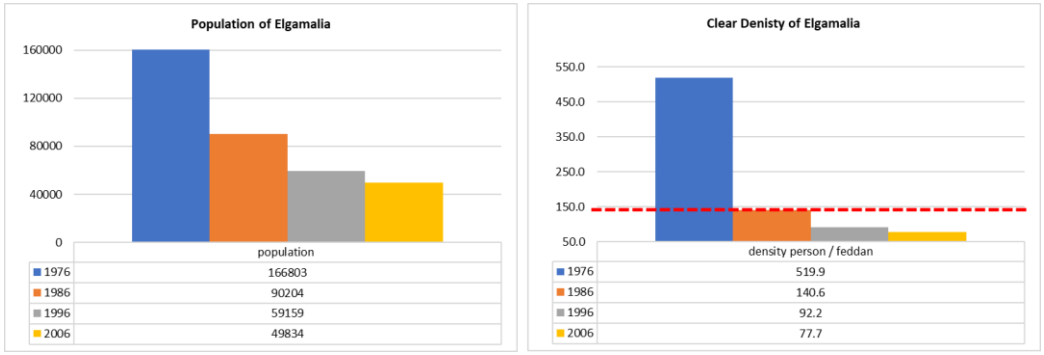


Figure 6-29. Clear density of population to area in Elgamalia
Source: CAPMAS and Cairo webpage; modified and represented by the researcher

Elgamalia's physical analysis used the gentrification indicators (developed by Kennedy and Leonard, 2001), overlapped and joined to the urban planning survey typology (land use, heights, conditions of buildings, etc.), to compare recent studies related to the case studies in order to reflect the different waves of gentrification on the case studies and to present the results of the study population interviews, as will be shown in the figure below. The typology of Elgamalia district is explored as the exploration helped to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to the near gentrification process. Physical analysis was done to have an overview of the gentrification process in the case study area, a total area of 46,5253 square meters (111 Feddan) in Historic Cairo, in Elgamalia case study. The Geographic

Information System (ARC GIS) was used for analysing the data for land uses, heights, conditions, and building materials of buildings. Accordingly, the land use for the ground floor of Historic Cairo showed that the commercial activities dominate the land use plan with 56.6% of the built-up area which is used for commercial purposes. Then comes the residential use with 13.4%. In the third place, the use of industry and crafts forms 10.5% of Historic Cairo. Also, as mentioned before, due to the heritage and monumental buildings in Historic Cairo, the monumental buildings represented 8.5% of the built area, followed by other uses, namely administrative, educational, religious (mosques) with/representing 3.7%, 3.2%, and 2.9% respectively.

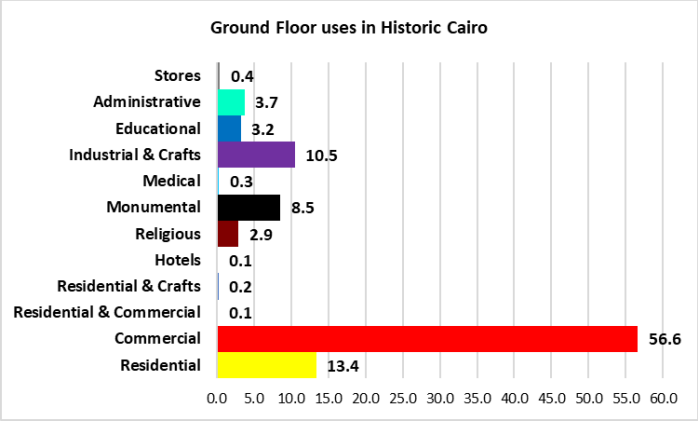


Figure 6-30. Percentage of Ground Floor uses in Historic Cairo
Source: The researcher depending on survey data made in 2015

Moreover, the following figures show the land use plans of the ground floor, buildings conditions, structural systems and heights from a survey done in 2015 by examining the gentrification indicators to the case study which showed that the gentrification process occurs in Historic Cairo. The leading and primary gentrification indicators showed that the area experienced the gentrification process due to the physical situation of the land uses.

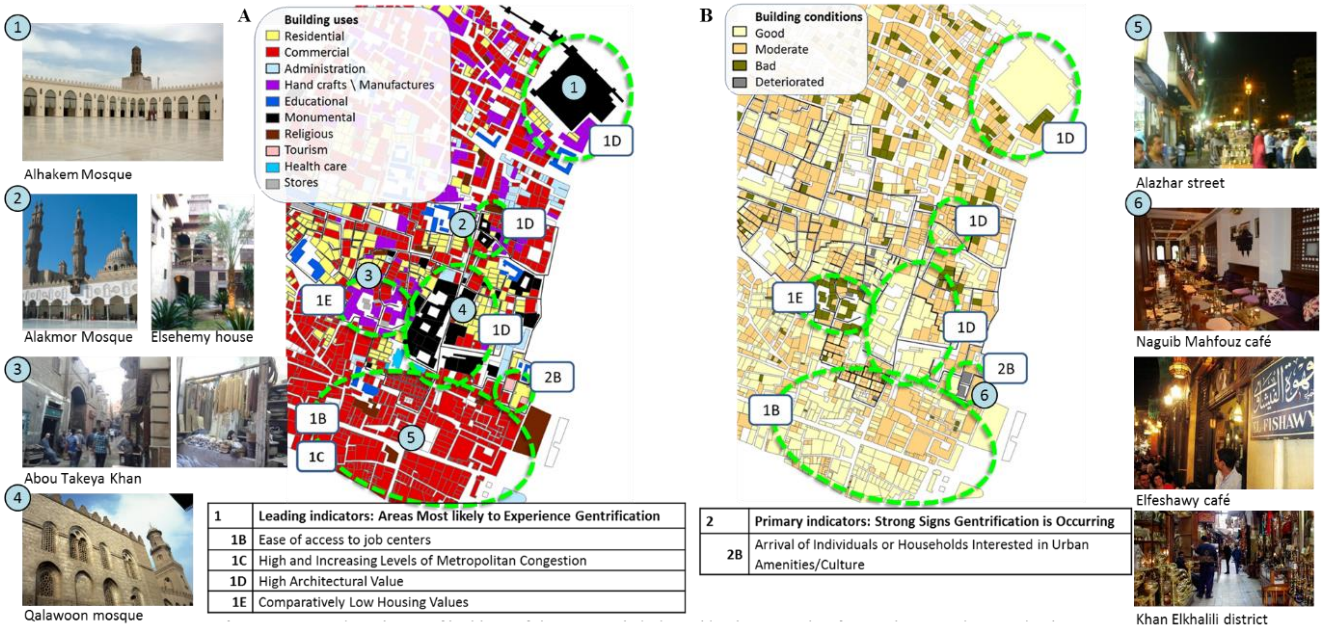


Figure 6-31. (A) Ground floor land use of buildings map, and (B) Building conditions map
Source: adapted by the researcher from 3rd year students in the Planning and Urban Design Department, Ain Shams University, 2015

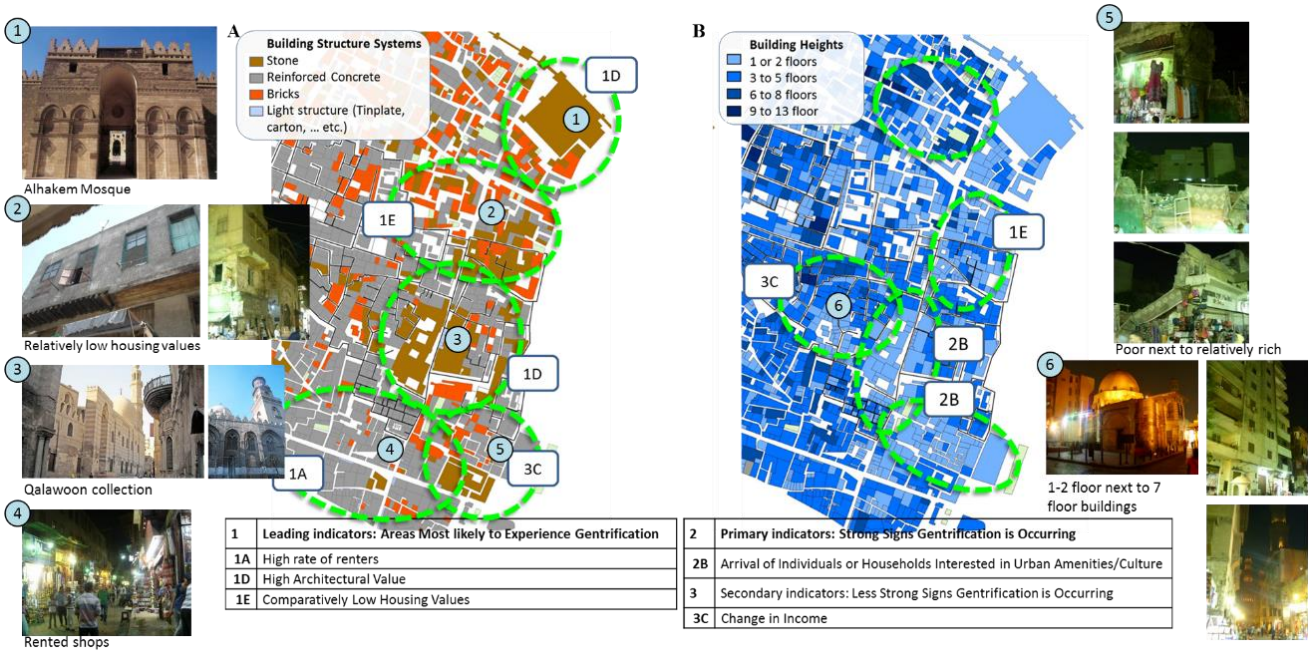


Figure 6-32. (A) Building Structure systems map, and (B) Building Heights map
Source: Adapted by the researcher from 3rd year students in the Planning and Urban Design Department, Ain Shams University, 2015

Most of the buildings' heights in Historic Cairo range from 3 to 5/between 3 and 5 floors, with 50.8%, then the buildings with 1 to 2 floors represented 37.4%. These heights are more or less the average height for the monumental and historical buildings which are a positive indicator of somehow showing respect to the monumental buildings. However, the existence of the averagely high buildings between 6 to 8 floors represented 10.7% and the buildings from 9 to 13 floors represented 1.1% which together represented 11.8% of the buildings. This means that, for every 100 buildings, there will be almost 12 buildings blocking the view of the monumental buildings which is considered an essential problematic issue urban wise.

So far, due to the historical buildings that exist in Historic Cairo, 39.2% of the buildings were built from brick and stones used for bearing the walls' structural system. On the other hand, recent buildings are built with reinforced concrete which forms the skeleton for the structural system that allows to have taller buildings and that represented 60.4% of the buildings. This kind of structure contributed and helped to block the vision with sometimes undefined proportions of buildings that lack the basic architectural aesthetics, with 0.4% of buildings built with light structure materials such as wood and steel sheets. Accordingly, most of the monumental buildings had a medium condition due to the hard need of conservation due to the mixed land uses that stress on those buildings with no buffer isolation zones. Thus, the monumental buildings are sometimes trapped between the neglect and uneven competition to follow up the fast changes around them. In Historic Cairo, 49.1% of the buildings are in good condition, 43.4% in medium condition and 6.9% are in bad condition that needs urgent renovation and development.

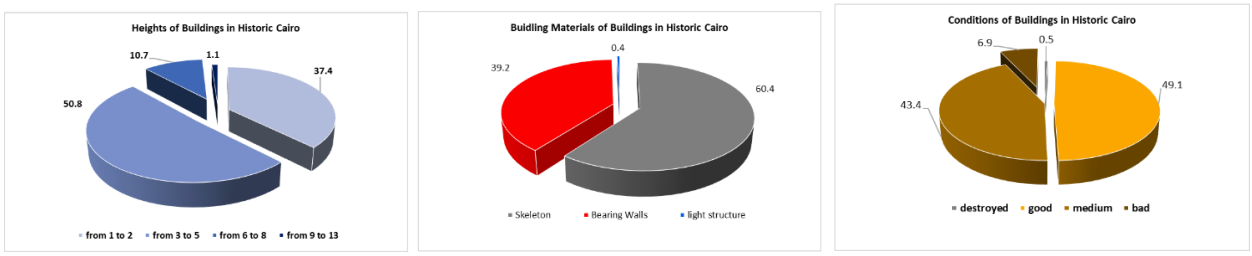


Figure 6-33. Heights, percentage of heights, building materials and conditions of buildings in Historic Cairo
Source: The researcher relied on survey data made in 2015

The examination of gentrification indicators' results answered all the doubts about/regarding whether Historic Cairo is exposed to gentrification or not, as shown above. Concerning concerning leading indicators, the analysis' result was 'yes' to all leading indicators. This means that this neighborhood is highly exposed to the gentrification process as/since it enjoys very high architectural values that go back to the Islamic era with its unique architectural style, and monumental buildings. On the other hand, this area has some deteriorated buildings (1E), as shown above, as well as a 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 has wide access to job centres as it is in the city centre and old Historic Cairo. Concerning primary indicators, the analysis result was also 'yes' well to all indicators. As mentioned before, the city is a touristic attraction for many tourists, and households tend to change the use of their buildings to urban amenities in order to facilitate and attract tourists such as urban culture centers (Beit Elsehemy), hotels, restaurants and coffee shops. Concerning secondary indicators, the analysis result was 'yes' to both the change in occupancy rates and the change in the income, while it was 'no' to the change in racial composition as all the inhabitants and workers belong to the same racial group, sharing the same culture, same traditions and same habits. However, this failure does not, in any way, affect the examination results.

The satellite images used by Google Earth showed some of the urban physical changes in the district. Accordingly, the images in 2003 and 2018 showed the difference in the heights of some existing buildings while intensifying ~~vertically~~ the verticality? of others. Also, the development of major assembly plazas showed the change of the landscape of the streets as shown in the next figures.

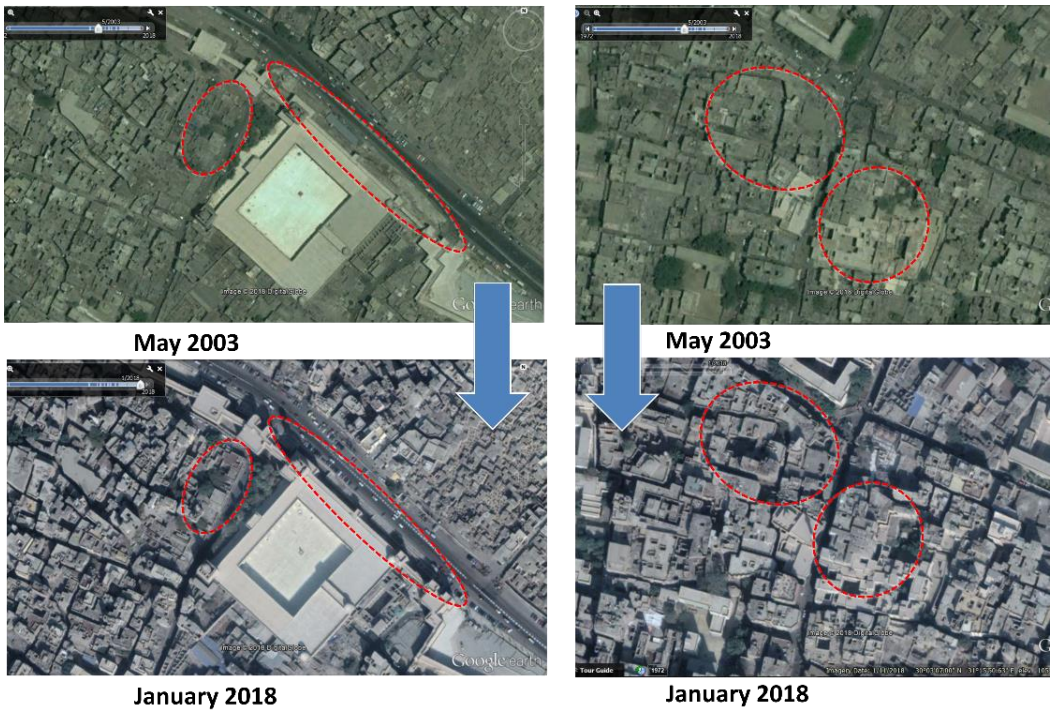


Figure 6-34. Urban transformation for buildings which had been demolished or newly built on vacant lands; conservation of the historical walls and ~~vertical~~ verticality? intensification of buildings
Source: Google Earth maps, historical imagery, satellite images on May 2003 and January 2018

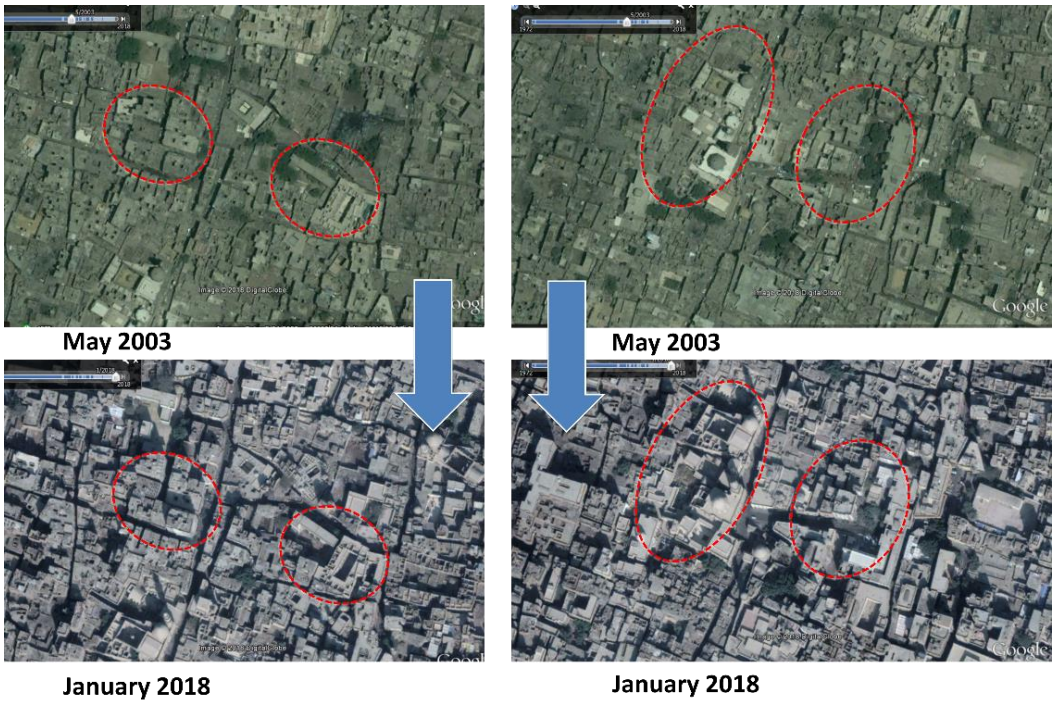


Figure 6-35. Urban transformation for buildings by ~~vertical~~ verticality? intensification and landscape changes
Source: Google Earth maps, historical imagery, satellite images on May 2003 and January 2018

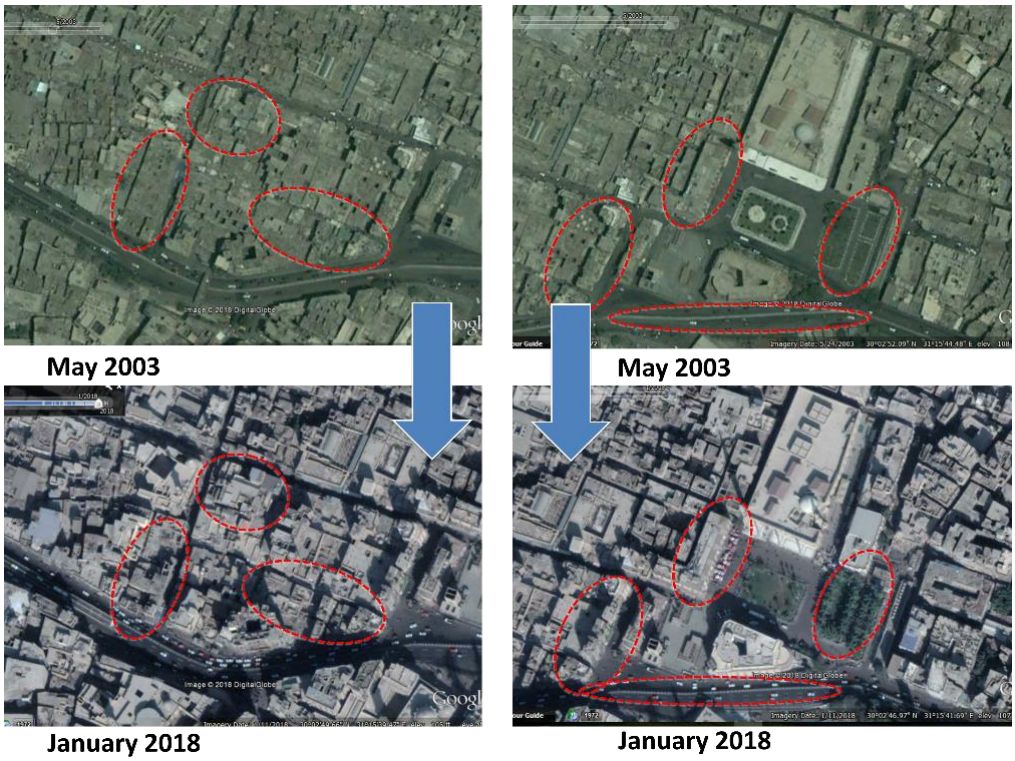


Figure 6-36. Urban transformation for buildings by vertical intensifying verticality intensification, newly built and landscape changes
Source: Google Earth maps, historical imagery, satellite images on May 2003 and January 2018

According to the map analysis and examination of gentrification indicators used in the case study of Historic Cairo, it was found that Historic Cairo is highly exposed to the gentrification process. This indicates high architectural value buildings, comparatively low housing value next to monumental buildings, with different incomes, existence of people interested in urban amenities, easy access to jobs, and an increase in the level of metropolitan congestions.

6.4. Conclusion

To sum up, the population of Elgamalia decreased from 166,803 inhabitants to 56,626 inhabitants, losing about 66% of its population in the last four decades. This indicates that this neighbourhood is repelling inhabitants to move from it to the neighbouring neighborhoods where the existing buildings are reused or converted to another use. If compared with the economic activities, with the increased needs to services, this proves the changing of Elgamalia from a residential neighbourhood to a service and hospitality neighbourhood. This calls for urban development projects which increase the possibilities of gentrification as well as increased families, as the average number of family members decreased from 4.8 in 1976 to 3.6 in 2017 in Elgamalia.

While analysing the housing circumstances, gentrification became more and more obvious in the case studies. Housing circumstances data provided indicated gentrification with many means and the nationality of the owners for all buildings, regardless of their uses, who were classified into Egyptians, Arabs and other foreign nationalities. Also, the percentage of owned or rented apartments indicates to which direction the ownership is more oriented in the neighbourhood – rented or owned. Moreover,

occupancy rates and the housing types of each case study indicate the level of housing and the number of persons per apartment. The number of buildings with Egyptian ownership shows that there is an increase in the number of buildings owned by Egyptians in both case studies from 1986 to 2006. This increase did not affect the occupancy rate. On the contrary, the occupancy rate decreased from 2.4 to 1.18 person per room in Elgamalia and decreased from 1.1 to 0.83 person per room in Heliopolis. This is accompanied by a general decrease in the number of units built per year in Cairo with an expectation of another increase due to the waves of re-urbanization in the last two decades.

So far, Elgamalia repels foreign investments as the number of buildings owned by foreign nationals from Arab and other countries dropped from 26 to 5 buildings only for Arabs, and from 57 to 2 buildings only for other countries, between 1986 and 2006. This means that gentrification is led by national gentrifiers in Elgamalia.

Despite this, in Elgamalia, the rented apartments are triple the number of owned apartments which is normal in old and historic neighbourhoods due to the old rent contracts which have been slightly changing recently. The percentage of rent went from 82% to 75% due to the newly built buildings. This indicates that there is a strong tendency for gentrification to take place.

So far, the number of residential units decreased from 34,832 to 13,707 units in Elgamalia, which means that the neighbourhood lost 60% of its residential units to other uses, mainly services use and more ease of access to job centers (leading indicators of gentrification).

The housing types in Elgamalia are categorized into houses and apartment houses with no existence of villas due to the need for housing with the tendency to have a denser neighbourhood, with the loss of houses. This may indicate the openness of the neighbourhood for external new comers.

The socio-cultural analysis dealt with the residents and outsiders to realize the behaviour, traditions, and habits of the case studies' users and residents as well. The socio-cultural analysis represents the educational level and status of the residents, culture, habits and behaviour. The social behaviour, culture and habits were identified from the interviews which have been conducted in previous researches and summarized here (Shetawy et. al., 2015). What was mentioned by one of the interviewees is an indicator of the change in the cultural identity and habits in Elgamalia,. *'I have lived here for almost 45 years,' says a local resident (2015). 'I like this place so much. This is my home and I do not want to move out. There are many mosques here; my mosque is 20 meters away from my house. I can practice my religion everyday.'*

In Elgamalia, there was a noticeable increase in the percentage of residents with university degrees, as they increased from 1.5 % in 1976 to 11.4 % in 2006, which means that they have been eight times more than in 1976. Moreover, the percentage of residents who have elementary education only has diminished from 10.1% in 1976 to only 0.3 % in 2006, also with a decrease in the percentage of illiterates from 48% to only 27%, during the same period. Generally, the residents of Elgamalia are becoming more educated than before.

The economic analysis shows the different economic sectors and activities that each case study has regarding the residents who are living in Elgamalia. Accordingly, in Elgamalia, the economic activities depend on three main sectors: industry, trading, hospitality and services, followed by construction and transportation. The three main sectors represent around 85% of the economic activities. There is even a gradual, stable decrease in industrial activities from 35% in 1976 to 26% in 2006, while trading increased from 27% in 1976 to 35% in 2006, and services increased generally from 25% in 1976 to 31% in 2006 with a noticeable increase in 1986 as a result of the booming open-door policy in the beginning of the 80's. Moreover, construction activities have decreased from 8% in 1976 to 4.5%, increased to reach 6.4% in 1996, then decreased again to reach 4.1% in 2006. This indicates the instability of construction activities due to the supply and demand of the real estate market.

The distribution of professions in Elgamalia indicates the need to professions according to the mentioned activities. So far, Elgamalia boom for need of factory workers and machine operators in the 1976 which represented 47% soon decreased to 35% in 1986 and then to 33% in 2006, also with another boom in the number of construction workers in 1986 from 6% in 1976 to 22% in 1986. This was due to the shift from being an industrial country to a country that relies on segmented sectors such as tourism, services, administration and finance where the need for technicians and scientific professional, and service workers in much more efficient than working in a factory.

Accordingly, exploring the typology, the land use for the ground floor of Historic Cairo, showed that 56.6% of the built-up area is used for commercial purposes. Then comes the residential use with 13.4% and 24.5% in Historic Cairo. In the third place, the use of industries? and crafts forms 10.5% in Historic Cairo. Historic Cairo's buildings ranged between 9 to 13 floors, representing 1.1% only. The building structural system of Historic Cairo ranged between concrete skeleton, bearing walls, and light structured as 60.4% of the buildings are built with reinforced concrete. Bearing walls represent 39% in Historic Cairo.

Table 6-3. The distribution of ground-floor land uses in Elgamalia and Heliopolis case studies
Source: Determined by the researcher

Elgamalia	%
Commercial land use	56.6%
Residential land use	13.4%
Industries? and crafts land use	10.5%

Table 6-4. The gentrifiers types, activities and gentrification type in Elgamalia
Source: Determined by the researcher

	Elgamalia
Gentrifiers type	Merchants, restaurants and café owners, and traders
Activities	Cultural tourism and trading activities
Gentrification	Commercial gentrification

7. Case Study 2: Heliopolis District

7.1 Introduction

The district of Heliopolis is the eastern entrance of the city of Cairo which is located very close to the Cairo International Airport. The story started when the government sold, in 1905, 5952 feddans of desert land to the Belgian investor, Lord Baron Empain, and Baghos Nubar son of the prime minister, who were in charge of the Heliopolis Oasis company at that time. They worked to establish housing projects linked to Cairo with a tram line in response to the urban expansion and sprawl in the beginning of the twentieth century. The first housing project accommodated the employees of the Egyptian Electricity Company with 400 houses and some shops, then in 1910, the first tram line started working with 27 vehicles. Later, the Heliopolis Palace was established as the first international hotel in Heliopolis to attract high class people to visit the district, organizing some international meetings and events in Heliopolis. According to the Egyptian law, Heliopolis was listed as a monumental heritage district along with many historical and monumental buildings as shown in the figure below. The district is characterized by its high value of architecture, which represents a mix of Arabic, Moorish, Persian, and neoclassical architectural synthesis styles, giving the district the touch of modern architecture with historical traditional uniqueness.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Heliopolis was designed/Since the beginning of., Heliopolis has been designed as a suburban neighbourhood in eastern Cairo during the wave of suburbanization and the belief of having a multinuclear city. Nowadays, Heliopolis is a vital and important location which attracts many to visit and experience the soul of valuable architecture and heritage. The reason/This doesn't only have to do with its architectural values, but also because Heliopolis is an iconic spot for young people to practice many activities due to the existence of many urban facilities such as shopping malls, restaurants, coffee shops, retailers, and cinemas. Heliopolis is in the north eastern region of Cairo between a number of main streets: Salah Salem, Elorouba (to be the same as others?), Elmerghany and Elthawra streets from the south, Abou Bakr Elsedek street from the north east, and Gesr Elsuez street from the north west as can be seen below. Heliopolis is a perfect example of an existing neighbourhood which enjoys many services and facilities that enhance inhabitants and visitors to enjoy and experience the closure of entertainment and leisure activities. The district of Elkorba is the focus of this research. It is popular with its restaurants, coffee shops, clothes shops, supermarkets, cinemas and shopping malls, as well. Elkorba is an attractive and vital destination for leisure and entertainment activities in Heliopolis. Most visitors are from among young people who seek to enjoy the environment of the architectural value with entertainment activities. They hang out, sit at a café, eat at a restaurant, watch a movie or walk around. Adding to that are the two special zones: the first is the jewellery zone where small and big shops lie next to each other while the second zone is that of the cars' spare parts and car cassettes shops in Damascus street. In our opinion, the two zones have totally different interests regarding land use zoning homogeneity. Thus, shop owners tend to have storage spaces on the first floor of their shops or in nearby locations. So far, Elkorba district is diverse in its economic facilities and there is also a chance for possible deterioration opportunities due to the lack of a comprehensive approach – an approach to accommodate the different land uses with the local inhabitants' needs and services as well.

Figure 7-1. Buildings with unique and valuable architectural style
Source: National Organization of Urban Harmony, according to law 144 for 2006

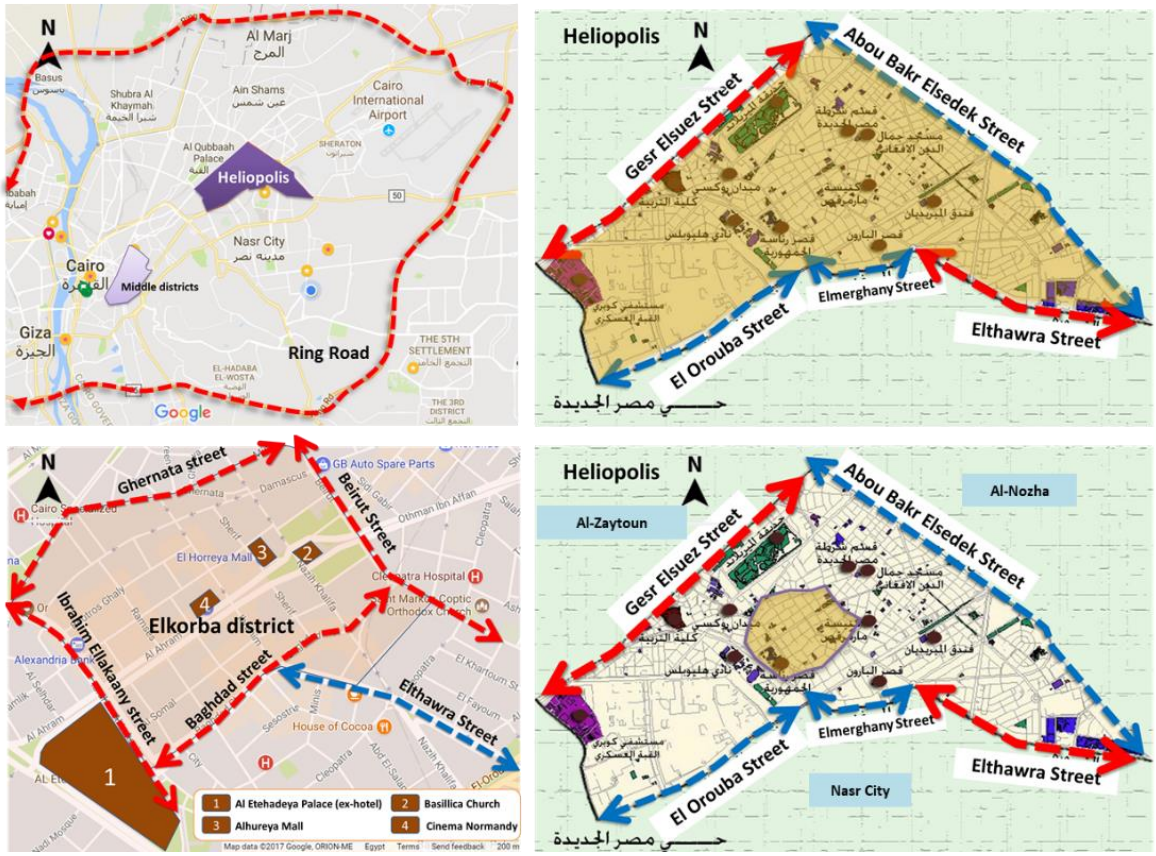


Figure 7-2. The location of Heliopolis (case study 2)

Source: Google Maps and Cairo districts; modified by the researcher

The total area of Heliopolis district is 134.32 square kilometres (Cairo districts), around 31981 feddans with a total population of 134116 inhabitants in 2017 (CAPMAS). The Heliopolis district is located in the north east of Cairo, about 12.6 kilometres from Tahrir square, 11.2 kilometres from Attaba square, 9.4 kilometres from Ramses square and the national railway station, and 11 kilometres from the Cairo International Airport via car. The district hosts many important monumental buildings such as the presidential palace (formerly/also known as the Heliopolis Palace), the Basilica Church, Al-Andalus

theatre, the monumental commercial zones, the Merryland Park, the gold and silver and handicraft shops, and other interesting monuments which are worth observing and seeing. The previous figure showed the location of the Heliopolis district and its neighbouring districts, from the north and east, the Nozha district, from the north and west, the Zaitoun district, from the south west, Al-Wayli district, and from the south, the Nasr city district.

7.2 Historical Background

By the end of the nineteenth century, the urban regions of Cairo were characterized by the existence of services and utilities which the rural areas lacked. Thus, the migration from rural to urban areas increased for seeking out economic benefits and work opportunities. Accordingly, the increased population called for housing and urban sprawl to accommodate the increased population in Cairo. This sprawl was affected by the western architecture that contradicts the traditional architecture with its wide streets and plazas which allows passing motorways and distributed land uses of services. Thus, the private sector cooperated with the public sector to provide different possibilities for housing in Cairo, which ended up in the establishment of the district of Heliopolis in 1905. Heliopolis was established as an independent, self-sufficient neighbourhood/suburb with its own services and utilities linked to Cairo by tram lines and other means of? transportation, which was built on desert land, away from agricultural lands. The idea was to provide a community based on economic factors balancing between the needs from the main city of Cairo and its own economic potentials.

7.3 Results and Discussion

7.3.1 Direct Observations

The observation of the Heliopolis district was very essential to understand more the behaviour and habits of the inhabitants and visitors. The observation results were as follows: socially, the inhabitants are not very much related and connected to each other except for shop workers and owners who share a similar environment and circumstances and are close to each other's social networks. They do behave well with visitors, especially those who are visiting the district for shopping. They usually offer help when needed, and are even more helpful with foreigners. Most of the observed people were middle aged as well as young people aged from 20 to 50 years old. The district is generally crowded during the day, more crowded from 12:00 to 17:00 and less crowded during the night from 21:00 till 23:00 but still very socially liveable. The existence of beggars has been observed, especially in highly dense commercial zones, though homeless people were rarely found. On the social level, it has been found that there isn't much socialising in the environment; when people greet each other, sometimes there would be no response. Thus, the social life in Heliopolis is essential but not vital for the people living there or those visiting the district which seems to have less socialising than in Elgamalia.

Culturally, shop owners and young people are used to smoke cigarettes and water pipes in coffee shops only, not on the streets. The culture of hassling for selling products is not applicable in Heliopolis as most of the shops have fixed prices which are sometimes written on the products with some exceptions of

small local shops and illegal sellers. The community is dominated by both male and female traders, while visitors are dominated by both male and female visitors who are interested in shopping more except at coffee shops which again are dominated by male users with some exceptions for high class coffee shops that have big brands (e.g. Café Supreme, Cilantro, etc). There are different types of churches belonging to many different Christian communities, which means that the people living there are from the Muslim and Christian communities, but the majority is from Muslims, speaking the same language, colloquial Egyptian Arabic with some Syrian speakers as well who are either owners or sellers at clothes shops or in the food industry. The economic system depends on leisure, cinemas, commercial uses, coffee shops, and international and national food restaurants. People have similar customs and wear similar clothes, so it is not easy to differentiate between locals and visitors by clothes or even by their walking styles.

Economically, the economic activities are very essential for inhabitants as they do not have preferences such as living near their shops and restaurants or not. The handicraft workers, who make silver, gold and bronze crafts, inherited their experiences from their grandparents. The economic environment is suitable for medium and large investments, and even multinational investors as well (e.g. Syrians). Young couples and brides are used to visiting the district to buy jewellery. The dominant economic activity is jewellery and silver products, with many coffee shops, trendy restaurants, cinemas, banks, shopping malls, beauty products and clothes shops. The inhabitants and traders are not so similar in terms of income and economic behaviours. Even if the gaps in income and ownership is not clear enough, it does not mean that it does not exist. Inhabitants belong to the upper-middle class and high-class income. No observation recorded any economic gaps which may exist due to the long existence of the trading activities of the district during the different periods that consequently accumulated capital and richness to business owners who invested their capital somewhere else. These/Such differences are not so clear during the observation but will be illustrated more in the other tools and methods used.

Politically, people are happy with the renovation and regeneration projects. The district also acquired international and national fame after it was listed in the National Organization for Urban Harmony, which raised the possibilities of gentrification to take place due to the increased prices of property values after listing such areas. The government is also interested in regulating and developing the urban and architecture of the district. Also, due to the existence of the presidential palace in Heliopolis, the district has undergone many waves of renovation, conservation and regeneration projects.

Regarding the architectural aspect, the architectural style of the buildings belongs to the Arabic, Moorish and modern architectural style. Old buildings were characterized by mono functionality while new ones are multifunction buildings. The architectural value for the monumental and historical buildings is very high in terms of architectural value. It considered architectural proportions and scale, which has a reasonable scale compared to the street width, reflecting the awareness of the designer towards future changes. There is a very clear message of symbolism and ornamentations which the buildings enjoy – the accurate proportions and the building style with the stone bricks by workers who are professional enough to construct such buildings with detailed motifs is something that has become very hard to find

nowadays. The values and principles of privacy and hierarchy between the different spaces are not applicable here due to the modern style used in Heliopolis to have more open air and outdoor areas as opposed to, for example, the traditional architecture in Elgamalia. Houses that tend to have shared apartments in the same building are more than just houses and villas with more simple designs, while public buildings tend to be more complex in form, shape, aesthetic values and ornamentations. On the other hand, newly built buildings lack those values and principles in design and concept and can, therefore, sometimes lack the minimum sense of respect, integration or harmony to the old buildings. However, the case here is much better than in Elgamalia due to the modern and postmodern architecture for some buildings, so the gentrification's possibilities started to take place. Thus, the architecture reflected a period of a new city which was built to accommodate the future expansion of the core city of Cairo in the beginning of the new century.

On the level of urban design and planning aspects, in old buildings, there is a general mix between buildings with architectural style (monuments) and newly built and already existing buildings, some of which sometimes got destroyed and ruined by modifications, for example, to put a name board? that shows the shop's name and brand. The district is densely used by visitors and seems to be densely populated while the population statistics show that the residents' numbers are somehow stable which may refer to the fact that they are registered somewhere else and are still living in the district, or that the buildings are mainly used more for commercial activities and less for residential uses. The dominant use of the ground floor of all buildings is the commercial uses, followed by leisure and entertainment activities. Moreover, the first floors are surprisingly used as offices and sometimes for commercial purposes or selling handicrafts. The main streets network is clear, walkable and well connected to each other. The corners of the streets had significant features, so it is not so easy to get lost in Heliopolis, with many green areas which give an opportunity to relax and enjoy the urban environment.

Following Kevin Lynch's 1960 mental map of the key elements of city, the city's paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmark, Heliopolis is found to have all those elements represented in the clear paths which have clear hierarchy. All streets in Heliopolis are motorways with pavements for pedestrians, though sometimes streets are closed to vehicles during some events (Baghdad street) and the main streets surrounding work as clear edges visually and physically. Moreover, the district of Heliopolis may work as a whole district dominated by commercial uses as mentioned before – a vital and essential shopping area for eastern Cairo where visitors tend to shop from all over CMR and from different cities of Egypt as well. Nodes are maintained at the main square in front of the Basilica Church, Roxy Cinema, and Al-Korba arches. The landmarks are very representative with the high unique and symbolic towers at the corners of the streets. Also, with their unique architectural style, buildings, represented in mosques, houses, schools, and churches, are still used after they were conserved and adapted to be reused to catch up with the modern life. Mosques, churches, houses and schools are mainly used for the same purposes as before.

On the level of urban life/When it comes to urban life, the district is very liveable most of the day. Shopping dominates the day from the morning hours at 10:30 to the night at 22:00 while visitors tend to visit the district from the late afternoons to the night hours at 23:00 and sometimes to the first hours of the next day. Night life is represented in coffee shops, trendy restaurants where young people are used to hanging out to smoke water pipes and drink tea or coffee, with local small, medium and large restaurants which offer traditional and trendy foods that tourists like. Nevertheless, the religious visits to churches and mosques are on Sundays and Fridays. Thus, the observed district showed many possibilities of gentrification on the different aspects which will be illustrated in the following sections of this chapter to observe the gentrification process in the district with deeper tools, methods and analyses.

7.3.2. Interviews

During the interviews, the interviewees seemed to be open and welcoming towards the study area, maybe due to the openness and exposure of the neighbourhood to visitors and residents who belong to different backgrounds. The residents' answers to questions related to buildings which have architectural values and have been sabotaged were sometimes worried and panicked. They seemed conservative towards some social behaviours of visitors who tend to misuse the calm environment that Heliopolis used to enjoy which has nowadays changed into a noisy and harsh environment that could sometimes show signs of vulgarity. So far, the next table introduces the study population of the research for the case study of the Heliopolis district.

Tenants and residents answered most of the interview questions. They contributed with kindness and eagerness, mainly comparing how Heliopolis used to be in the last 20 years and how it is nowadays – crowded with a big economic, social and physical shift. Their memory is always related to the best moments of the everyday practice, starting from having breakfast or coffee at a calm café at the corner of their apartment buildings until returning home by the end of the day with much positive energy to start the next day. They also mentioned the change in the social strata and behaviour of some residents due to the new classes which occupied their previous neighbours' places. One interviewee, who is also an expert in architecture, mentioned that Heliopolis has witnessed a process of 'ruralisation' which he defined as the migration of people from rural areas to Heliopolis, especially the poorest zone of Ezbet Elmoslemen. Ezbet Elmoslemen is considered the working-class neighbourhood which was designed in the beginning of the 20th century to accommodate the working class next to the residential areas of the middle- and upper middle class families, in a comprehensive integrated community context. This context was one of the most successful policies used in Heliopolis. Some tenants claimed that the prices had doubled within the last year following the devaluation of the Egyptian currency in front of the foreign currency, which is important to mention in this context. This was accompanies by an increase in the prices of all goods and properties. Regarding the educational level and awareness, the interviewees argued that most residents have a high educational level with a bachelor's degrees, but on the other hand, people working in the neighbourhood have a lower level of education such as diploma or a high school education only.

Table 7-1. Study population, methods, sampling techniques used, classifications and numbers for Heliopolis
Source: Determined and developed by the researcher

Study Population	Number of Interviewees	Methods	Sampling Techniques
Heliopolis for Housing and Development	1	Semi-structured interviews	Purposeful then snow-balling
National Organization for Urban Harmony	2		
Local authority	1		
Housing and Building National Research Centre	1		
Ministry of Housing	1		
Supreme Council of Antiquities	1		
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	2		
Total	9		
Apartment owners	23	Unstructured interviews	Stratified random sampling then snow-balling
Shop owners	14		
Apartment renters	18		Purposeful
Shop renters	13		
Users, passersby, etc.	34		
Total	102		

The manager of Heliopolis for Housing and Development argued that Heliopolis is unique in its architectural style and values but that the most important challenges which Heliopolis faces nowadays is the demolition and sabotaging of those buildings at night, which is a big loss to the whole neighbourhood. This issue was also mentioned by some of the interviewees by mentioning some examples of villa demolition on their streets or next to their homes. Another challenge may be the lack of awareness of some renters towards the heritage of Heliopolis and how it can be preserved for the coming generations.

An urban expert who works with the National Organization for Urban Harmony as an external evaluator for urban harmony, and who has dealt with many cases of buildings on the Ministry of Antiquities' Heliopolis monument list, declared that the profit of real estate development is very beneficial to contractors who are demolition's main tool. This, consequently, benefits the owners who get much profit from demolishing a small villa with 6 to 10 apartments in average and access to a garden to raise a ten-story building with 60 to 80 apartments in average with no garden. This may reflect the richness of the new comers (gentrifiers) who mostly consist of young families or newly married couples. As Heliopolis gentrifiers have a high level of education and are relatively considered to belong to the higher middle class, they tend to work one main job to cover life expenses. Most of them work as managers at shops, companies, or restaurants, or are coffee shop owners or experts who tend to live in Heliopolis as a social interface, especially ElKorba district and Baghdad street. The social interface was also mentioned and assured by many interviewees to be an important issue for new comers as they seek the social interface which will increase their chances of belonging to the higher middle class.

As much as residents enjoy the new urban life, they suffer from the increase in rents and running costs. Many residents who had endless renting contracts tend not to do any kind of maintenance to their apartments because they are not the real owners. Accordingly, this leads to the deterioration of the buildings and exposes them to demolition regardless of how rich their architectural style may be. As a

result, residents would be replaced by other new comers who would, eventually, accept to pay higher rents to enjoy social, cultural and economic satisfaction due to the proximity to urban facilities, which emphasizes the main concept of displacement. In correspondence to the increase in land prices, land owners tend to construct new buildings without any respect to the surrounding urban context and harmony. Thus, many inconvenient buildings appeared in the last decade with irrelevant architectural styles compared to the Heliopolis context. With increased land and rent prices of the renovated buildings, old residents who enjoy living under the old rental law showed no care towards any hopes for renovating any buildings, which indicates the low housing values in some areas. On the other hand, the owners suffer from low rents due to the old rental law since the price of renovation rises with the rise in the living standards.

So far, the gentrification indicators of Kennedy (2001), as mentioned previously, were used to introduce the interview questions for the case study of Heliopolis. Later, in the conclusion, the researcher will summarize the indicators' list applied for the case studies to illustrate the level of exposition that each case study has. Accordingly, the gentrification indicators, shown in Table 10, as a response to the conducted interviews, are evaluated and classified into two categories according to the level of agreement, as interviewees either agreed or disagreed, to a certain extent, to the mentioned indicators. Then, the total percentage is calculated out of 1400% to show the interviewees' opinion results.

Table 7-2. A summary of the analysis and examination of gentrification indicators on Heliopolis
Source: Determined and developed by the researcher, 2016, based on the gentrification indicators developed by Kennedy, M., and Leonard, P. (April 2001)

No.	**Gentrification indicators**	Agreed	Disagreed
1	**Leading indicators: Areas Most likely to Experience Gentrification**		
A	High Rate of Renters *'The area has a lot of renters who rent their properties with a very low price range – between 2-5/two to five Egyptian pounds per month (0.1 – 0.27 US dollars per month), which by time has been converted to an ownership,'* says a local resident who expert interviewees have agreed with. *'The renting contract was an unlimited contract by which the renter can inherit the apartment to his sons and grandsons as well. As time passed, the original owner would perhaps die or forgot about the property*.' *'Heliopolis is changing now from being a neighbourhood with a high percentage of renters to one where ownership has become dominant due to the deterioration of many buildings (villas and houses) which had been demolished and replaced by new buildings,'* says a Housing and Building National Research Centre expert. *'The new buildings are sold to new comers who are looking for/are seeking the diverse and cultural facilities in Heliopolis.'*	80%	20%
B	Ease of Access to Job Centres *'The neighbourhood of Heliopolis is characterized by the existence of many different uses – entertainment, leisure, administrative such as banks and companies headquarters, restaurants, shops which sell car spare parts, gold accessories, clothes, and wedding dresses, many Christian, Catholic, Armenian, Orthodox, and Protestant churches, schools, and other services,'* states a local authority.	80%	20%
C	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion *'Heliopolis has a perfect location for business and a good market for our products,* says a car spare part shop renter. *'The area around here is getting more and more customers which means more sales and more profit, as well.'* *'Generally, Heliopolis is crowded due to the many facilities it has,*' says a local resident who other residents have agreed with, *'but, specifically, by the end of the*	75%	25%

	week namely Thursdays, during the holy month of Ramadan, and before and after the two feasts/Eids, the streets are overcrowded with passersby and visitors who hang out here or families that like to have their lunch or dinner at the restaurants, or get a drink at the coffee shops which are all over the neighbourhood, especially on summer nights.'		
D	High Architectural Value *'The architectural value of Heliopolis is very unique as it represents a mix between the Moroccan, traditional Arabic and Persian architecture as well as the European neoclassical architectural styles,'* states Heliopolis Heritage (NGO). Apartment owners and interviewees may reflect the awareness towards the importance of the Heliopolis architectural value.	85%	15%
E	Comparatively Low Housing Values *'[…] with an interesting mix between the old unique architectural styles and the newly built high-rise buildings which sometimes lack to the aesthetics of architecture, appeared that distorted architecture without any style,'* says a Housing and Building National Research Center expert and National Organization for Urban Harmony. *'Most of the low value housing appeared because of the misuse or lack of maintenance due to the faraway kinship between the current user and the owner*,' says a local resident.	30%	70%
2	**Primary indicators: Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring**		
A	Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership *'[…] my old apartment was rented until I moved to Heliopolis with my family,'* says a local resident. *'The building has been newly built in 2008, and I have to say that here, it is more comfortable for me and my family where we can walk around safely.'*	70%	30%
B	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture *'I bought my apartment in 2015 when I moved with my family from neighbourhood of Abbasia to Heliopolis,'* says a local resident (newcomer to Heliopolis). *'because my children are in the French school in Heliopolis and it's halfway between my work and my wife's work.'* The neighbourhood of Abbasia is located west of Heliopolis with two campuses of Ain Shams University. It is considered a working-class neighbourhood.	85%	15%
C	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income People *"The/[T]the neighbourhood has a good mix of small and big brands of restaurants and coffee shops,'* says a local authority representative. *'For example, you can find Hind Koshary restaurant and McDonald's as well as the Coffee Shop Company, with its big terrace facing the Basilica in Alahram street, and small coffee shops where working class people used to hang out as well as many other examples.'*	90%	10%
3	**Secondary Indicators: Less Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring**		
A	Change in Racial Composition *'Within the last few years, and due to the war in Syria, many Syrians have joined the neighbourhood even by renting or buying apartments to live near their new businesses when they work or open a restaurant selling traditional Syrian meals,'* says a shop owner who other shop owners and renters have agreed with. *'No one can regret the opening of many restaurants which sell that kind of food, adding to that the original nationalities that used to live in Heliopolis when it was built in beginning of the 20th century.'*	15%	85%
B	Change in Occupancy Rate	40%	60%
C	Change in Income *'The newly built buildings are mainly sold to new comers during the stages of construction by credit,'* says a local contractor who others of his profession as well as residents (gentrifiers) have agreed with, *'meaning that new residents pay, for example, 25% of the total price of the apartment, then pay the remaining 75% on a period from two to five years. The average price for the square meter ranges from EGP 12-15 thousand (equivalent to 700-880 US dollars).'*	60%	40%
4	**Other Indicators the Researcher Would Like to Test**		
A	High Level of Education *'The level of education for the inhabitants at the age of education, in general, is high*	65%	35%

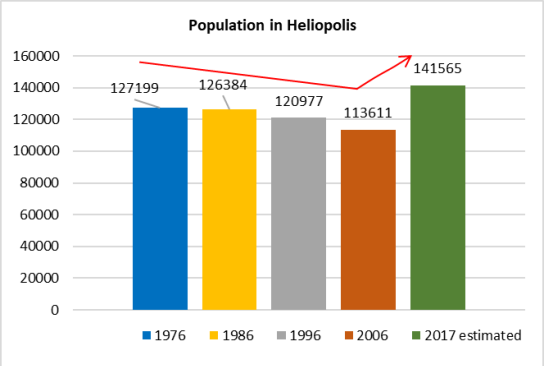
	as about 55% of the population has university certificates, 20% has elementary education, 20% has some kind of diplomas or middle education, and 5% are uneducated,' states the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics.		
B	Change in Tradition and Customs *'Heliopolis witnessed a wave of ruralization due to the migration of inhabitants from delta villages to Cairo in general and Heliopolis in particular*,' says a local resident who is also an expert in architecture. *'It changed the traditions and daily life of what I used to see on my street adding to that the new inhabitants who arrived to Heliopolis during the last two decades.'*	50%	50%
C	Diversity of visitors What some residents and visitors say about Heliopolis: *'Visitors like to visit Heliopolis to enjoy the leisure activities there.'* *'Most visitors are from young people or young families.'* *'I really enjoy hanging out here and walking around, especially at night to feel and live the uniqueness of Heliopolis.'*	60%	40%
	Agreed to the gentrification indicators are 885% and disagreed are 515% out of 1400% in total which means that the interviewees agreed with almost 63%.	**885%**	**515%**

From the table above, the researcher concluded that the case study has a strong leading primary and secondary indicators of gentrification, which means that many precautions had to be taken into consideration when dealing with this neighbourhood for future upgrading and development plans. Meanwhile, it turns out that there are some other indicators that must be considered, the first of which is the high level of education, as it indicates the level of awareness and behaviour regarding heritage and architectural values. The second indicator is the change in customs and traditions as people tend to live near the religious buildings that the neighbourhood has, seeking bless to make them closer to God. Finally, the diversity of visitors is another indicator as it shows whether the district is well known to them, so people tend to hang out there or not, which means more powerful gentrification towards Heliopolis.

7.3.3 Demographic Analysis

The demographic analysis analysed the population's development, annual growth rates, the population pyramids, migration, family size, and the overcrowding rates of Heliopolis during the last four census data provided by CAPMAS. Meanwhile, the population of Heliopolis decreased from 127,199 inhabitants in 1976 to reach 113,611 inhabitants in 2006, losing about 11% of its population in the last four decades. This indicates that this neighbourhood is repelling its inhabitants to move from there to the neighbouring neighbourhoods where the existing buildings are reused or converted to another use. If compared to the economic activities, with the increased need for services, it proves that Heliopolis has changed from a residential neighbourhood to a financial services, entertaining and leisure neighbourhood, which calls for urban development projects that increase the possibilities of gentrification. According to the observation, the district of Heliopolis has a normal density. This observation is close to reality due to the wide range of leisure and entertainment areas beside the green areas as well. The estimations of the 2017's census expect that the population will increase to reach 141,565 inhabitants in 2017 as a result of rebuilding many buildings with denser floors and less free spaces.

Moreover, the annual growth rates of the census, from 1976 until 2006, showed that the annual growth rate dropped from -0.1% in 1976 to -0.6% in 2006 and is expected to increase/rise to reach 2% in 2017. This means that the decline in the population rate increases via time and is expected to continue to drop until 2017, which increases the gentrification's possibilities for conveying richer inhabitants to the district due the urban renewal and rehabilitation of Heliopolis especially after 2009 which marks the 100th anniversary of establishing Heliopolis. Even before this, the non-governmental organizations working in Heliopolis consider the heritage of Heliopolis as a local identity of the district and a national identity to modern Cairo.



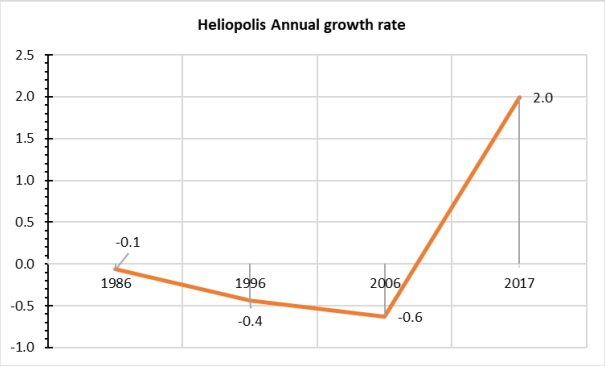


Figure 7-3. The population development of Heliopolis
Figure 7-4. The annual growth rate of Heliopolis
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

The population pyramids of 1976, 1986, 1996, and 2006 show the different age categories as defined in the beginning of this chapter. Figure 7-5, on the other hand, shows the decrease in the population for the same periods, following the progress of the Heliopolis newborn population in 1976 as shown with the dotted red arrows. The newborn population was 20877 inhabitants who slightly increased reaching 21022 inhabitants in 1986, then decreased to19669 inhabitants in 1996, and 13144 in 2006. Generally, the population pyramids show that even if the population has been in decline in the previous four decades, it has always witnessed new comers (gentrifiers) and migrated inhabitants who are moving to the district seeking different reasons; reasons that will be discussed in the economic activities in the coming methods. According to the figure below, the new comers are from all age groups, but the most dominant are the inhabitants aged between 10 and 30 years old where males are more than females, with some exceptional cases where females are more than males especially in the age group between 30 to 50 years old. The violet dotted lines show the ideal form of the pyramid based on the born inhabitants, showing that in 1986, 1996, and 2006, the new comers were from the age group from 30 to over 70 years old. Thus, the district is attractive to the different ages who come to live then leave within 10 years. These kinds of pyramids can be seen only in developed countries with a high percentage of immigrants who tend to immigrate seeking economic benefits and where the population growth is slow, especially the 1996's pyramid.

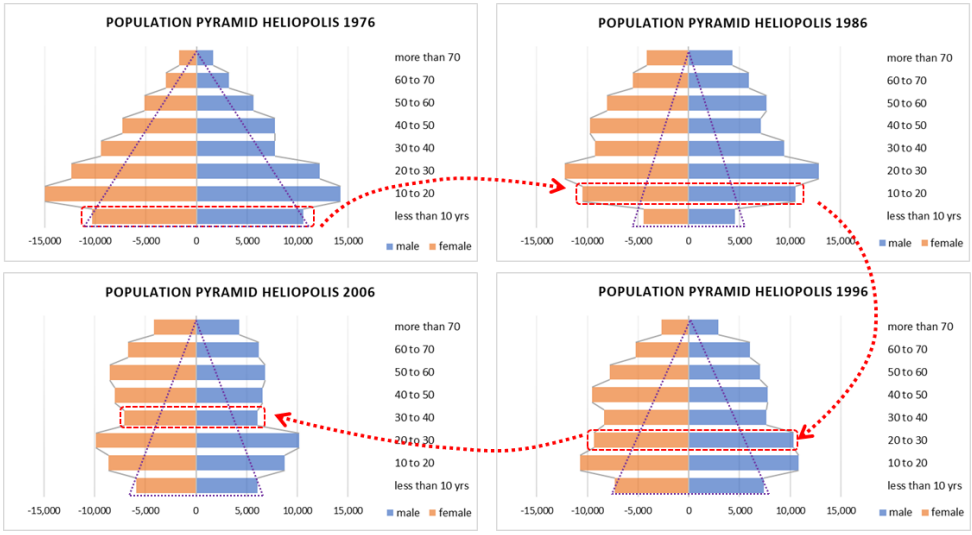


Figure 7-5. The population pyramids of Heliopolis in 1976, 1986, 1996, and 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

So far, migration studies showed that the statistical increase in population is far less than the natural increase in population which means that the district is repellent for the population. On the other hand, it was confirmed that it attracts migrants and new comers, though the number of new comers is far less than the leaving population. Thus, it is important to consider a number of comprehensive strategies to maintain and protect the district, and Elgamalia as well, from decay.

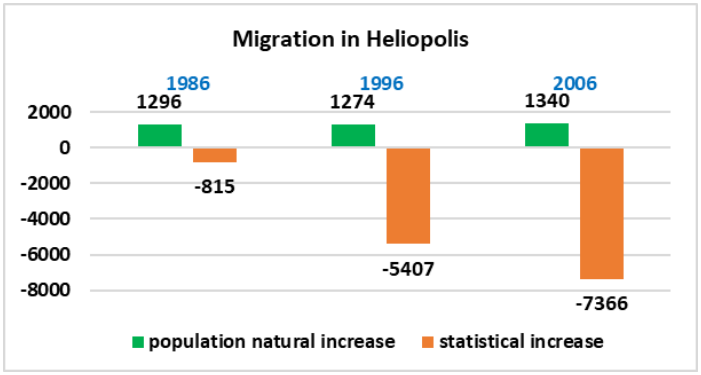
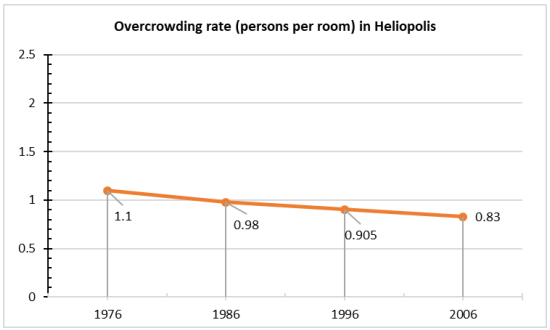


Figure 7-6. The population's natural increase and statistical increase (migration) in Heliopolis in 1986, 1996 and 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

In addition to that, the next two figures show the overcrowding rates and family size of Heliopolis since 1976 until 2006, confirming the decline in family size and the overcrowding rates, which is a positive effect. The reason has to do with the general tendency and policies to have less kids to provide them with better education and better future, hence increasing the opportunities for a better healthy housing environment and less density in neighbourhoods. Gentrification here appears via the increased opportunities of income for inhabitants; the increase in income prospers with the decline in family size and overcrowding rates.



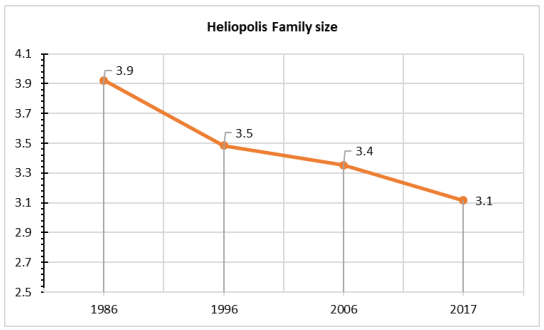
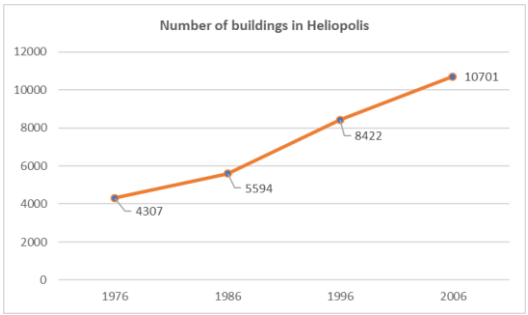


Figure 7-7. The overcrowding rates in Heliopolis
Figure 7-8 Family size in Heliopolis
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

7.3.4 Housing Circumstances and Real Estate Development

Housing circumstances and real estate development deal with the notion of real estate development and contracting indicators which emphasise their essential role in facilitating the gentrification process in the case studies. The first aspects to start with are the number of buildings in general, number of residential units, number of buildings according to ownership nationalities, percentage of owned and rented apartments, and housing types (i.e. villa, houses, apartments, etc.). Another aspect is the main infrastructure's availability for families and its connection to electricity, clean water and sewage systems. The utilities' availability inside families' apartments, kitchens, bathrooms, and toilets, especially the ownership of transportation means for families is also important. Then, the different property prices (i.e. apartments, houses, villas and land) are compared to understand how the property prices increased.

According to Figure 7-9, the number of buildings increased in Heliopolis from 4307 in 1976 to 10701 in 2006; about 6394 buildings were constructed in 40 years. It is true that the residential buildings increased as well as residential units which increased/went from 24445 in 1976 to 34766 in 1996 to provide housing for the population's demands. However, this number later dropped again to reach 33886 in 2006. Consequently, non-residential uses took over residential ones, and if compared with the population, the increase in the residential units was accompanied with a decline in population since even after providing more apartments, the district's population lost its popularity? due to the increase in rent and property prices. Thus, gentrification takes place as shown in Figure 7-10.



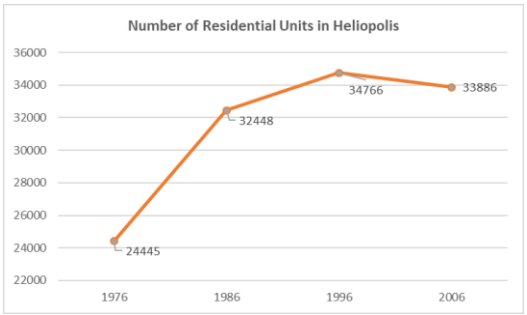


Figure 7-9. Total number of buildings in Heliopolis from 1976 until 2006
Figure 7-10. Total number of residential buildings in Heliopolis from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

While analysing the housing circumstances, gentrification has become more obvious in Heliopolis. The provided housing circumstances data pointed out to gentrification with many means and nationality owners for all buildings regardless of their use. They were classified into Egyptians, Arabs and other foreign nationalities. Also, the percentage of owned or rented apartments indicated to which direction the ownership is more oriented in the neighbourhood – rented or owned. Figure 7-11 below shows the number of buildings according with an Egyptian ownership, reflecting an increase in the number of buildings owned by Egyptians from 1986 to 2006. This increase did not affect the occupancy rate. On the contrary, the occupancy rate dropped from 1.1 to 0.83 person per room in Heliopolis. This is accompanied with a general decrease in the number of units built per year in Cairo with an expectation to increase/rise again due to the waves of re-urbanization in the last two decades. So far, Heliopolis attracts more foreign investments as the number of buildings owned by foreign nationals from among Arab and other countries increased from 65 to 103 buildings for Arabs and from 41 to 80 buildings for other nationalities. In other words, it has almost doubled between 1986 and 2006 as shown in Figure 7-12, meaning that gentrification is led by possible foreigners gentrifiers in Heliopolis.

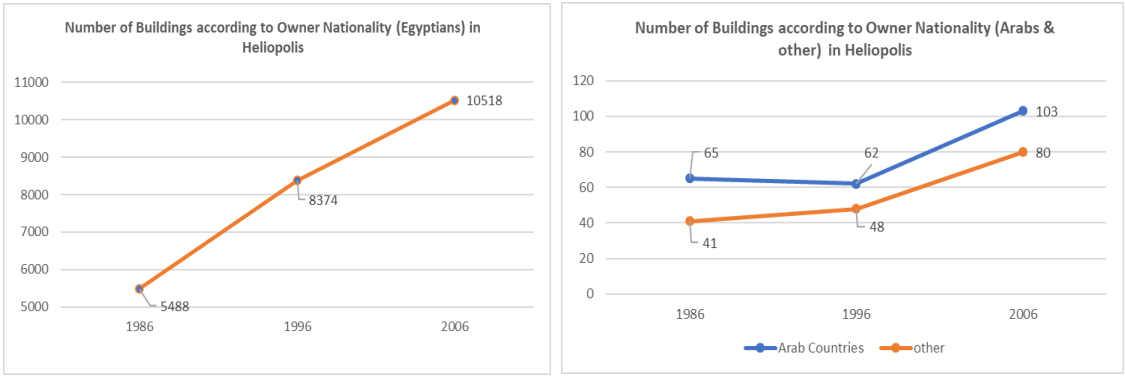
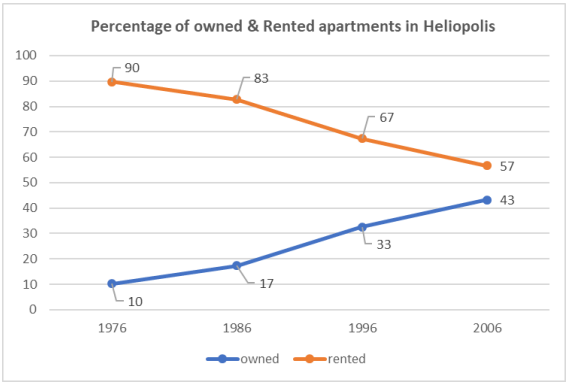


Figure 7-11. Total number of buildings in Heliopolis according to ownership nationality of among Egyptians, from 1986 to 2006

Figure 7-12. Total number of buildings in Heliopolis according to ownership nationality of among foreigners (Arabs and other nationalities), from 1986 until 2006

Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

Since 1976, residents have tended to own their apartments instead of renting them as in Heliopolis there is a tendency to own more than to rent, which is considered a primary indicator for gentrification (i.e. Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership). Despite this, in 2006, inHeliopolis, the rented apartments were almost half the number of owned apartments, as shown in Figure 7-13, which is normal in old and historic neighbourhoods due to the old rental law contracts which have slightly been changing recently. The figure shows that the percentage of rented apartments dropped from 90% to 57% due to the newly built buildings, which indicates that there is a strong tendency for gentrification to take place. As Figure 7-14 shows, the renting contract of apartments in 2006 were 92% with the old rental law contracts while 8% with the new rental law contracts which means that 94% of the apartments will lack maintenance and call for near future renewal projects, then gentrification will take place. Again, one of the leading indicators of gentrification is the high rates of renters (see Kennedy and Leonard, 2001) which clearly exist in Heliopolis.



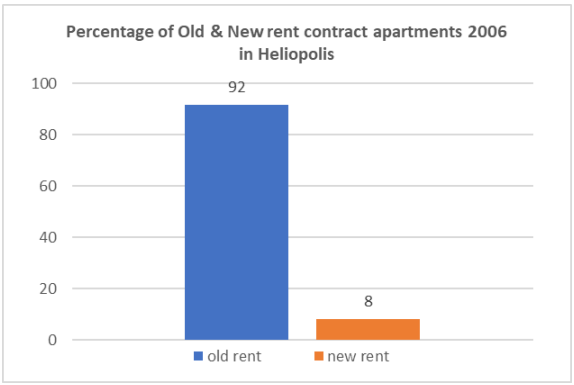


Figure 7-13. Percentage of owned and rented apartments in Elgamalia, from 1976 until/to 2006
Figure 7-14. Percentage of old and new rental law contract apartments in 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Figure 7-15 shows the housing types in Heliopolis which are categorized into houses, apartment houses and villas. The percentage of apartment houses increased from 57% in 1986 to 69% in 2006 due to the need for housing with the tendency to have a denser neighbourhood and as a result of the loss of houses. This may reflect the openness of the neighbourhood/indicate the neighbourhood's openness for external new comers who tend to live in apartments due to the high renting prices and increased property values. Moreover, there is a steady loss in villas every five year of around 1-2% which are demolished and converted into apartment houses. Thus, the real estate and contracting businesses flourish where the 12% increase in apartment houses are faced by a 3% decrease in villas and a 9% decrease in houses. This means that every 1% of turned down villas is faced by a 1% of newly built apartment houses, which in the numbers of housing types means that for each turned down villa or house, a 1.6 apartment house is built.

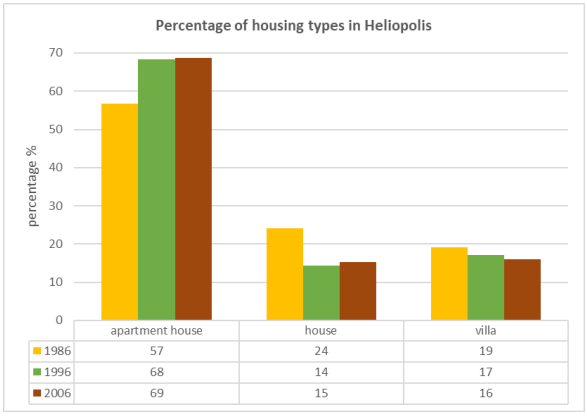


Figure 7-15. Percentage of housing types (i.e. apartment house, houses and villas) in Heliopolis, from 1986 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The Heliopolis district's housing circumstances and development show that the district witnessed more development in the main infrastructure of water supply, electricity and sewage network. The figure below shows that almost 96% of families in 2006 have been connected to the main clean water supply since 1976. On the other hand, only 1.1% of families had water supply in the buildings and 3.1% had water supply outside the buildings. However, compared to the previous case study, it seems that the Heliopolis district is more developed regarding infrastructure supplies.

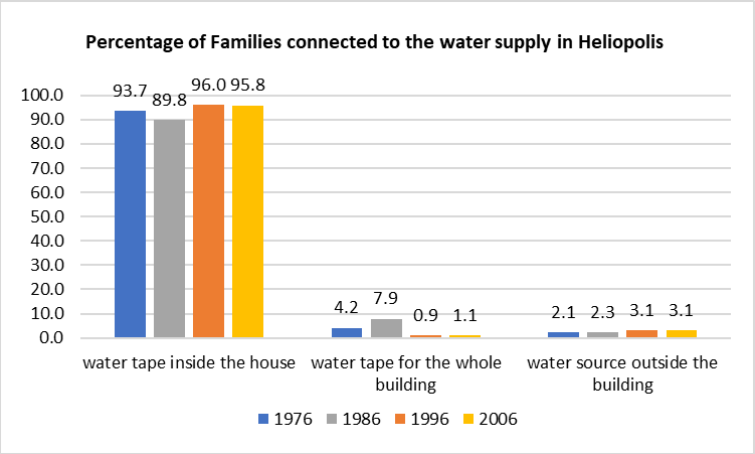
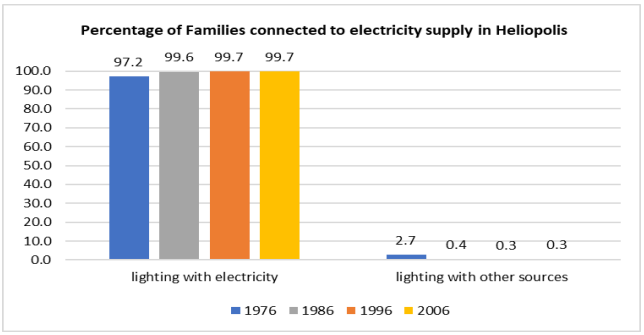


Figure 7-16. Percentage of families connected to water supply in Heliopolis, from 1976 until 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

In Figure 7-17, the percentage of families connected to electricity supply increased from 97.2% in 1976 to 99.7% in 2006. This again represents the high standard that Heliopolis has enjoyed since the 1970s compared to other districts in Cairo in general and to Elgamalia in particular. Also, the connection to the sewage network increased from 99.4% to 99.5%. All information showed that the district is developed regarding to the connection to the main infrastructure elements in the last four decades.



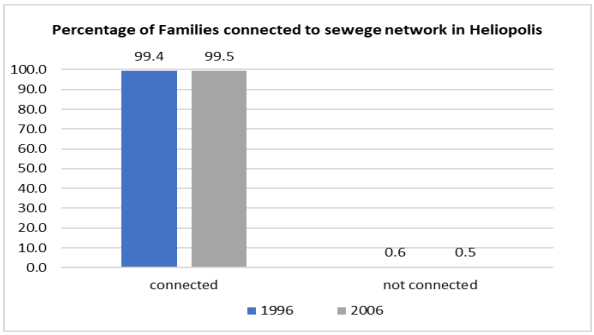


Figure 7-17. Percentage of families that have electricity supply in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Figure 7-18. Percentage of families have sewage network in Heliopolis, from 1996 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented by the researcher

The district also showed an improvement regarding the different utilities in apartments as the sharing of kitchens, bathrooms and toilets decreased gradually which calls for an increase in rent and income as well. Thus, gentrification will again find possible ways to increase its activities in Heliopolis. Figure 7-19 shows that the percentage of private kitchens increased from 86.3% in 1986 to 94.2% in 2006, while the percentage of families without a kitchen decreased from 10.4% to 2.3% in the same period. Also, the percentage of families with no private bathrooms and toilets increased from 80.8% to 91.5% as well as the percentage of separate bathrooms and toilets, which increased from 81.3% and 71.6% in 1986 to 91.8 and 98.5% in 2006, respectively. Thus, the district's families got more independent regarding utilities which means that the existing residential buildings were modified and renewed to accommodate the different separate families in the district.

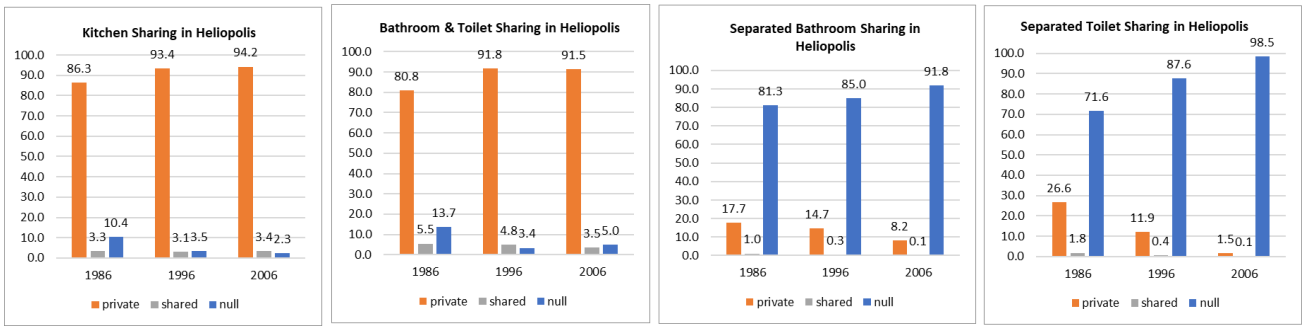


Figure 7-19. Percentage of families with different utilities in Heliopolis, from 1996 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Finally, the percentage of owning different means of transportation increased during the previous 30 years with a tendency to own more cars, which reflects the richness of the district compared to Elgamalia, for example. Even with the decline in population and the increase in car ownership, non-residential uses dominated the neighbourhood, which has put even more stressed on the district to provide parking places for users and visitors. Thus, owning cars, motorbikes and bicycles increased from 51.5% in 1986 to 61% in 2006, as shown in Figure 7-20.

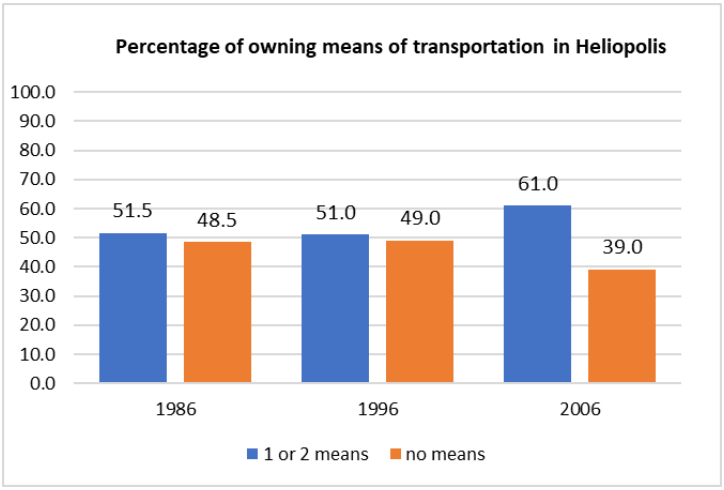


Figure 7-20. Percentage of owning means of transportation in Heliopolis, from 1986 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Meanwhile, according to the data gathered from Al-Ahram newspaper during the last 37 years in 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2017, the figure below shows the development of the apartments' average prices in Egyptian pounds per square meter in Heliopolis. Thus, the prices increased 5.5 times from 2000 to 2010 due to the first wave of devaluation of the Egyptian currency. This occurred again in 2017 as the prices were doubled compared to the 2012 prices when the district became highly responsive for the price change of the economy, which indicates that gentrification will always find an opportunity to take place.

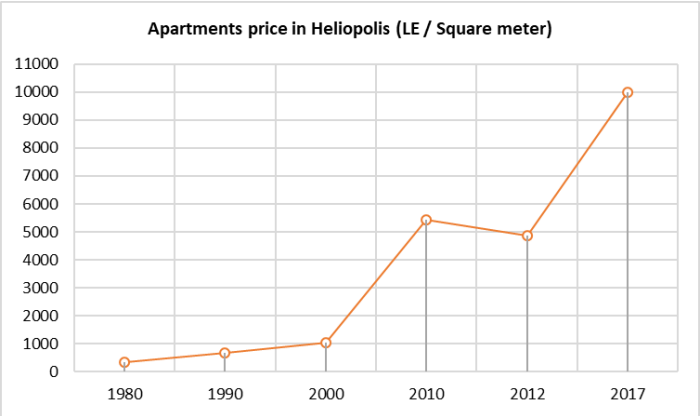


Figure 7-21. Apartment prices in Heliopolis (EGP/square meter)
Source: Al-Ahram newspaper; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

7.3.5 Socio-Cultural Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction to the socio-cultural analysis, here, the researcher illustrates the labourers' professions, educational status, unemployment rates, marital status, and dependency rates. The aim is to understand the social and cultural composition using the statistical data from the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). The following figure illustrates the percentage of professional classification in Heliopolis from 1976 until 2006. The professions of labourers were classified into six main categories: legislators, seniors and scientific professional, technicians and their assistants, labourers working in the service sector, farmers and fishermen, factory workers and machine operators, and finally, construction workers.

As shown in Figure 7-22, in Heliopolis, as opposed to Elgamalia, factory workers and machine operators were not the leading professions in the 1970s. Instead, the leading professionals were the legislators, seniors and scientific professionals whose percentage increased in 1976 from 36.3% until they recorded 61.6% in 1996, then decreased again to reach 57.2% in 2006. Thus, Heliopolis' dire/urgent need for scientific professionals in 1996 has rolled back to pave the way to other professions to compete in the labour market. Even if the labour professions acquire more than half the labour market, the other professions are still competing to find a way to lead the economy. Thus, in 2006, service workers increased from 8.6% in 1976 to 12% in 2006, technicians and assistants labourers decreased from 16.3% in 1976 to reach 19% in 1986 then decreased again to record 16.4% in 2006, and farmers and fishermen disappeared from the map as in 1976, they recorded 18.6%, and recorded only 0.1% in 2006. It is expected that factory workers and machine operators will follow the same lead due to the steady decrease with a constant rate from 11.6% in 1976 that reached 4% in 2006. Construction workers had its book in the 1980s with an increase from 8.6% in 1976 to 14.7% in 1986 then dropped again to reach 9.5% in 1996, and later increased with the last development projects in the 2000s to record 10.3% in 2006. Accordingly, it is expected that scientific professions will continue to increase as service workers and technicians try to compete as well to find a place in the economy.

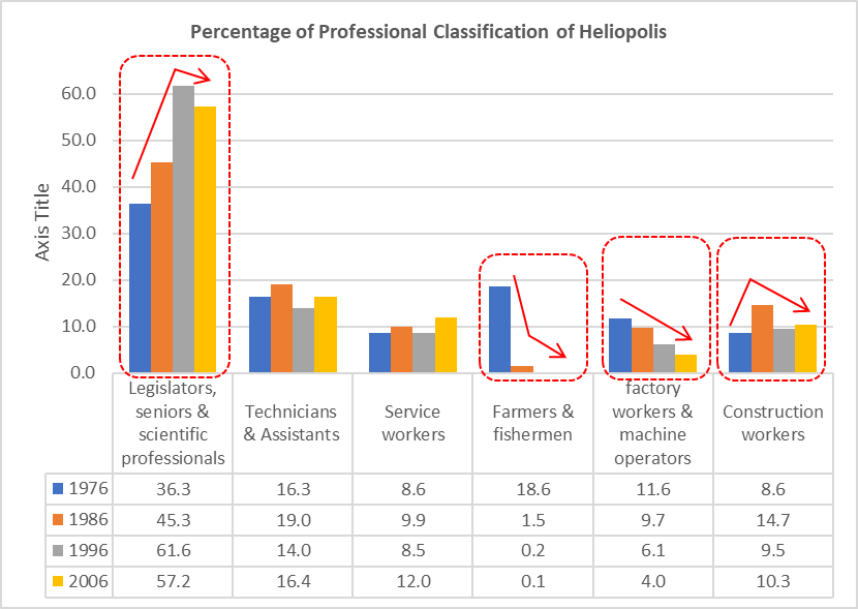


Figure 7-22. Percentage of professional classification in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

The following figure (7-23) shows the educational status in Heliopolis for the period between 1976 and 2006. In Heliopolis, there is a noticeable increase in the percentage of residents with university degrees as they increased from 18.1% in 1976 to 48.9% in 2006, which means that they have been 2.8 times more than in 1976. Moreover, the percentage of residents who has only elementary education has dropped/almost disappeared from 12.7% in 1976 to only 0.3% in 2006. Also, the percentage of illiterates dropped from 14.8% to only 6.3% during the same period, even with a stable percentage of under-intermediate (elementary?) and intermediate education which increased respectively from 11% and 22.2% in 1976 reaching 13.3% and 20.5% respectively. Generally, residents of Heliopolis are becoming more educated than before, thus calling for possible young people who are going to work as possible gentrifiers in the future and showing that the district inhabitants are a higher class than in Elgamalia in terms of education and profession.

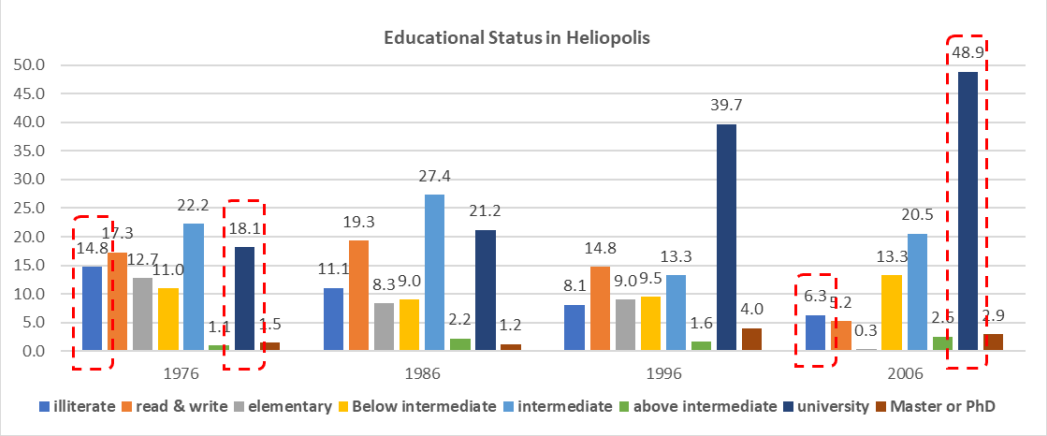


Figure 7-23. Percentage of educational status in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Moreover, the unemployment rates in Heliopolis showed that the highest unemployment rate was in 1986 with a 12.2% of unemployment. Since then, unemployment rates have dropped to reach only 5.1% in 1996 then increased again in 2006 recording 8.5% which is an indicator of gentrification, proving that the district is inside the labour market and that finding a job is easy to the inhabitants living there, indicating easy access to job centres. Thus, the district always motivates success as commercial, hospitality, leisure and entertainment businesses have been so far successful.

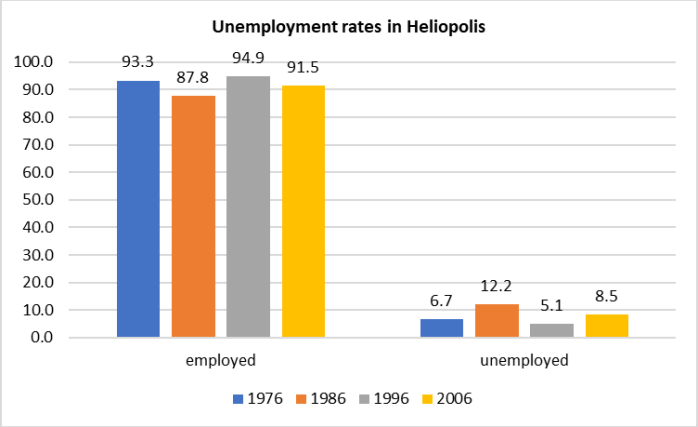


Figure 7-24. Unemployment rates in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

So far, the marital status in Heliopolis showed that the percentage of widowed inhabitants increased from 7.6% in 1976 to 11.4% in 2006. In other words, the first generations who lived in the district died with the general decline in population, which calls for more opportunities of renewal and regeneration projects to update the existing buildings to accommodate other classes. It is also clear that the percentage of marriage has slightly dropped from 54.9% in 1976 to reach 54.6% in 2006, as mentioned before, with the tendency to live independently and postpone marriages and an increase in divorce rates. The district witnessed an increase in divorce rates as it reached 2% in 2006 compared to 1.3% in 1976, which means that the divorce rates increased by almost 35% in the previous 40 years in Heliopolis. Later, the dependency rate will show to what extent people tend to postpone marriage in Heliopolis.

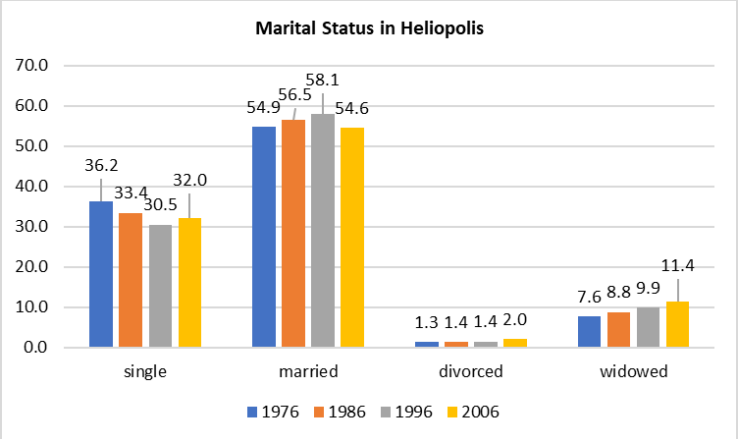


Figure 7-25. Marital status in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Finally, the dependency rates showed that the dependency rate increased from 31.8% in 1976 to 34.1% in 1986 then continued to increase to reach its peak with 39.2% in 1996, followed by a slight drop, recording 37.8% in 2006. This means that, in 1976, for every one inhabitant there were 3.1 inhabitants depending on that inhabitant. Thus, the ratio was 1:3.1, which dropped in 2006 to reach 1:2.6, meaning that the community has started to have a less dependency ratio. Accordingly, the stress on the working labour force gets less and less when the dependency ratio drops.

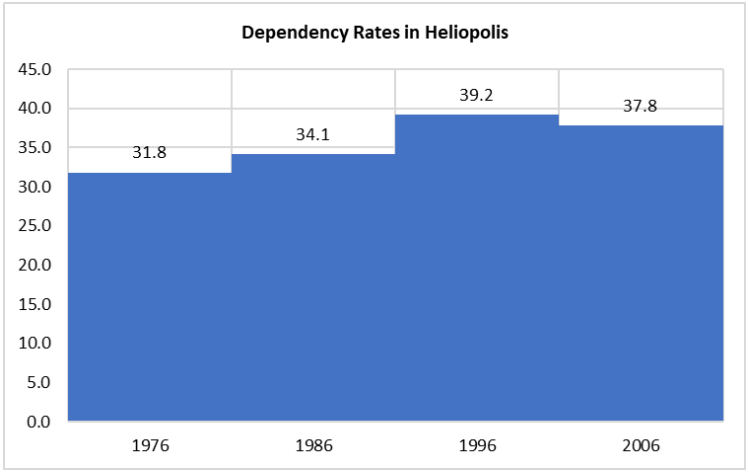


Figure 7-26. Dependency rates in Heliopolis, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented) by the researcher

According to the socio-cultural analysis, the possibilities of gentrification to take place are getting higher. This confirms the research methodology that states that gentrification is taking place in the case studies in a different way. The low unemployment rates, high percentage of dependency, higher percentage of divorce, professional classification with high demand towards services and other segmented professions, and the presence of more educated professional inhabitants have all paved the way for gentrification to occur in Heliopolis.

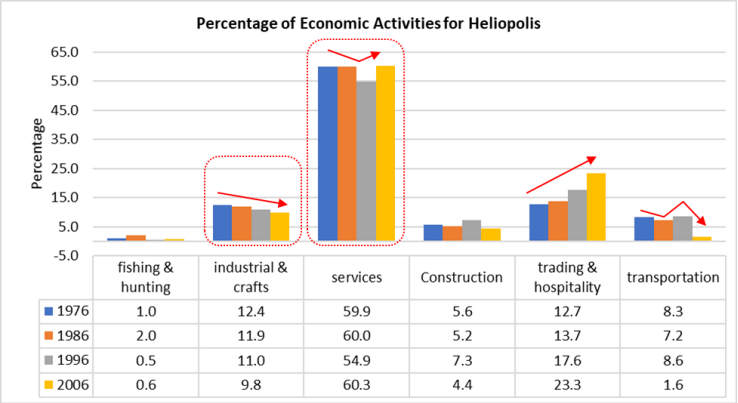
7.3.6 Economic Analysis

The importance of economic analysis stems from the relationship between the gentrification process and the economy of any district. Accordingly, the analysis in this part will focus on the analysis of the economic activities of the labourers, working sectors (i.e. public and private sectors), and the participation of women in economic activities to understand the economic composition of Heliopolis and investigate that feasibility of the economic environment to attract investments. This will be presented using different figures to compare the decrease and increase in the different economic items from 1976 to 2006. Accordingly, the labour participating in the different economic activities were classified into six main categories as previously mentioned.

Accordingly, in Heliopolis, the economic activities depend on one main sector – services which dominate the economic activities, followed by trading and hospitality, and industrial and crafts workers. The services' main sector represents around 60% of the economic activities. There is even a gradual stable decline in industrial activities from 12.4% in 1976 to 9.8% in 2006, while trading increased from 12.7%

in 1976 to 23.3% in 2006, and services increased a little bit but showed stability from 59.9% in 1976 to 60.3% in 2006 with a noticeable decline in 1996 as a result of the external debit crises, Gulf War and the 1992 earthquake. There was also a slight decline in the industrial activities which recorded 9.8% in 2006 after 12% in 1976. Moreover, construction activities showed signs of instability from 5.6% in 1976 to 5.2% in 1986 then increased to reach 7.2% in 1996 and dropped again to reach 4.4% in 2006. This indicates/reflects the instability of construction activities due to the supply and demand of the real estate market. Thus, Heliopolis district's leading sector is the services, trading and hospitality sector due to the increase in the number of commercial activities and stores for textile companies. Thus, the community in Elgamalia is a community of services, which may be obvious with the change from residential to commercial, trading and hospitality activities. Thus, the change in income shows the presence of a secondary indicator of gentrification.

The economic activities were compared to the unemployment rates in Heliopolis, showing that unemployment reached its peak when the services stabilized, and trading and hospitality increased, which when witnessed an increase again starting from 1996, unemployment dropped to reach 5.1% in 1996 but increased again with the increase of services to record 8.5% in 2006, as shown in Figure 7-27. The decrease in unemployment rates indicates a leading gentrification indicator in the district.



	fishing & hunting	industrial & crafts	services	Construction	trading & hospitality	transportation
1976	1.0	12.4	59.9	5.6	12.7	8.3
1986	2.0	11.9	60.0	5.2	13.7	7.2
1996	0.5	11.0	54.9	7.3	17.6	8.6
2006	0.6	9.8	60.3	4.4	23.3	1.6

Figure 7-27. Economic activities of labour in Heliopolis with the unemployment rates, from 1976 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Defining the total number of the labour force working in the private and public sectors, according to the different economic policies starting from socialism in the 1950s to the emergence of capitalism in the 1970s, then the consequent waves of privatization from the 1990s until the first decade of the 20th century, ensures that the private sector is taking over the public (governmental) sector, generally in Cairo and particularly in the case studies. If the working sectors were compared with the unemployment rates, they may be an indication of the good manners of the followed policies in the case of the decrease in unemployment in the case study. The working sectors are represented in percentage in a form of chart graphs as a comparison of the previous census of 1986, 1996 and 2006. Therefore, the public workforce in Heliopolis decreased from 43.9% in 1986 to 31.4 % in 2006, giving more opportunities to private national and international investments and real estate to flow and indicating more gentrification occurrence in the district as shown in the figure below.

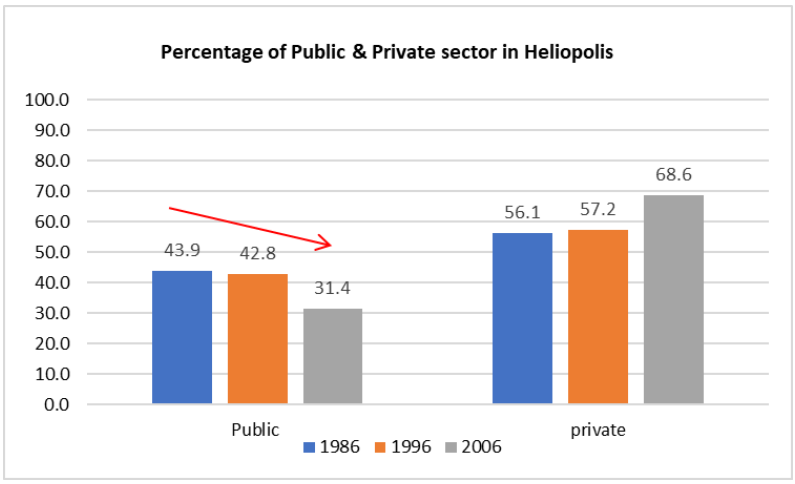


Figure 7-28. Percentage of public and private sector in Heliopolis, from 1986 to 2006
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented?) by the researcher

Since the different policies call for the effective role of women in the economy, and since women are becoming more and more independent due to their participation in the work force in the different economic fields, it has become essential to mention the effective role of women in the community. Thus, the participation of women in the economic activities indicates that gentrifiers are not only men but that there is an equal possibility for them to be from among women as well, with the general increase in divorce rates, and the free mobility of women, as will be shown in the related figures. This reflects the presence of gentrification in different means because, as women's participation increases, gentrification's opportunities to find an environment to work and take place continues to grow. Accordingly, women's participation increased from 28.1% in 1976 reaching 35.9% in 2006, meaning that women's participation has increased 1.2 times in the previous 40 years. Women participating in economic activities, in Heliopolis, are working mainly in the services sector with 66.1% alone, becoming the only leading activity in the district's economy. Also, women entered the trading and hospitality sectors in the 2000s as in 1976, their percentage reached 6% which increased 1.5 times in 1996, then almost tripled in 2006 reaching 25.5% of the economic activities to become the second leading economic activity in Heliopolis.

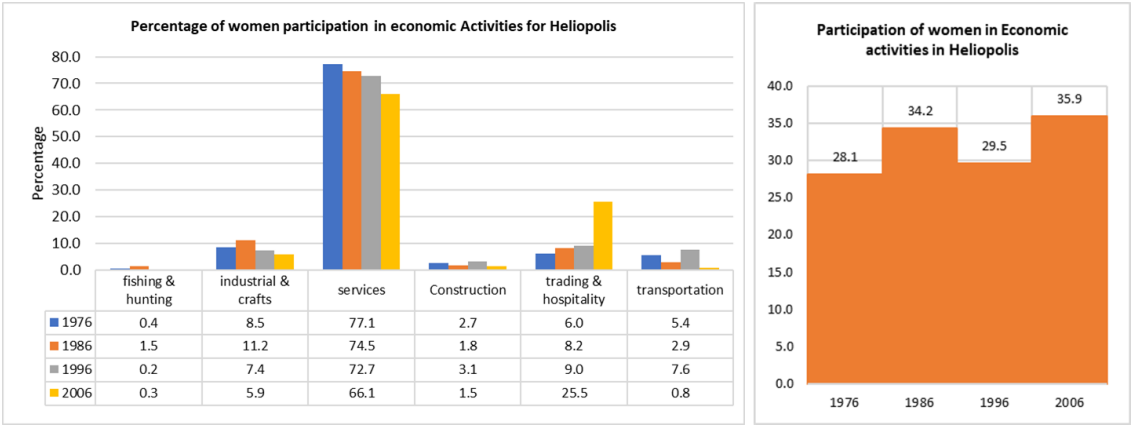


Figure 7-29. The participation of women in economic activities in Heliopolis
Source: CAPMAS; modified and represented (presented) by the researcher

To sum up, the economic analysis indicates that the district had leading and primary gentrification indicators with easy access to jobs, domination of private sectors which are getting more and more dominant, and a less unemployed population which increases the income of the district and increases the participation of women seeking more economic resources to increase the income of their families.

7.3.7 Physical Analysis

The physical analysis will explore the different urban planning layers which formed the case study, determining the density of inhabitants in the district, as well as by exploring the different typologies of the land and buildings' uses (i.e. residential, commercial, industrial, admirative, etc.), building heights, conditions and structural system and materials. Exploring the typology of Heliopolis helps to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to the near-gentrification process. The coming lines will illustrate Heliopolis in more detail with a special reflection of all the previously mentioned tools and methods. So far, the figure below shows the development of the population of the Heliopolis district compared to the clear density of the population (i.e. the district's population divided by the urban area measured in person per feddan). Accordingly, the population declined in 2006 to only 11% of what it was in 1976. Thus, the density also decreased reaching less than the average (i.e. 150 person/feddan – according to the GOPP) as in 2006, the density was 179.8 person/feddan. This has the same conclusion as in the observation which showed that the district is characterized by the stress on the commercial, leisure and entertaining activities, especially in weekends. It is important to mention here that the district is getting more commercialized than it had been before due to the low density and increase in the number of visitors, which will be illustrated in more detail through the land use plans.

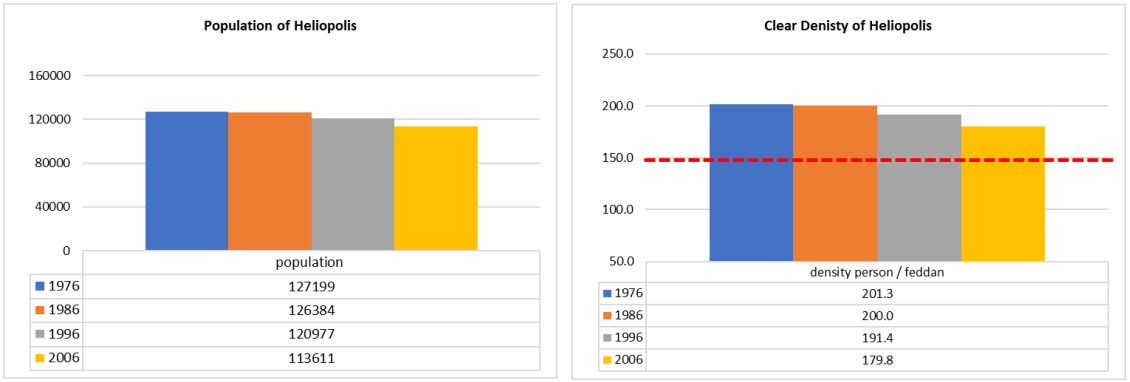


Figure 7-30. Clear density of population to area in Heliopolis

Source: CAPMAS and Cairo webpage; modified and represented (presented) by the researcher

Heliopolis physical analysis used the gentrification indicators (developed by Kennedy and Leonard, 2001) overlapped and added to the urban planning survey typology (i.e. land use, heights, conditions of buildings, etc.) to compare recent studies related to the case studies in order to reflect the different waves of gentrification on the case studies and to present the results of the study population interviews, as will be shown in the figure below. The typology of the Heliopolis district has been explored as exploration helped to understand and expect the locations which may be exposed to the near-gentrification process. Physical analysis, which was done to have an overview of the gentrification process in the case study

area, indicated a total area of 209,122 square meters (50 Fadden) in Elkorba, Heliopolis case study. The Geographic Information System (ARC GIS) was used for analysing the data for land uses, heights, conditions, and building materials of buildings. Accordingly, the land use for the ground floor of Elkorba showed that commercial activities dominate the land use plan with 50.4% of the built-up area that are used for commercial purposes, followed by the residential use with 24.5%. In the third place comes the industrial and crafts use with 7.9% in Elkorba and, as mentioned before, due to the heritage and monumental buildings in Historic city of Cairo, the monumental buildings represented 0.3% of the built area. This is a relatively low percentage due to the use of monumental buildings in different forms such as commercial, administrative, governmental and religious buildings as shown in the introduction to the Heliopolis district. Other uses such as leisure, religion, green areas, administration, education, and medical represented 7.9%, 5.6%, 5.1%, 3%, 1.8%, and 0.8% respectively.

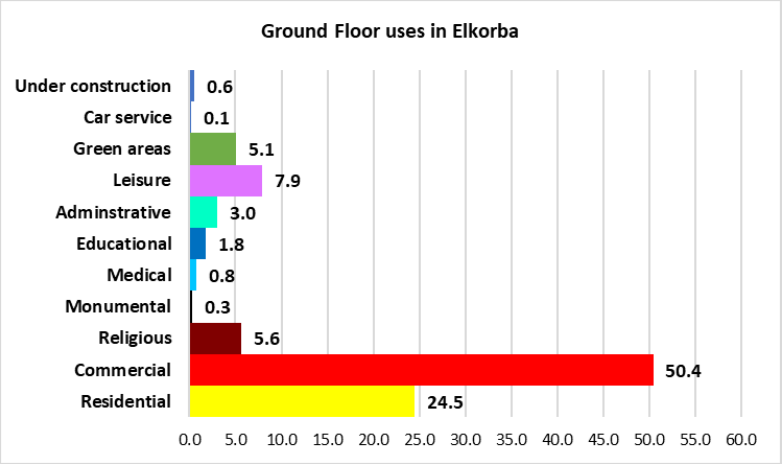
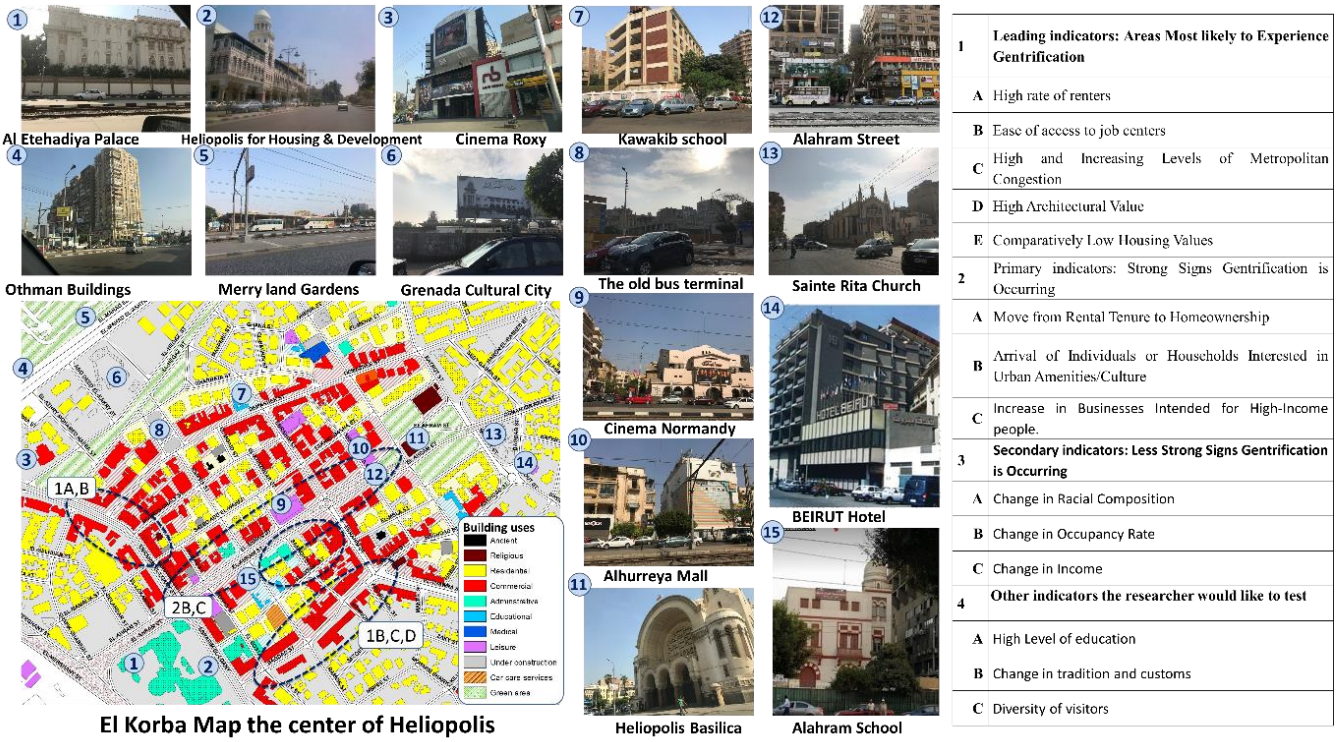


Figure 7-31. Percentage of ground-floor uses in Heliopolis
Source: The researcher relied on survey data made in 2017

The coming figures show the land use plans of the ground floor, buildings' conditions, structural systems and heights, from a survey done in 2017, by examining the gentrification's indicators to the case study which showed that the gentrification process is occurring in Heliopolis significantly. The leading and primary gentrification indicators showed that the area experienced the gentrification process due to the physical situation of the land uses.



1	**Leading indicators: Areas Most likely to Experience Gentrification**
A	High rate of renters
B	Ease of access to job centers
C	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion
D	High Architectural Value
E	Comparatively Low Housing Values
2	Primary indicators: Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring
A	Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership
B	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture
C	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people.
3	**Secondary indicators: Less Strong Signs Gentrification is Occurring**
A	Change in Racial Composition
B	Change in Occupancy Rate
C	Change in Income
4	**Other indicators the researcher would like to test**
A	High Level of education
B	Change in tradition and customs
C	Diversity of visitors

Figure 7-32. Ground-floor land use of buildings in the case study, ElKorba District, with landmark photos and gentrification indicators

Source: Survey done by the researcher in 2017, based on CAPMAS data and adapted by the researcher using GIS

Figure 7-33. (A) Conditions of buildings map, and (B) buildings' heights map
Source: Survey done by the researcher in 2017, based on CAPMAS data and adapted by the researcher using GIS

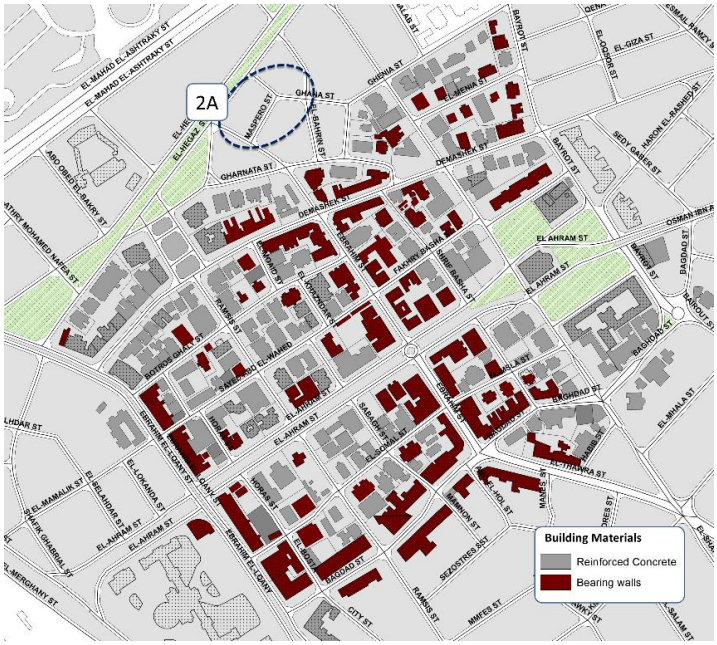


Figure 7-34: Building a structural system map
Source: Survey done by the researcher in 2017, based on CAPMAS data and adapted by the researcher using GIS

Most of the buildings' heights in Heliopolis range between three to five floors, with 49.2%, then the buildings with one to two floors represent 31.8%. This is, more or less, the average height for the monumental and historical buildings which is a positive indicator of somehow respecting the monumental buildings. However, the existence of the averagely high buildings between six to eight floors represent 13.2% and the buildings from nine to thirteen floors represent 5.8% which together represented 19% of the buildings. This means that, for every 100 buildings, there will be 19 buildings blocking the view of the monumental buildings which is considered an essential problematic issue urban wise.

So far, due to the historical buildings that exist in Historic Cairo, 38% of the buildings were built from brick and stones used for bearing the walls' structural system. On the other hand, recent buildings are built with reinforced concrete of the skeleton structure system which allows more opportunities to have longer buildings and represent 62% of the buildings. This kind of structure contributed and helped to block the vision with sometimes undefined proportions of buildings that lack the basic architectural aesthetics, though no other structural system types were noticed in Elkorba. This may be a result of the higher attention given to the district and the higher income which the population of Heliopolis enjoys. Accordingly, most of the monumental buildings were in good condition due to the conservation projects and repetitive work of the NGOs in the district to conserve the history of Heliopolis considering the mixed land uses that stress on the district in general and on the monumental buildings in particular. In Heliopolis, 91.8% of the buildings are in good condition which is a relatively high percentage, 7.2% in medium condition and 1.1% are in bad condition that requires urgent renovation and development.

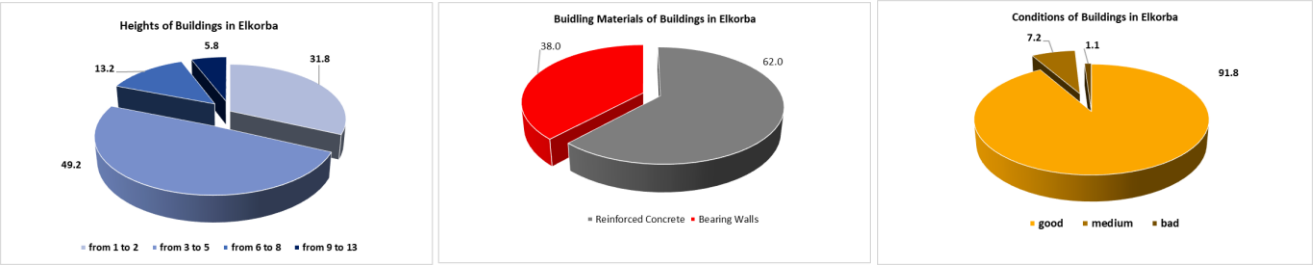


Figure 7-35. Heights, percentage of heights, building materials and conditions of buildings in Elkorba
Source: The researcher relied on survey data made in 2017

The satellite images by Google Earth compare two different periods of urban transformation in Heliopolis showing the constructing of new buildings and the demolition of others adding to that the loss of green areas due to the current urban regeneration projects. Accordingly, gentrification is developing in Heliopolis in general and in Elkorba district in particular, as shown below. The examination of gentrification indicators' outcomes answered some doubts about whether Heliopolis is exposed to gentrification or not, as shown above. Concerning leading indicators, the analysis' result was 'yes' to all leading indicators except for the indicator of the 'Comparatively Low Housing Value' because Heliopolis is witnessing a shift nowadays as most of the buildings have either been renewed or demolished and new building have replaced the old ones as a result of some revitalization and regeneration projects that are taking place. Thus, there is no clear evidence for low housing value in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, Heliopolis is highly exposed to the gentrification process as this area enjoys very high architectural values that go back to the beginning of the 20th century represented in the unique architectural style and monumental buildings.

On the one hand, the neighbourhood has a comparatively high rate of renters, especially on the ground floor land use due to the commercial activity nature which requires many facilities such as storage areas, show rooms and stores. So far, the area is considered a vital and essential place to job centres as it is located in one of the new nuclei of the eastern part of Cairo. On the other hand, concerning primary indicators, the analysis' result was also 'yes' to all indicators. As mentioned before, the city is a visiting attraction for many Egyptian visitors, and households tend to change the use of their buildings to urban amenities, such as hotels, restaurants, clothes and coffee shops, to facilitate and attract visitors. Concerning the secondary indicators, the analysis' result was 'yes' for both the change in the occupancy rates and change in income, and also a 'yes' to the change in racial composition due to a relatively significant number of old residents with Greek, Armenian, Italian and recently Syrian backgrounds as well as migrants from many Egyptian villages. Altogether, they have different cultures, traditions and habits.

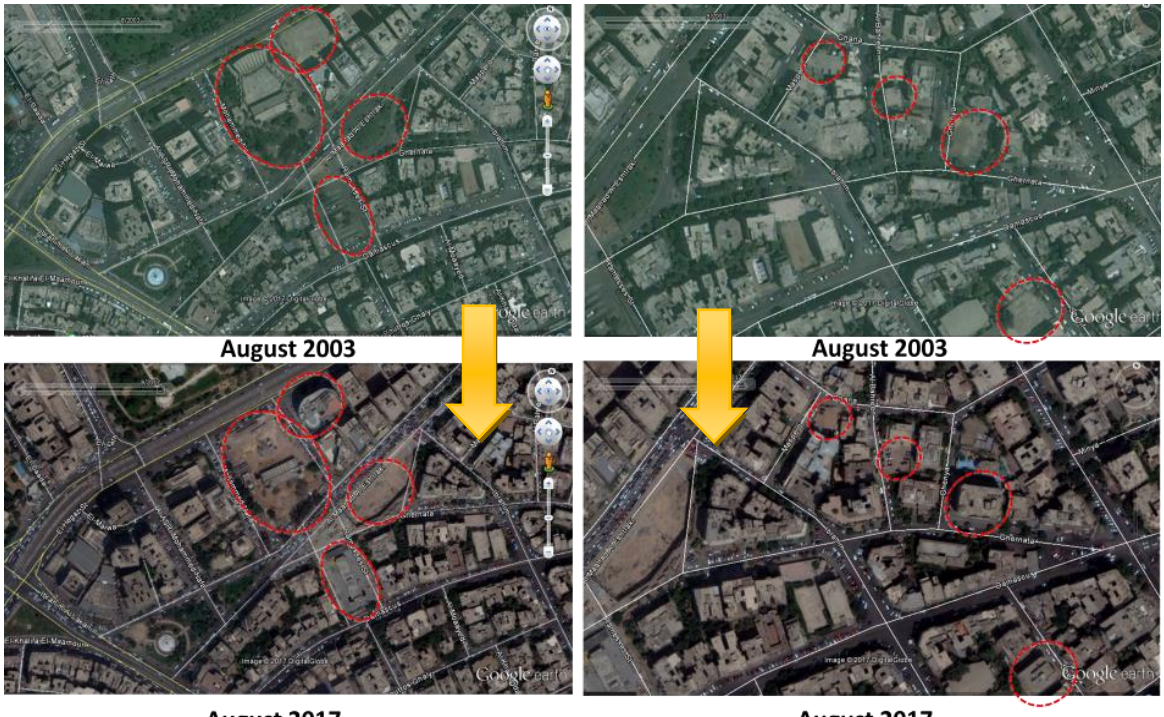


Figure 7-36. Urban transformation for buildings which have been demolished or newly built on vacant lands
Source: Google Earth maps, historical imagery, and satellite images in May 2003 and January 2018

Figure 7-37. Urban transformation for buildings by vertical intensification and landscape changes
Source: Google Earth maps, historical imaginary, satellite images in May 2003 and January 2018

According to the map analysis and examination of gentrification indicators used in the case study of Heliopolis in Cairo, it was found that Heliopolis is highly exposed to the gentrification process, especially with recent activities and actions the area may face after the urban regeneration and

revitalization projects which took place in the last 10 years. This indicates a high architectural value in buildings, comparatively low housing value next to monumental buildings, with different incomes, the presence of people interested in urban amenities, easy access to jobs, and increasing levels of metropolitan congestions.

7.4. Conclusion

To sum up, Heliopolis' population increased from 127,199 inhabitants to 141,565 inhabitants in the same period, recording a 10% increase in population. Thus, there is a need for housing more than the need for other uses as will be clarified in the economic analysis. This indicates that Heliopolis has more need for residential uses more than Elgamalia as well as more families than it previously had as the average family members decreased from 4.3 in 1976 to 3.1 in 2017 in Heliopolis.

While analysing the housing circumstances, gentrification became more and more obvious. Moreover, occupancy rates and the housing types of each case study indicate the level of housing and the number of persons per apartment. The number of buildings according to Egyptian ownership shows that there is an increase in the number of buildings owned by Egyptians in both case studies from 1986 until 2006, which did not affect the occupancy rate. On the contrary, the occupancy rate dropped from 1.1 to 0.83 person per room in Heliopolis. This was accompanied by a general decrease in the number of units built per year in Cairo with an expectation to increase again due to the waves of re-urbanization in the last two decades.

So far, Heliopolis, attracts more international investments due to the opening of many international financial headquarters, international restaurants and coffee shops. The number of buildings owned by Arab nationals increased by almost 40%, from 65 to 103 buildings, and doubled for other nationalities from 41 to 80 buildings in the same period. In other words, gentrification in Heliopolis is led by international gentrifiers.

Since 1976, residents have tended to own their apartments instead of renting them as, in both case studies, there is a tendency to own more than to rent, which is considered a primary indicator for gentrification (i.e. Move from Rental Tenure to Homeownership). In Heliopolis, the owned apartments increased rapidly from 10% to 43%, which indicates a rapid change in the neighbourhood, but still, the high percentage of rented apartments shows that gentrification takes place. Thus, displacement takes place much faster in Heliopolis than in Elgamalia case study. In this case, it is worth mentioning that one of the leading indicators of gentrification is the high rates of renters (see Kennedy and Leonard, 2001) which clearly exists in both cases.

So far, the number of residential units increased from 24,445 to 34,766 and decreased slightly, in the last two decades, to 33,886 units in Heliopolis. The housing types in Heliopolis are categorized into houses, villas and apartment houses where the percentage of apartment houses increased with a steady loss in villas every five years – around 1-2% are demolished and converted into apartment houses. Thus, the real estate and contracting businesses flourish where the 12% increase in apartment houses is faced by a 3% decrease in villas and a 9% decrease in houses, which means that for every 1% of a turned-down villa,

there is a 1% of newly built apartment houses. In the numbers of housing types, for each turned-down villa or house, a 1.6 apartment house is built.

During interviews, the interviewees seemed to be open and welcoming in Heliopolis more than in Elgamalia case study, maybe due to the openness and exposure of the neighbourhood to visitors and residents who belong to different backgrounds. The answers of residents to questions related to buildings which have architectural values and had been sabotaged were sometimes worried and panicked. They seemed conservative towards some social behaviours of visitors who tend to misuse the calm environment that Heliopolis used to enjoy which nowadays has changed into a noisy and harsh environment that could sometimes show signs of vulgarity. As an indicator for the change in cultural identity and habits in Heliopolis, what was mentioned by one of the interviewees, who is a local resident and expert in architecture (2017), is that 'Heliopolis has witnessed a wave of ruralization due to the migration of inhabitants from Delta villages to Cairo in general and Heliopolis in particular, which has changed the traditions and daily life of what I used to see in my street, adding to that the new inhabitants who arrived to Heliopolis during the last two decades.'

In Heliopolis, there is a noticeable increase in the percentage of residents with university degrees as they increased from 18.1% in 1976 to almost 49% in 2006, which means that they are 2.7 times more than they were in 1976. Also, the rate/percentage of illiterates dropped from 14.8% to only 6.3% during the same period, while the percentage of residents who have only elementary education has diminished/almost disappeared from 12.7% in 1976 to only 0.3% in 2006. Generally, the residents of Heliopolis are becoming more educated than before, and they are more educated in general than in Elgamalia.

In Heliopolis, the leading activities are services which only represent more than 55% of the economic activities alone in the last four decades with a noticeable increase in trading and hospitality activities which increased from 13% in 1976 to reach 23% in 2006. There was also a slight decrease in the industrial activities which dropped to 9.8% in 2006 from 12% in 1976. Thus, the community in Heliopolis is a community of services, which may be obvious in the change from residential to commercial, leisure and administrative activities. Therefore, the change in income shows the presence of the secondary indicator of gentrification.

The distribution of professions in Heliopolis indicates the need for professions according to the mentioned activities. Even in Heliopolis, the need for legislators, seniors, and professional technicians is more obvious as it increased/went up from 36% in 1976 to reach 57% in 2006, accompanied by a slight increase in the services professions and the number of construction workers. Therefore, the public workforce in Elgamalia decreased from 29% in 1986 to 22% in 2006, and in Heliopolis from 44% to 31% within the same period, giving more opportunities to private national and international investments and real estate to flow.

Exploring the typology of both cases, it has been found that the land use for the ground floor of Elkorba district represents 50.4% of the commercial purposes, followed by the residential use with 24.5%. In the third place, leisure activities and entertainment uses represent 7.9% in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the survey showed that the heights of buildings in Elkorba are more than those in Historic Cairo. Buildings ranging between nine to thirteen floors represent 5.8% of the buildings, while the percentage of buildings between one to two floors is 49.2%. The buildings' structural systems ranged between those with concrete skeleton, bearing walls, and light structured as 62% of the buildings are built with reinforced concrete in Elkorba. Bearing walls represent 38% in Elkorba. This is due to the historical background of Heliopolis where the common building systems which allow more formation and ornaments are using bearing walls regardless of the time while the modern structure tends to use concrete skeletons. Meanwhile, more focus and importance have been given to Heliopolis because the medium conditions of buildings have only reached 7.2% in Elkorba. Even more, buildings that are partly destroyed or in bad condition, which represent 0.5%, can be found in Elkorba which is not the case.

Table 7-3. The distribution of ground-floor land uses in Heliopolis
Source: Determined by the researcher

Elgamalia	**%**
Commercial land use	50.4%
Residential land use	24.5%
Leisure and entertainment uses	7.9%

Table 7-4. The gentrifiers' types and activities, and gentrification type in Heliopolis
Source: Determined by the researcher

	Elgamalia
Gentrifiers' type	Young families, financifiers, and investors interested in financial (missing word)
Activities	Administrative, leisure and entertaining activities
Gentrification	Financial and residential gentrification

8. Discussion, and final remarks

The research concluded that, AGREED, the two case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis are highly exposed to gentrification process. While Heliopolis recorded more exposition to gentrification process with 183 out of 224 than Elgamalia which recorded 175 out of 224 on the scale of the GIsL. AGREED, according to the research tools and methods, it is concluded that the decision makers do not have the tool nor the approach to deal with gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. Therefore, the research presented this tool (GIsL) to measure the neighbourhood exposition to gentrification process. That approach clarified the conflicts between different aspects in a clear manner to guide the decision makers take proper decisions regarding gentrification issues in Egypt. AGREED, the research assumptions towards the two added geographies of gentrification process took place in both case studies. Even Heliopolis witnessed more activities of the real estate/contracting geography than Elgamalia. While Elgamalia witnessed more actions of historical/cultural tourism geography than Heliopolis. This is due to the more authentic background and less availability of vacant land parcels for real estate development and contracting activities Elgamalia enjoys. On the contrary, Heliopolis has more availability of vacant land parcels and shorter historical background. The new geographies proved to be more relevant to the Egyptian old districts' context, regarding the historic sites in the old districts of Cairo.

Moreover, AGREED, the research identified the main beneficiaries of the gentrification process in the case studies. The main gentrifiers in Elgamalia were; Merchants, restaurants and café owners, and traders, while in Heliopolis they were the young families, investors interested in financial activities (financifiers). So, the research helped to face the problem that gentrification caused and assisted in taking smart decisions in gentrified urban neighbourhoods. The tool presented (GIsL) gives the opportunity to examine more case studies using the same theoretical methodology and methods. Therefore, to know the level of exposition of those cases must introduce smart solutions to gentrified neighbourhoods. There was evidence which economic benefits took over many physical and architectural appearances regardless of the socio-cultural aspects, e.g. historical monuments with high architecture value and quality, restaurants and cafes, commercial land use and residential uses to other different uses stores, restaurants and administrative.

The different gentrification aspects were identified and concluded in the GIsL. Since, gentrification most significant negative consequences appear on the social level; such as social network destruction and displacement. Thus, the social aspect represented the most significant number of indicators; the most relevant and important aspect, with fourteen different indicators. Followed by the urban physical appearance aspect; as it represents the main concern of the research; with twelve different indicators. Both, the social and the urban appearances represented the Leading Gentrification Indicators (LGIs) in the list. Consequently, the LGIs followed by the Primary Gentrification Indicators (PGIs) with economic and political aspects of the gentrification process. The economic aspect had nine primary indicators while the political aspect had eight indicators. Both aspects are between the leading and the secondary gentrification indicators which reflects the importance of political and economic indicators as a mediator.

As a mediator, it balances between social and urban aspects on one hand, and the architectural and cultural aspects on the other hand. Hence, the Secondary Gentrification Indicators (SGIs) had the architectural aspect with seven indicators and the cultural aspect with six indicators. Thus, the GIsL covered all the aspects in the gentrified urban neighbourhoods.

DISAGREED, the research did not observe any evidence for degentrification process, but the neighbouring districts may witness degentrification if they are less developed than the gentrified neighbourhoods. The displaced population will try to relocate to the nearby areas to keep their social and economic networks concerning their families, friends and job locations.

Social aspects of gentrification

Regarding the social aspect; AGREED, the case studies indicated a leading tendency to better living conditions since 1976 till 2006; with an increased number of educated people, and improved quality of life. The existence of high percentage of young people whose age are between 20 and 40 years old, the tendency to decrease the family size (1 or 2 children) and decreased unemployment rates lead having an ideal gentrified neighbourhood. BUT, the existence of religious minorities in Elgamalia is neglectable, but it is noticeable in Heliopolis due to the presence of Christian foreign population (angelical, Protestant, and Catholic) and Egyptian Christian Copts.

Urban Appearances of gentrification

While talking about urban appearances; AGREED, the case studies have an increasing percentage of ownership, since 1976, residents tend to own their apartments instead of renting them. In both case studies, there is a tendency to hold more than to rent. Even though, in Elgamalia the rented apartments are triple the owned apartments which is normal by old and historic neighbourhoods due to the initial rent contracts which is slightly changing recently, which goes much slower than in Heliopolis. Thus, displacement takes place much faster in Heliopolis more than Elgamalia case study. The existence of low housing values next to high housing values was more evident in Elgamalia than Heliopolis because Heliopolis district is younger than Elgamalia. Also, the upper and increasing levels of metropolitan congestion which produce more stress on the infrastructure were significant. BUT the effect of improved urban life, transportation network and infrastructure were less consistent indicators, especially in Elgamalia.

Economic aspects of gentrification

Economically, AGREED, the case studies indicated easy access to job centres, especially in Elgamalia where people tend to live and work in the same district. The high concentration of commercial and leisure activities in both communities indicating more dominance to the private sector over the public one. BUT, the ability to accommodate different waves of investment (investment, reinvestment and disinvestment) was more significant in Heliopolis than Elgamalia. Also, the decreasing amount of unemployed people and increasing participation of women in labour market showed a neutral effect in Elgamalia while in Heliopolis showed more significant effect. Accordingly, the same happened with the

economic response to prices change in the real estate market, Elgamalia showed less response to prices changes than Heliopolis. This indicates that real estate market is more flexible in Heliopolis than Elgamalia, which can adapt itself more to economic changes. Generally, the high percentage of rented apartments are converted to other use than residential. Thus, in Heliopolis for example, the real estate and contracting businesses flourish, by which the 12 % increase in apartment houses are faced by 3 % decrease in villas and 9 % decrease in houses, which means every 1 % of turned down villas faced by 1 % newly built apartment houses. Therefore, in numbers of housing types each turned down villa or house a 1.6 apartment house is built.

Political aspects of gentrification

On the political aspect, AGREED, the high the possibility to compete in the global market the high the district became exposed to gentrification process. This calls for stricter regulations and rules towards the undesired changes in the housing market. Thus, to protect the middle-class population from falling into the trap of limited economic resources to afford the increasing rent prices and property values. AGREED, the mask of governmental projects of renovation, regeneration, upgrading, renewal and rehabilitation hides and gives more chances to gentrification to take place. Even if the primary objectives of those projects are to fight social problems, like poverty, crime and unemployment, carrying with it gentrification. This gentrification is planned and presented in strategic plans intended to control and reorganize the historical and high-density land use areas. BUT, with limited and sometimes rare opportunities for public participation in decision making and public-private partnerships, districts will face a real danger of gentrification negative consequences, especially with the increased political importance of the district.

Cultural aspects of gentrification

Cultural wise, AGREED, the existence of tangible and intangible cultural heritage indicated an apparent tendency to gentrification Secondary Gentrification indicators (SGIs) to take place. As the population is diverse type more tolerant to deal with foreigners, as the district will attract the more diverse type of visitors, therefore more projects intended for different tastes and more competitiveness. DISAGREED, there was no any significant changes in traditions and customs in both districts.

Architecture aspects of gentrification

Lastly, the architecture aspect, AGREED, buildings with high architectural values have more opportunities to witness tourism, which attract different investors to invest their money in a nearby location. The tendency to establish conservation projects on historical buildings showed a clear tendency to host gentrification process. This issue must be accompanied by the high percentage of well-conditioned buildings and relatively high buildings that can overlook the historical scenes. Moreover, the survey showed that the buildings in Elkorba are higher than in Historic Cairo. Such difference in height range is due to the broader scope of streets in Elkorba more than in Historic Cairo, which allowed more height allowance. While the percentage of buildings between one and two floors are almost the same in both case studies, 50.8 % and 49.2 %. Due to the historical background of both cases; the common

building systems which allow more formation and ornaments is using bearing walls, on the contrary, the modern structure tend to use concrete skeletons. Meanwhile, more focus and importance have been given to Heliopolis because the medium conditions of buildings reached 43.4 % in Historic Cairo while only 7.2 % in Elkorba. Even more, partly destroyed and lousy condition buildings can be found in Historic Cairo with 6.9 % and while in Elkorba this is not the case recording only 0.5 %.

Results of interviews

By interviewing, the interviewees seemed to be open and welcoming in Heliopolis more than in Elgamalia case study, due to the openness and exposure of the neighbourhood to visitors and residents who belong to different backgrounds. The reply of residents to questions; related to buildings which have architecture values and had been sabotaged, was worried and panicky sometimes. The residents are conservative towards some social behaviour of visitors; who tend to misuse the calm environment that Heliopolis used to have. Nowadays the district changed to noisy, harshness and sometimes vulgarity. Generally, the residents of Heliopolis are becoming more educated than before, and they are more educated in general than in Elgamalia. According to some interviews with the decision makers, the research concluded that they are not familiar with the term “gentrification”. Thus, the unfamiliarity with the notion indicates the size of the problem. Therefore, no clue to deal with gentrification n scientific and theoretical bases. This point is the main point at which the research is cantered.

Final Conclusions

The research is not pro or against gentrification rather than trying to legitimate a process which may cause urban planning disasters in case of lacking a comprehensive methodology. To sum up, both case studies are highly exposed to gentrification process; even that gentrification is processing much faster in Heliopolis than Elgamalia. And the following tables show the distribution of ground floor land uses. And the types of gentrifiers, main activities and type of gentrification each case witnesses. Accordingly, the Elgamalia neighbourhood leading sector is the trading and hospitality then comes the services, this is due to the increased number of commercial activities and stores for textile companies.

Table 8-1: the distribution of ground floor land uses in Elgamalia and Heliopolis case studies.

Source: Determined by the researcher.

Elgamalia	**Heliopolis**
56.6 % for commercial purposes	50.4 % for commercial purposes.
13.4 % residential use	24.5 % residential use
10.5 % industrial and crafts use	7.9 % leisure & entertainment uses

Table 8-2: the gentrifiers types, activities and gentrification type in Elgamalia and Heliopolis case studies.
Source: Determined by the researcher.

	Elgamalia	**Heliopolis**
Gentrifier type	Merchants, restaurants and café owners, and traders	Young families, & financifiers, Investors interested in financial,
Activities	Cultural Tourism and trading activities,	Administrative, leisure & entertaining activities
Gentrification type	**Commercial gentrification**	**Financial & residential gentrification**

The research developed the gentrification indicators list and applied it to Elgamalia. The degrees of exposition to gentrification are categorized to four main categories: high, medium, undergoing and low exposition to gentrification process. Each group was given a specific grade, high is represented by four, the medium is represented by three, undergoing is represented by 2, and low is represented by 1, each has been illustrated in a matrix excel sheet to calculate the overall grade of each case study. Thus, finds out the degree and level of exposition of any case study to gentrification process. As shown below in table 8-3, 8-4, 8-5 and 8-6, the scale of gentrification exposition, and the examination of the gentrification list developed by the researcher for Elgamalia and Heliopolis. Which accordingly showed that both cases are highly exposed to gentrification processes. Even that, Heliopolis showed it is more exposed to gentrification with 183 points more than Elgamalia which scored 175 points, as shown in table 8-3.

Table 8-3: the level of exposition to the gentrification of both case studies of Elgamalia and Heliopolis.
Source: Determined by the researcher.

level of exposition to gentrification for the case studies	Points
Elgamalia	175
Heliopolis	183

Table 8-4: the scale of gentrification exposition; high, medium, ongoing and low exposition to gentrification processes.
Source: Determined by the researcher.

Scale to the level of exposition to gentrification process	Points
High exposition to gentrification	from 169 to 224
Medium exposition to gentrification	from 113 to 168
Undergoing gentrification	from 57 to 112
Low exposition to gentrification	from 1 to 56

Final Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL)

Finally, the research concluded the final list of gentrification indicators which can be illustrated in the following table, table 14 which shows the concluded indicators from previous experiences, Kennedy and Leonard, 2001 indicators and the research contributed indicators according to the applied research in the comparative case studies of Heliopolis and Elgamalia. Then table 15 and 16 will summarize the analysis and examination of gentrification indicators list on Elgamalia and Heliopolis.

Table 8-5: final Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL)

Source: Determined by the researcher.

Leading Gentrification Indicators - LGIs	social	population, marital status, density, ages, religion, family size. Education, etc.	
	1	more availability for social mix to occur	previous experiences
	2	more chances for displacement	previous experiences
	3	improved housing conditions	previous experiences
	4	increasing percentage of educated people	previous experiences
	5	improved quality of life	previous experiences
	6	increasingly percentage of professionals	previous experiences
	7	high percentage of young people (gentrifiers) from 20 to 40 years	previous experiences
	8	decreasing percentage of overcrowdness rate	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	9	existense of religious minorities (Catholic, angelican, etc.)	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	10	decreasing family size	Researcher
	11	increasingly time spent on entertainment	Researcher
	12	decreasing unemployment rates	Researcher
	13	increasingly percentage of unmarried inhbitants	Researcher
	14	concentrated population specially near urban facilities	Researcher
	urban	urban amenities, home ownership, housing values, renetrs, landuse	
	1	coexistence of brownfields	previous experiences
	2	more opportunities to accommodate gastronomic activities	previous experiences
	3	witnessed deindustrialization	previous experiences
	4	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	5	increasing percentage of Home ownership	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	6	Low Housing Values next to high housing values	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	7	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	8	High rate of renters	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	9	increase percentage of unresidential landuse	Researcher
	10	improved network of transportation	Researcher
	11	improved urban life	Researcher
	12	improved infrastructure	Researcher
Gentrification Indicators	economic	activities, income, private sector, acces to job centers	
	1	less unemployed population	previous experiences
	2	increase in women participation in labor	previous experiences

	3	high response to prices change in the real estate market	previous experiences
	4	ability to accommodate investment dynamics and changes (investment, reinvestment & disinvestment)	previous experiences
	5	Ease of access to job centers	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	6	increase in income	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	7	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	8	high percentage of commercial and leisure activities	Researcher
	9	increasing private sector domination	Researcher
	political	political decisions, projects,	
	1	possibility of competitiveness in global market	previous experiences
	2	Strictness of regulations and rules towards change in housing market	previous experiences
	3	presence of public participation in decision making	previous experiences
	4	presence of public private partnerships	previous experiences
	5	increasing political importance of the district	Researcher
	6	governmental projects, renovation, development, regeneration, rehabilitation, etc.	Researcher
	7	fighting social problems poverty, increased crime rates, unemploymemt, etc.	Researcher
	8	strategic plans intended to historical and high density areas	Researcher
Secondary Gentrification Indicators - SGIs	cultural	traditions, tolerance, diversity, etc.	
	1	existence of tangible cultural heritage	previous experiences
	2	change in traditions and customs	Researcher
	3	existence of intangible cultural heritage	Researcher
	4	increasing tolerance towards others	Researcher
	5	diversity of visitors (age, religion, nationality, etc)	Researcher
	6	high skilled workers	Researcher
	architecture	buildings' conditions, heights, structure system and materials.	
	1	hard need to conservation projects	previous experiences
	2	more opportunitites to witness tourism	previous experiences
	3	High Architectural Value buildings	Kennedy & Leonard, 2001
	4	high percentage of good conditions buildings	Researcher
	5	high percentage of skeleton buildings	Researcher
	6	high percentage of relatively high buildings	Researcher
	7	intended conservation projects	Researcher

Application of the Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL) on Elgamalia

Table 8-6: The following table summarizes the analysis and examination of the final gentrification indicators list on Elgamalia.
Source: Determined by the researcher.

	Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL) examination on Elgamalia district		low	ongoing	medium	high
Leading Gentrification Indicators - LGIs	social	population, marital status, density, ages, religion, family size. Education, etc.	1	2	3	4
	1	more availability for the social mix to occur		2		
	2	more chances for displacement			3	
	3	improved housing conditions				4
	4	increasing percentage of educated people				4
	5	improved quality of life				4
	6	increasingly percentage of professionals			3	
	7	high percentage of young people (gentrifiers) from 20 to 40 years				4
	8	decreasing percentage of overcrowdings rate			3	
	9	existence of religious minorities (Catholic, angelical, etc.)	1			
	10	decreasing family size				4
	11	increasingly time spent on entertainment		2		
	12	decreasing unemployment rates				4
	13	increasingly percentage of unmarried inhabitants			3	
	14	concentrated population especially near urban facilities			3	
	urban	urban amenities, home ownership, housing values, renters, land use				
	1	coexistence of brownfields			3	
	2	more opportunities to accommodate gastronomic activities		2		
	3	witnessed deindustrialization			3	
	4	The arrival of individuals or households interested in urban amenities/culture			3	
	5	increasing percentage of home ownership				4
	6	Low housing values next to high housing values				4
	7	High and increasing levels of metropolitan congestion				4
	8	The high rate of renters			3	
	9	The increase percentage of un-residential land use			3	
	10	The improved network of transportation		2		
	11	The improved urban life			3	
	12	The improved infrastructure		2		
Gentrification	economic	activities, income, the private sector, access to job centers				
	1	less unemployed population		2		
	2	increase in women participation in labor		2		
	3	high response to prices change in the real estate market		2		

	4	ability to accommodate investment waves (investment, reinvestment & disinvestment)		2		
	5	Ease of access to job centers				4
	6	increase in income			3	
	7	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people		2		
	8	high percentage of commercial and leisure activities				4
	9	increasing private sector domination			3	
	political	political decisions, projects,				
	1	possibility of competitiveness in global market			3	
	2	Strictness of regulations and rules towards change in housing market			3	
	3	presence of public participation in decision making		2		
	4	presence of public private partnerships		2		
	5	increasing political importance of the district		2		
	6	governmental projects, renovation, development, regeneration, rehabilitation, etc.				4
	7	fighting social problems poverty, increased crime rates, unemployment, etc.				4
	8	strategic plans intended to historical and high-density areas			3	
Secondary Gentrification Indicators - SGIs	cultural	traditions, tolerance, diversity, etc.				
	1	existence of tangible cultural heritage				4
	2	change in traditions and customs	1			
	3	existence of intangible cultural heritage			3	
	4	increasing tolerance towards others			3	
	5	diversity of visitors (age, religion, nationality, etc)		2		
	6	high skilled workers		2		
	architecture	buildings' conditions, heights, structure system and materials.				
	1	hard need to conservation projects			3	
	2	more opportunities to witness tourism				4
	3	High Architectural Value buildings				4
	4	high percentage of good conditions buildings			3	
	5	high percentage of skeleton buildings		2		
	6	high percentage of relatively high buildings			3	
	7	intended conservation projects				4
		Sub total	3	34	66	72
		total				175

Application of the Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL) on Heliopolis

Table 8-7: The following table summarizes the analysis and examination of the final gentrification indicators list on Heliopolis.

Source: Determined by the researcher.

	Gentrification Indicators List (GIsL) examination on Heliopolis district		low	ongoing	medium	high
Leading Gentrification Indicators - LGIs	social	population, marital status, density, ages, religion, family size. Education, etc.	1	2	3	4
	1	more availability for social mix to occur				4
	2	more chances for displacement		2		
	3	improved housing conditions				4
	4	increasing percentage of educated people				4
	5	improved quality of life				4
	6	increasingly percentage of professionals				4
	7	high percentage of young people (gentrifiers) from 20 to 40 years			3	
	8	decreasing percentage of overcrowdings rate				4
	9	existence of religious minorities (Catholic, angelical, etc.)				4
	10	decreasing family size			3	
	11	increasingly time spent on entertainment				4
	12	decreasing unemployment rates			3	
	13	increasingly percentage of unmarried inhabitants				4
	14	concentrated population specially near urban facilities				4
	urban	urban amenities, homeownership, housing values, renetrs, landuse				
	1	coexistence of brownfields		2		
	2	more opportunities to accommodate gastronomic activities				4
	3	witnessed deindustrialization		2		
	4	Arrival of Individuals or Households Interested in Urban Amenities/Culture				4
	5	increasing percentage of Home ownership				4
	6	Low Housing Values next to high housing values		2		
	7	High and Increasing Levels of Metropolitan Congestion			3	
	8	High rate of renters				4
	9	increase percentage of un-residential land use				4
	10	improved network of transportation			3	
	11	improved urban life				4
	12	improved infrastructure				4
Gentrification Indicators	economic	activities, income, private sector, acces to job centers				
	1	less unemployed population			3	
	2	increase in women participation in labor			3	

	3	high response to prices change in the real estate market			3	
	4	ability to accommodate investment waves (investment, reinvestment & disinvestment)			3	
	5	Ease of access to job centers			3	
	6	increase in income				4
	7	Increase in Businesses Intended for High-Income people				4
	8	high percentage of commercial and leisure activities				4
	9	increasing private sector domination			3	
	political	political decisions, projects,				
	1	possibility of competitiveness in global market		2		
	2	Strictness of regulations and rules towards change in housing market	1			
	3	presence of public participation in decision making		2		
	4	presence of public private partnerships			3	
	5	increasing political importance of the district				4
	6	governmental projects, renovation, development, regeneration, rehabilitation, etc.				4
	7	fighting social problems poverty, increased crime rates, unemployment, etc.		2		
	8	strategic plans intended to historical and high-density areas			3	
Secondary Gentrification Indicators - SGIs	cultural	traditions, tolerance, diversity, etc.				
	1	existence of tangible cultural heritage				4
	2	change in traditions and customs			3	
	3	existence of intangible cultural heritage	1			
	4	increasing tolerance towards others			3	
	5	diversity of visitors (age, religion, nationality, etc)			3	
	6	high skilled workers				4
	architecture	buildings' conditions, heights, structure system and materials.				
	1	hard need to conservation projects		2		
	2	more opportunitites to witness tourism			3	
	3	High Architectural Value buildings				4
	4	high percentage of good conditions buildings				4
	5	high percentage of skeleton buildings			3	
	6	high percentage of relatively high buildings			3	
	7	intended conservation projects				4
		Sub total	2	16	57	108
		total				183

Real estate development and gentrification

Finally, the real estate development affected the gentrification process in Cairo by different means and the figure below shows that Egypt GDP from construction from 2007 till 2017. The figure showed that in 2007 the GDP from construction reached 10.9 billion LE, which kept increasing till the year 2016 which recorded 25 billion LE. Since 2016 and until the second quarter of 2017, the GDP was more than doubled in only one year, this was due to the mega projects that the government started, for example, the new administrative capital in eastern Cairo, and the urbanization process in eastern Cairo, Mostakbal city. This rapid increase witnessed a slowdown in the third quarter of the year 2017, in which the GDP reached 41.4 billion LE.

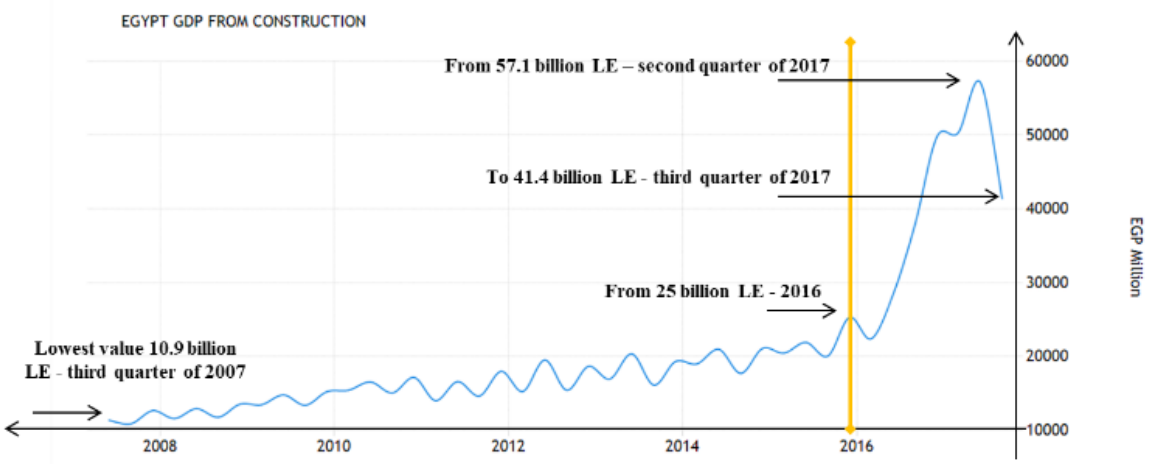


Figure 8-1, Egypt GDP from construction from 2007 till 2017.

Source: Trading economics.com from the Ministry of Planning Egypt

While, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) calculated by the Trading economics.com was measured in Egypt by, the measuring the changes in the prices paid by consumers for a basket of goods and services. This provides the actual values, historical data, forecast, chart, statistics, economic calendar, and news. Thus, the figure below shows that the CPI recorded the peak in 2018 with 258 points, which illustrates the changes in prices during the period from 1968 till 2018.

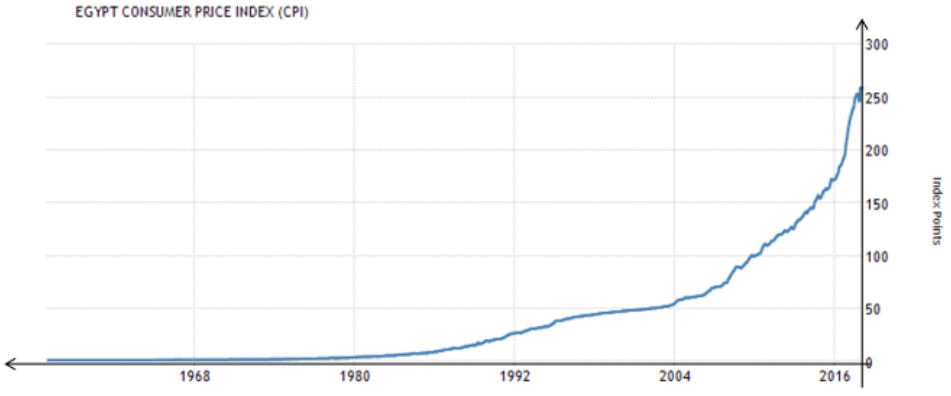


Figure 8-2, Egypt Consumer Price Index (CPI) from 1968 till 2018.
Source: Trading economics.com from CAPMAS

Adding to that the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for housing and utilities, showed that the CPI was stabilized since 2009 till the last quarter of 2011 recorded 100 then it started to increase till it reached 156 points in 2018. This shows the increased demands on housing and utilities during the last 10 years.

Figure 8-3, Consumer price index for housing and utilities for Egypt (CPI) from 2009 till 2018
Source: Trading economics.com CAPMAS

According to the General Authority for Investment and Free Zones, the figure below shows that the number of companies working with real estate development between 2007 and 2016 had been increasing as in 2015 they reached 1833 companies. Then surprisingly it reached 11326 companies in 2016, this also shows the huge importance of real estate development and contracting companies in the housing market.

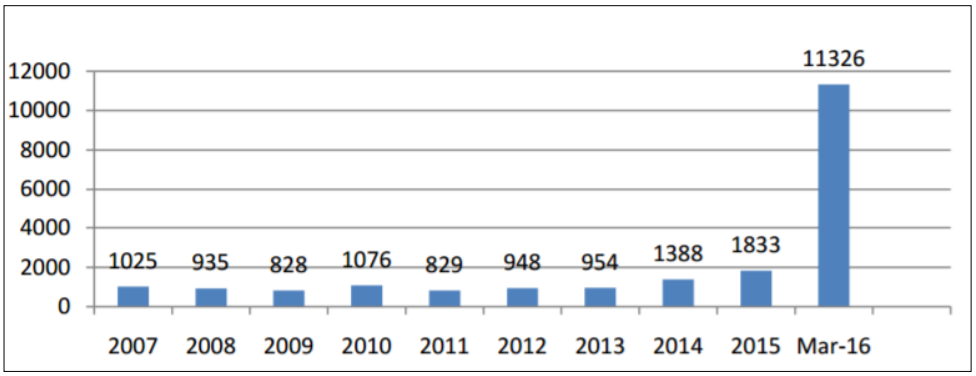


Figure 8-4, number of real estate companies from 2007 till 2016
Source: General Authority for Investment and Free Zones

Thus, the research concluded that Cairo urbanization process had developed during the different waves of gentrification as shows the figure below. With the first wave of urbanization from 1848 till 1952, the city depended on the core with a try to expand to the peripheral zones. While, the period from 1952 till 1973, the core was getting more and more satisfied with its uses and facilities then the periphery zones had become semi-periphery with a new extension to find more periphery zones in the east, north, and south. After that the city witnessed a new era with the new cities established during the period from 1973 till 1999. The notable issue is filling in the gaps between the periphery and the expanded core of Cairo. The aim was trying to find new cores with the theory of multi-nuclei city to decrease the stress on the core which got more and more busy with the different uses. Establishing the ring road and new settlements outside the main city borders worked as new periphery for the main core. Afterwards, between 2000 to

2017 the city functioned as a vast metropolis, and the new settlements worked as new cores self-sufficient and started to have their own periphery zones.

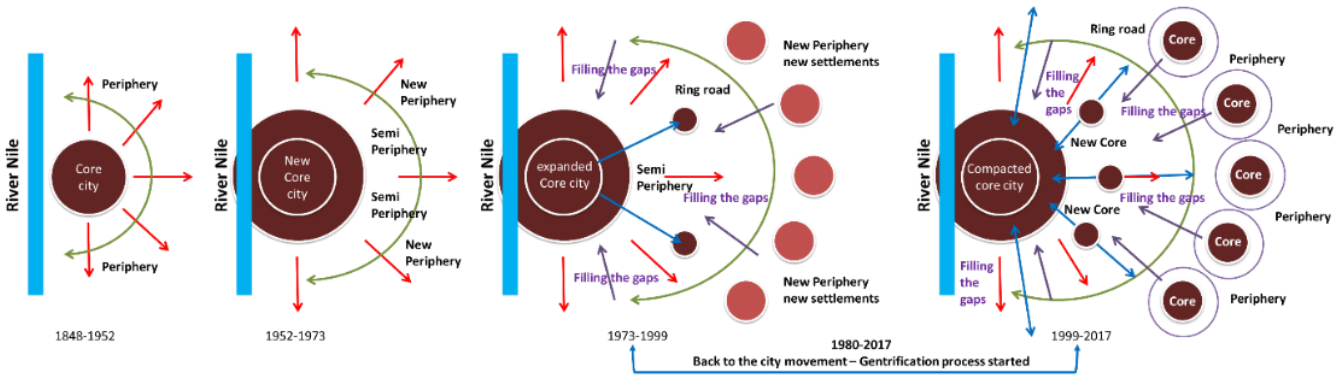


Figure 8-5, the development of urbanization in Cairo during the main waves of gentrification from 1848 till 2017

Source: determined and developed by the researcher.

Gentrification new definition and further research

Thus, gentrification can be defined in the context of Egypt as: "it's a process that pushes economic activities, to benefit both:

1. Stakeholders; newcomers, policymakers, investors; by purchasing renewed properties
2. Mediators

   A) DIRECT job opportunities and increasing their income,

   B) INDIRECT job opportunities, small investors, workers & local contractors.

All this happens secretly (behind the scenes) and hiding under the umbrella of other urban models (regeneration, renewal, rehabilitation, etc.). While the displaced population tends to hide and accommodate with the new urban life, which explains the slowness of gentrification". Gentrification can be managed and controlled for the benefits of the inhabitants by this will overcome its negative consequences and maximize the benefiting of its positive consequences. The two new geographies of gentrification, historical/cultural tourism gentrification and real estate / contracting gentrification will open further research fields & riches the literature of gentrification in the future. Gentrification lacks quality & considering conservation and cultural differences. If gentrification must take place, then it must go hand in hand with conservation to conserve the historical buildings.

Accordingly, the research shows that to achieve the main research objectives, by analysing and investigating how gentrification evolved and changed through time in Elgamalia and Heliopolis. Also, the GIsL introduced produced a comprehensive approach to deal with gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. Moreover, the research identified the main gentrifiers who benefits and facilitated the gentrification process, proposed an approach to measure the level of exposition for gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. Which will help decision makers to predict, manage and control the current and future gentrification locations thus will allow mitigating the negative consequences of the gentrification process.

The research tackled the problem of what Lee (1996) and Lees (2000) argued about the "Geographies of Gentrification". As literature widely described the “Geographies of gentrification”, it did not consider the cultural and social differences between on one hand the core cities (London, New York, Paris, etc.) which experienced gentrification. On the other hand, the non-core cities (i.e. developing countries) are a virgin land for gentrification process in dealing with gentrification in urban neighbourhoods. For instance, either the urban regeneration project done by the UNESCO in Fatimid Cairo (2000) and conservation projects in Heliopolis, according to the indicators identified and research, were proven to be a gentrification process.

Meanwhile, the two new geographies of gentrification introduced in the research (i.e. contracting / real estate development and historical/cultural tourism gentrification) will give a new scale and dimensions for the gentrification research for geographers, architects, and urban planner professionals. Historical and cultural tourism gentrification can be defined as “the process of gentrification which is led by historical and cultural initiatives – mainly high architecture value buildings – tangible or intangible cultures, which attract touristic activities to flourish and prosper. This issue must be accompanied by gastronomy services and facelifted by which visitors and tourists will enjoy the urban environment and considering visiting the same place and recalling the memories which remind them with all specifies places that they enjoy and appreciate for a longer period of time”. Historical and cultural tourism gentrification are strongly linked to tourism in which they generate and increases the possibilities of gentrification to occur.

Moreover, the other new geography of gentrification, contracting/real-estate development gentrification, is strongly connected to new build gentrification, while the real estate and contracting drive the gentrification process in already existing urban neighbourhoods which has its own economic and social aspects. The research can define the real estate and contracting gentrification as “it is the process in which increases the possibilities of urban models (regeneration, renewal, revitalization and rehabilitation projects) for the buffering and neighbouring buildings to compete on equal basis with the new build properties. Thus, gentrification prospers and flourish with an increase in prices and rents for the old and existing properties, due to the essential role contractors and real estate developers play in urban neighbourhoods in the private housing market”. Accordingly, further research can investigate and identify more case studies to develop and explore more ideas from the new geographies of real estate development and cultural tourism gentrifications.

So far, what needs more research also is anthropological and psychological studies to be added to the urban planning fields which need to be studied concerning murder and crime rates, and segregation factors. Social and cultural analysis needs more research from socialists and geographers to identify the types of specific habits and traditions changes. The two new geographies of gentrification, historical/cultural tourism gentrification and real estate / contracting gentrification will open further research fields & riches the literature of gentrification in the future. Gentrification lacks quality regarding conservation and cultural differences, thus, if gentrification must take place then it must go hand in hand with conservation to conserve the historical buildings. This will prevent negative consequences of gentrification not only for inhabitants but also physical appearances which may get deteriorated and

devasted by contractors and real estate developers who look just for economic benefit regardless to any ethical principles towards historical buildings and monuments.

One more thing that the research did not consider and neutralizes the environmental indicators which are interesting to study and research regarding ecological aspects and how gentrification may affect the environment and in what means. While the research held the investigation towards gentrification process, the research did not recognize any indicators for the degentrification process in the case studies. Though according to the GIsL concluded, someone can say that the low exposed neighbourhoods to gentrification can be consequently some high exposed neighbourhoods for degentrification. For the first look, this may be true, but this needs more and more research to ensure that low levels of exposition to gentrification express high levels to degentrification, which the research is more interested in the future investigations.

Adding to that another notion of gentrification process which was omitted from the research in the Egyptian case studies was the sexuality and gentrification, as in Egypt this issue is not well enclosed in urban planning research. Consequently, it was omitted from analysis in the gentrification case studies. Moreover, public participation and public-private partnerships would be an interesting topic to research and investigate for further research in Egypt. This will benefit gentrification process and maximize its benefits to conclude a comprehensive urban policy with regards to the displaced community in urban neighbourhoods.

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