



REAL CITY LAB

*Building
communities
through
cooperative
housing in
Cairo*

Imprint

Booklet concept

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*Building
communities
through
cooperative
housing in
Cairo* WORK-
SHOP1

*19th - 26th
November
2016*

Salma Khamis, Hassan Elmouelhi, Philipp Misselwitz (Eds.)

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ABOUT REALCITYLAB

RealCityLab is a 4-year project (2016-2019) of the TU Berlin funded by the DAAD/BMZ that focuses on practice-orientation of architectural education to develop the existing curriculum of the Architecture Department at the Faculty of Fine Arts, Helwan University in cooperation with German and Egyptian practitioners.

The main objective of this project is to enhance the education quality, the curriculum and the teaching system of the Architecture Bachelor program, for which new didactic tools and applied research components are developed, to impart knowledge to understand the current urban issues and urban regeneration. Consequently, the graduates will gain higher awareness towards real urbanism within the Egyptian built environment.

Greater Cairo and to document and assess projects in situ.

THE WORKSHOP

1. Preparation: Prior to the workshop, the students were introduced to the cooperative movement history and cooperative housing contemporary models through key texts and films to build up a common understanding of “self-provisioning” in the housing sector in Egypt.

2. Methodology: An extensive fieldwork was conducted in two selected study areas: 1) Wadi Houf in Helwan, Cairo and 2) Hada'eq Al-Ahram in Giza, to explore the history and reality of housing cooperatives in Greater Cairo.

As part of the existing courses, 12 students from each University were selected and assembled into mixed groups of 12 students per site. The fieldwork was based on observations and semi-structured interviews, mental mapping of the residents' perception and urban survey of the neighborhood.

This was to enforce peer learning through sharing knowledge and experiences, as well as methodological tools and technical know-how between German and Egyptian students.

The workshop consisted of two parts: Part 1: 'Cooperative housing - between past and present', working on an urban physical analysis that includes location and accessibility, transportation means and connectivity, streets and infrastructure, as well as building conditions, construction dates and land use mapping. Additionally, an economic analysis documenting partially the economic conditions of the area and its residents, the existing economic activities and professions, as well as the commercial activities and services. A socio-cultural analysis helped to understand the demographic changes of the residents, their origins and backgrounds, level of education and professions, residents'

7 BUILDING COMMUNITIES THROUGH COOPERATIVE HOUSING IN CAIRO

The demand for adequate housing is becoming urgent worldwide. An internationally recognized habitat solution is cooperative housing and its diverse management models. In Cairo, the rapidly growing urban population was the impetus for civil reformers of the 1950s to promote housing delivery combining state investment and self-provisioning. Since then, cooperative housing acts through cooperation between public and private stakeholders, sharing its main principles: self-help, self-responsibility, democratic management, equal rights and benefits of the residents, equity and solidarity for a sustainable housing settlement.

However, today in Egypt housing cooperatives suffer from mismanagement and built environment deterioration. This workshop aims to study and discuss the existing channels of cooperative housing delivery in

networks and relations. At the end of part 1, a comprehensive SWOT analysis and a stakeholders' analysis for each site were conducted, from which the cross cutting issues were highlighted as a conclusion.

Part 2: 'Cooperative Mechanism versus Incremental changes', started by studying the urban space's incremental changes by users comparing its original plan to the recent situation; mapping spots of activities to understand the mechanisms and reasons of change in the area, considering the difference between public, semi-public and private spaces.

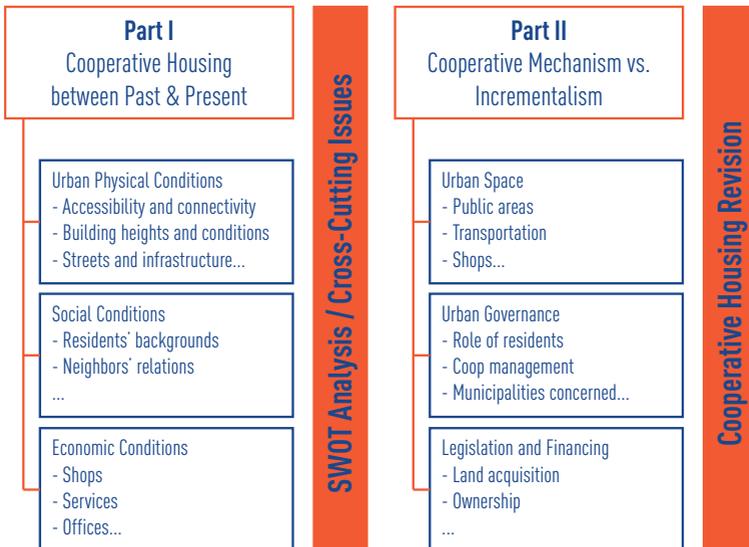
Moreover, the urban governance of the two sites was studied, as well as the housing project management that helped to reach logical explanations for the current status and to understand the reasons behind the areas problems. Finally, the legal and the cooperative's financial procedures were tested; the land acquisition and obtaining a flat, legal ownership and rentals, in addition to several components of different financing processes.

Furthermore, within the fieldwork, a new method has been introduced. A discussion round entitled "Cooperative Housing Under Debate" at the Goethe Institute was organized. Local experts and residents from both areas discussed the history and development timeline vis à vis the current situation and issues in both case studies with the audience.

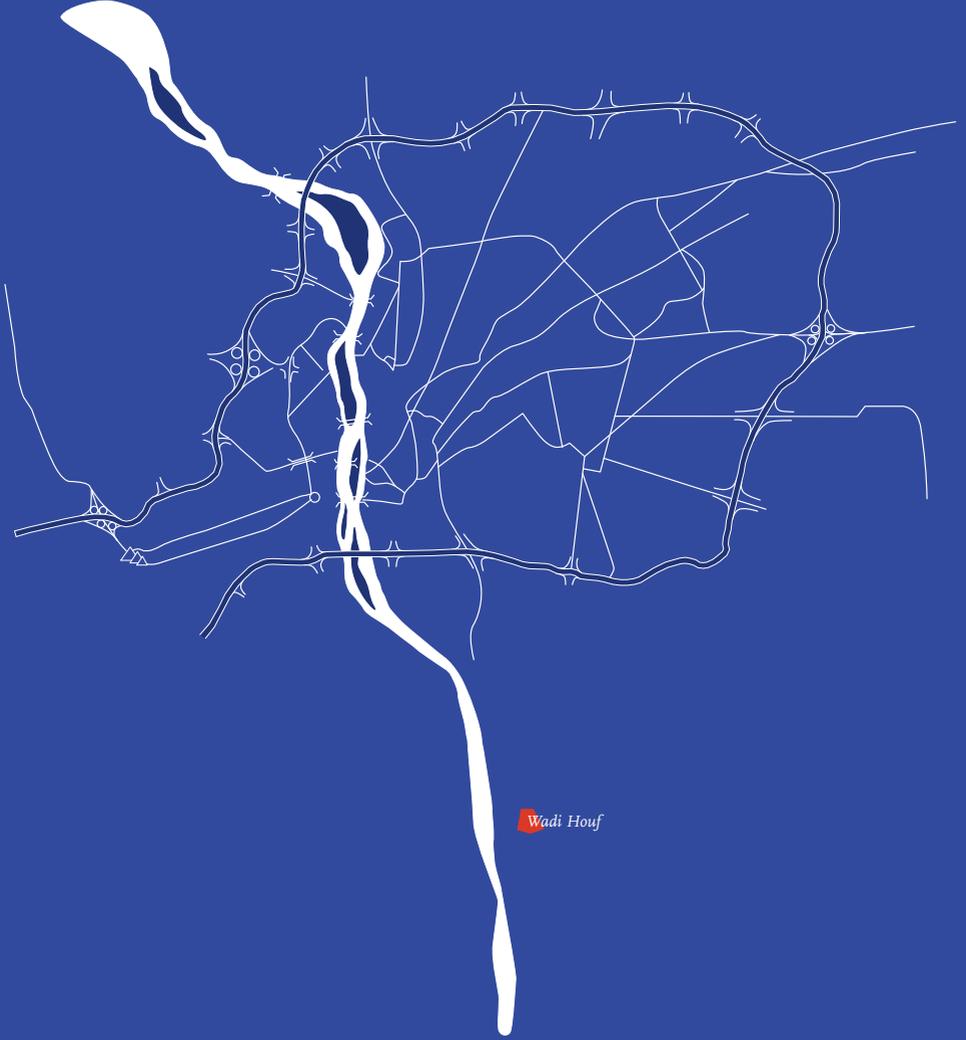
Finally, the students presented publicly several scenarios to tackle the most crucial issues and ways to improve the cooperative structure, followed by an open discussion.



PUBLIC DEBATE



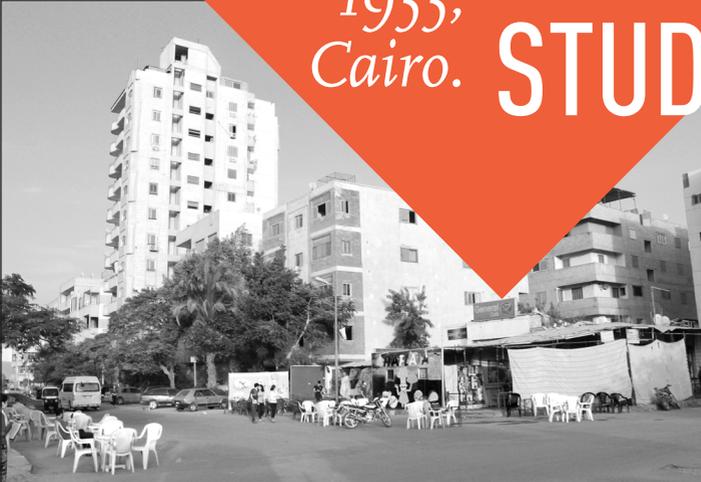
STRUCTURE OF THE WORKSHOP



Wadi Houf

*Wadi Houf,
1955,
Cairo.*

CASE STUDY 1



© LUKAS HELLWIG

DEVELOPMENT

The housing cooperative of Wadi Houf is located in Helwan district south of Cairo, which is very distinctively placed. It is named Wadi (“Valley”) due to the relatively low soil level in relation to the surrounding city. It lies between the “Autostrad” road in the north and the Nile Cornish to the south, which makes the area very accessible.

Wadi Houf cooperative is known for its low resident density. Quiet surroundings, clean streets and the aggregate of green areas create a prestigious cooperative community, especially in the inhabitant’s opinion, also compared to other cooperatives or housing projects.

The metro station which opened in 1995 formed an additional link between its residents and the city, creating better accessibility to the district.

It is assumed by the residents that the heights regulations that have changed in 1989 were valid for only one year due to some security concerns of the military, while others refer to a corruption case.

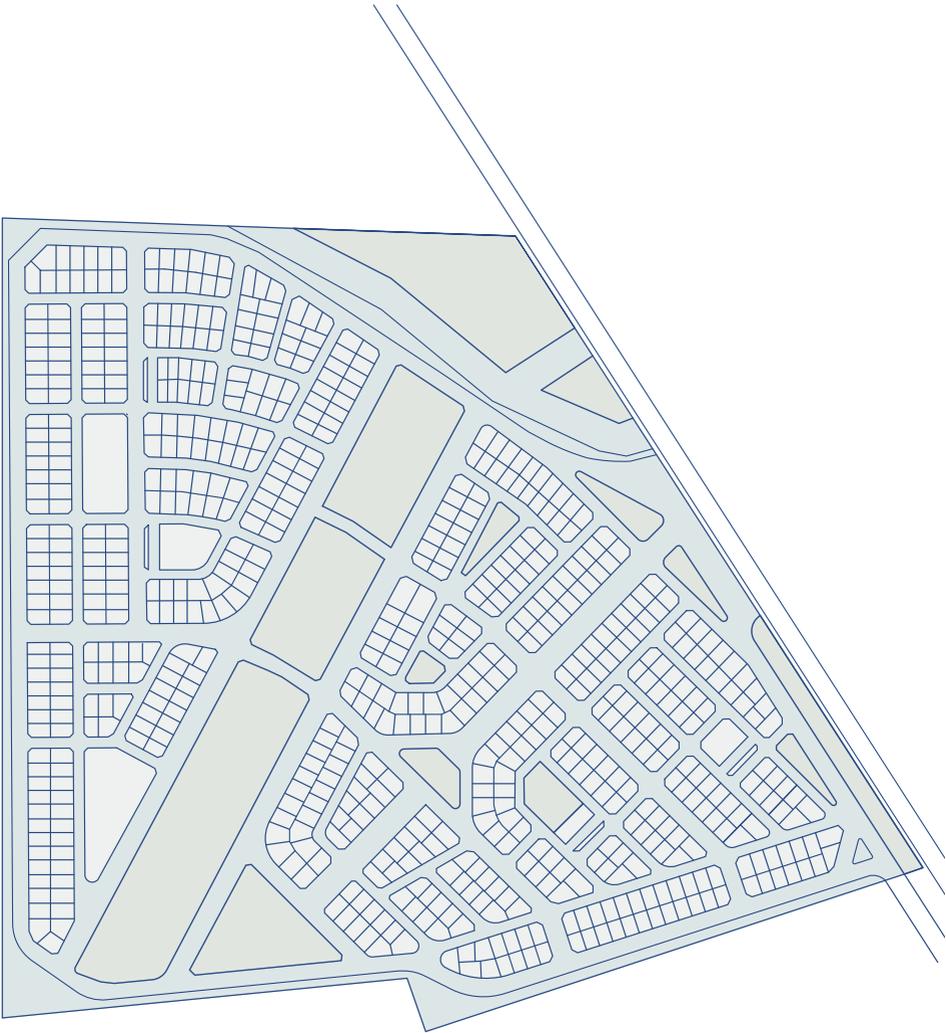
The area has developed over the last decades starting in the 1970’s, increasing in 1980’s and the spread of family housing in the 2000’s. Within the last 5 to 10 years the population density increased by about 30 % due to an influx of people from the city.

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ONGOING BUILDING ACTIVITY IN WADI HOUF © LUKAS HELLWIG

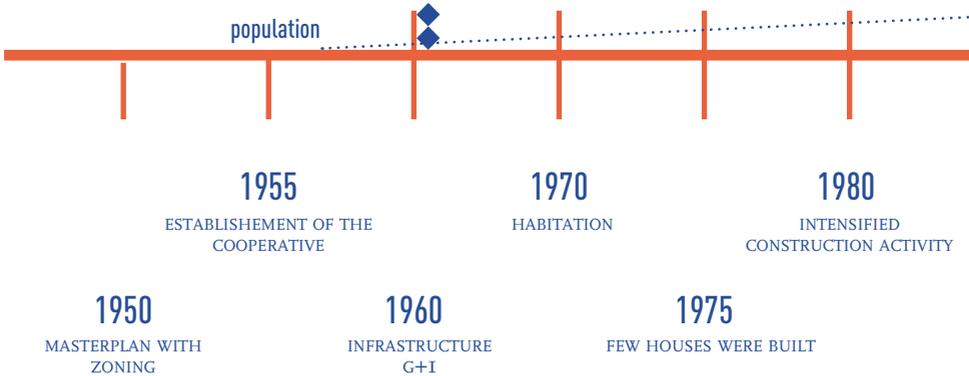
CASE STUDY I: WADI HOUF
WADI HOUF MASTERPLAN

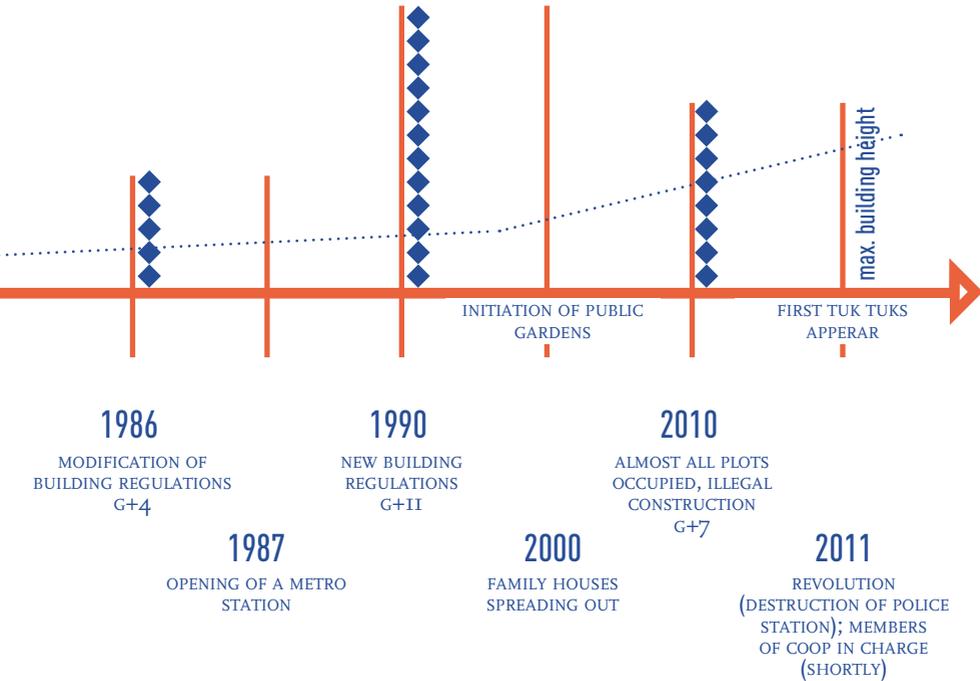
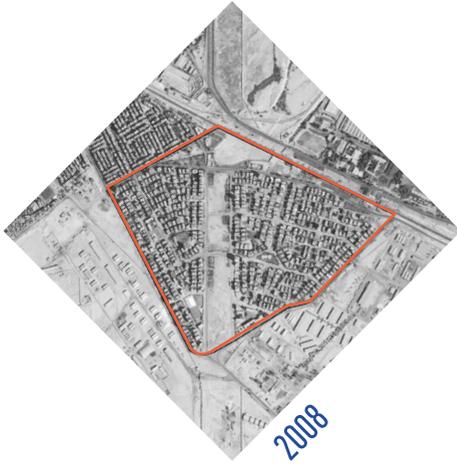


COOPERATIVE HOUSING
TIMELINE FOR WADI HOF



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URBANSPIATIAL PATTERNS

The design of Wadi Houf is determined by a master plan with strict zoning. The defining element of the site are high voltage electricity cable towers, dividing the project site into two sections. In effect, it creates an accessible space, where urban gardening and farming have been initiated. In this case, zoning, land use, heights and building regulations exist, but owners tend not to abide by these regulations. Appropriation and privatisation of "public" space is taking place without serious consequences.

SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS

Clearly, the community is homogeneous. The first settlers were mostly employees from the nearby university. A low rate of construction and development over the last decades is noticeable. The area is mainly a housing and

living space, whereas the residents commute to the city centre for work, leisure, shopping and education.

BUILDING HEIGHTS PLAN

The cooperative building law allows up to five floors (G+4). Due to a lack of regulation some buildings exceeded this height limit to 9 floors. About two thirds of the residential units are of medium height (4-9 floors). Some landowners claim to have started construction in 1989 while the G+11 permission was active and aim to finish their properties up to 11 floors. In this regard, several court cases remained unresolved.

BUILDING AGE PLAN

A quick survey has been conducted to classify the buildings according to the time of construction, as shown in the figure.

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DIFFERENT BUILDING HEIGHTS SURROUNDING THE CENTRAL MEETING POINT/COFFEE SHOP © LUKAS HELLWIG

CASE STUDY I: WADI HOUF
BUILDING HEIGHT PLAN



BUILDING AGE PLAN



LAND USE

Land use patterns indicate a regular planned spatial model. The housing areas mainly surround centrally located plots, designated for public uses like schools, churches, mosques and commercial areas. The majority of uses follow the original master plan. Most of the site is developed. There are very few uninhabited houses and are easy to point out. Only the commercial centres remain undeveloped. Green and open spaces are mostly unused, therefore have high potential for further development.

COMMERCIAL USE PLAN

The master plan of the cooperative has four defined commercial centres. Although these plots were meant to concentrate a variety of services and daily businesses in certain spots, they did not function well enough. Ground floors and garages have been turned into shops (mostly by non-residents). Some of them have already been legalized and pay taxes. Others remain illegal and are at risk of eviction.

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS ONE OF THE SERVICES PLANNED BY THE COOP © LUKAS HELLWIG

LAND USE PLAN



- COMMERCIAL
- RELIGIOUS
- RESIDENTIAL
- SOCIAL SERVICES
- GREEN AREAS

COMMERCIAL USE PLAN



- SHOPPING
- DAILY NEEDS
- LEISURE
- OFFICES
- SERVICES



The SWOT analysis shows a wide range of strengths and weaknesses as well as opportunities and threats. The examination highlights the huge potential for development and improvement. It also forms the basis for the proposal that was further developed in this study.

Several issues (plotted in the following figure) and which concern the topics "governance and financing structures", "urban spatial patterns" and "cross cutting issues", were derived from this analysis. They reflect the main challenges of the neighbourhood. These issues will later be addressed further.

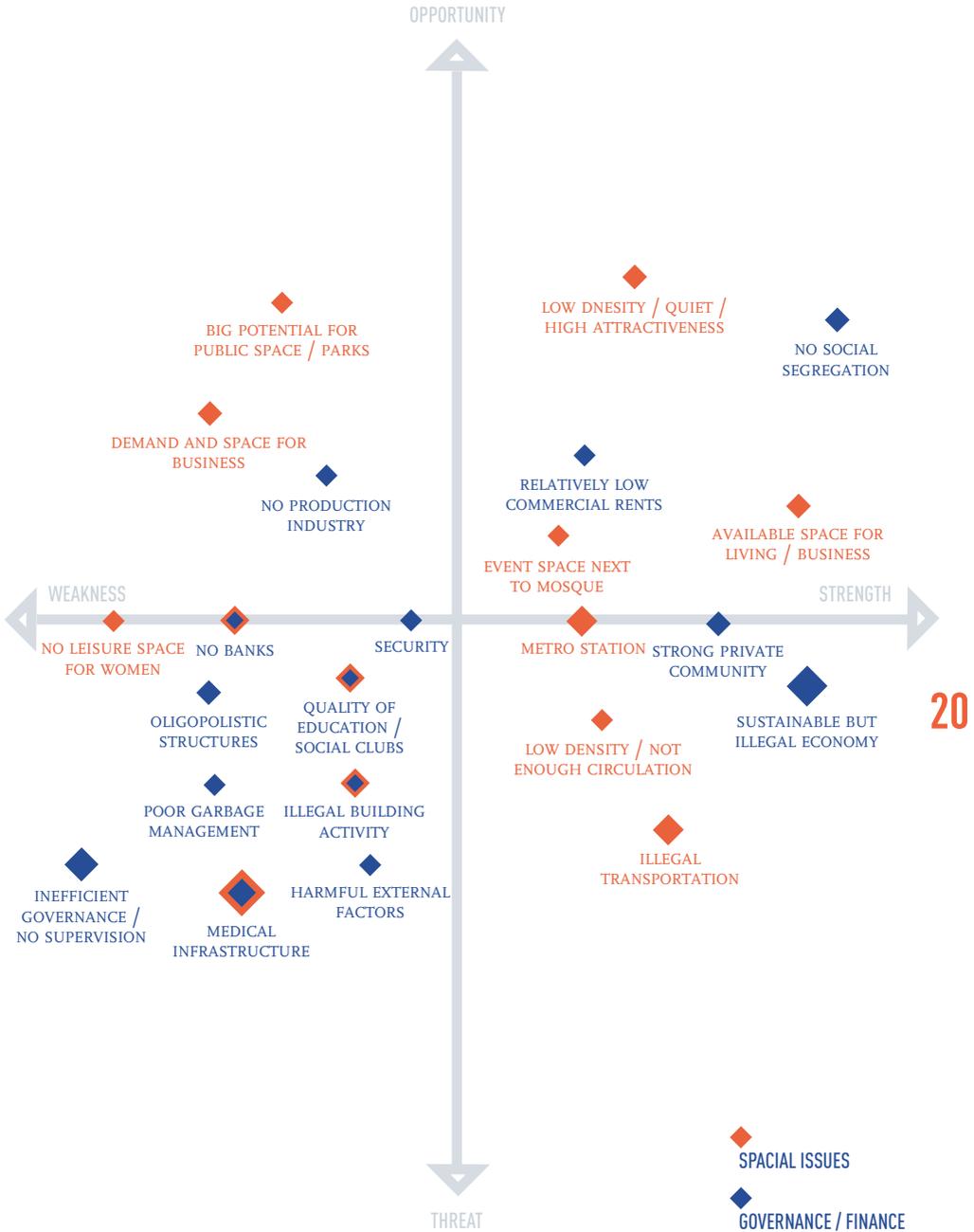
The stakeholder diagram shows the main urban elements related to the stakeholder groups (non-residents, residents, cooperative, municipality) and their interests.

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STREET VENDORS SEEN DURING THE DAY © LUKAS HELLWIG

CASE STUDY I: WADI HOUF



SWOT ANALYSIS AFTER SITE VISIT

COOPERATIVE HOUSING
EXTRACTED ISSUES



CARING FOR COMMUNITY



RESPONSIBILITY



SENSE OF OWNERSHIP



NO SPATIAL
PROGRAMME



21

cooperative

sense
of belonging

commercial
centers

public space



AMBITION



NO SENSE OF BELONGING
TO THE COOPERATIVE



CREATE SHOPPING
FACILITIES



UNREGULATED



IMPACT



MISMANAGEMENT



UNCLEAR



PERSECUTION



MISUSE



OUTREACH



DECAY



CORRUPTION



LIMITED AMOUNT OF
LEISURE AND "HANG-
OUT" AREAS



"EXCLUSIVE" MALE
MEETING POINTS



NEW BASE FOR BUSINESS

HARASSMENT ON THE
STREETS



GARBAGE SPREAD BY
WIND

INCREASE OF TRAFFIC

TUK-TUKS



SMELL

INCREASE OF DENSITY

LIGHTING



waste
management

building law
violation

secure areas
for women



UNCLEAR
RESPONSIBILITIES



UNCLEAR RESPONSIBILITY



PAYMENT REQUIRED



OPEN LAW SUITS



IGNORING BUILDING
LAWS

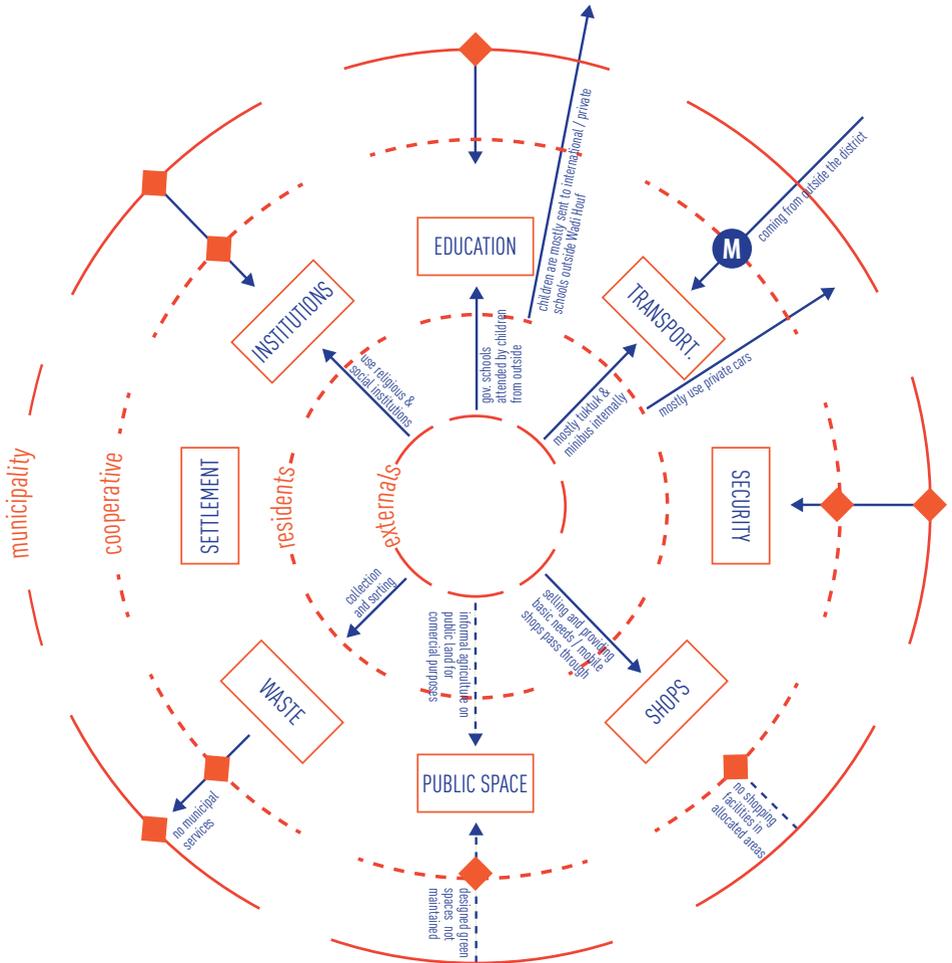


COOPERATIVE HOUSING
STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

The stakeholder diagram shows the main urban elements (institution, education, transport, shops, public space, garbage) related to the stakeholder groups (non-residents, residents, cooperative, municipality) and their interests.

The problems identified in Wadi Houf are marked at the location with an orange cross. It marks the identified stakeholder, who should be responsible for solving the issue.

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DYNAMICS OF THE COOPERATIVE'S ISSUES AND THE STAKEHOLDERS' RESPONSIBILITIES

ISSUES

The following issues, and which concern the topics "governance and financing structures", "urban spatial patterns" and "cross cutting issues", reflect the main challenges of the neighbourhood.

CROSS CUTTING ISSUES

Waste Management:

The municipality and the cooperative should have more power and interest in solving and organizing the garbage problem.

Violation of Building Law:

(unregulated, misused public space, no spatial program.) People in Wadi Houf, residents as well as non-residents, have interests in the existing public space and are partially using it. There is an informal coordination in the use of the spaces between stakeholders (e.g. the space under high voltage cables). The municipality and the cooperative should be more interested in influencing and coordinating the public space to improve its existing potential.

GOVERNANCE/FINANCE ISSUES

Mismanagement:

Resources are insufficient, such as for instance street maintenance, and even if a budget does exist, it is not well managed, according to the residents.

Commercial centres / shops:

The development of illegal shops is positive from the perspective of the residents, as it serves them close to their homes, thereby avoiding larger shopping malls. However, the cooperative should be more interested in influencing and controlling the shops that have been established illegally in order to legalize their status.

Role of the Cooperative - Ambition, Outreach and Impact:

The role of the cooperative is not clear to many of the residents that have been interviewed. The relation between them and the administration is very weak.

URBAN SPATIAL ISSUES

Female Networks - Lack of secure areas and meeting points:

One of the issues mentioned by some of the female residents is the lack of spaces that can act as meeting points for female residents.

Transport:

The main means of transportation is the metro that links the area to the city. However, the cooperative should work on introducing a better public transport system, which will be accepted by the residents and provide safer options. Unregulated Tuk-Tuks were functioning for awhile and then banned by the coop, with no other alternative.

Social services:

The existing social clubs in the district do not satisfy the residents' demands. They prefer going to places outside Wadi Houf. They have also created "informal small praying rooms" ('Zawya') in residential buildings, financed by its residents from collective money. The cooperative and municipality should influence and coordinate the existing demands.

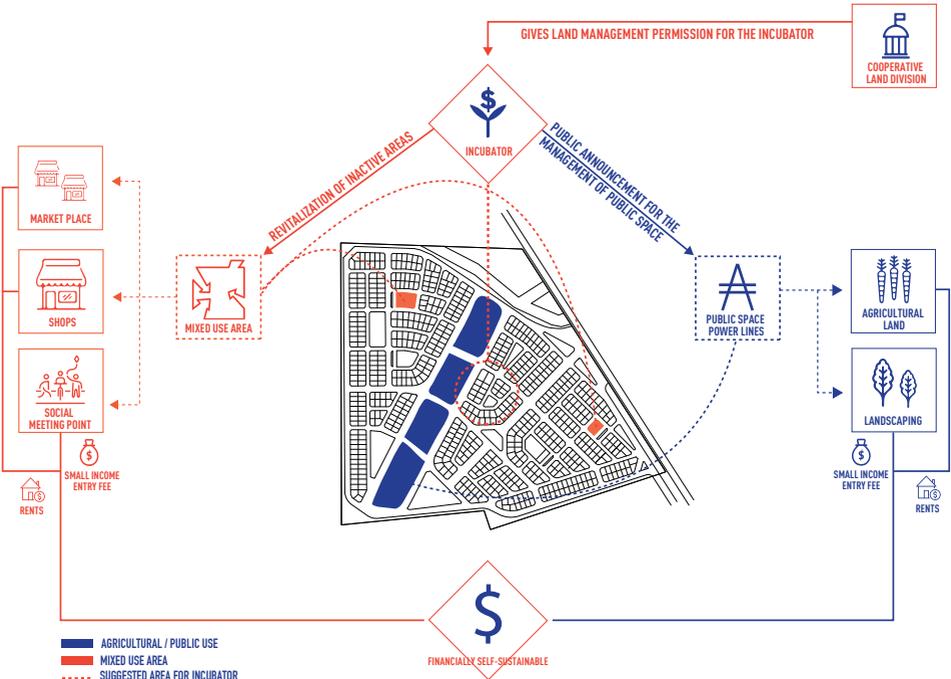
PROPOSALS



CULTIVATED PUBLIC LAND © LUKAS HELLWIG

The major obstacle when it comes to maintaining the public space, managing waste collection or the realization of the projects that could lead to more identification with the area is the shortage of financial resources and a missing sense of community. Because of this reason, the idea for the cooperative in Wadi Houf is to collect money through the agricultural and commercial use of the roughly 80.000m2 area under the power cables. In addition, installing an incubator for ideas that are more beneficial for the community, is proposed. The usage of the area under the power cables has great potential for both helping the cooperative gain more money and establishing a spatially more attractive centre of Wadi Houf. One of the goals is to create a sense of

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REACTIVATING AND REALLOCATING SPACES THROUGH AN INCUBATOR

PROPOSALS

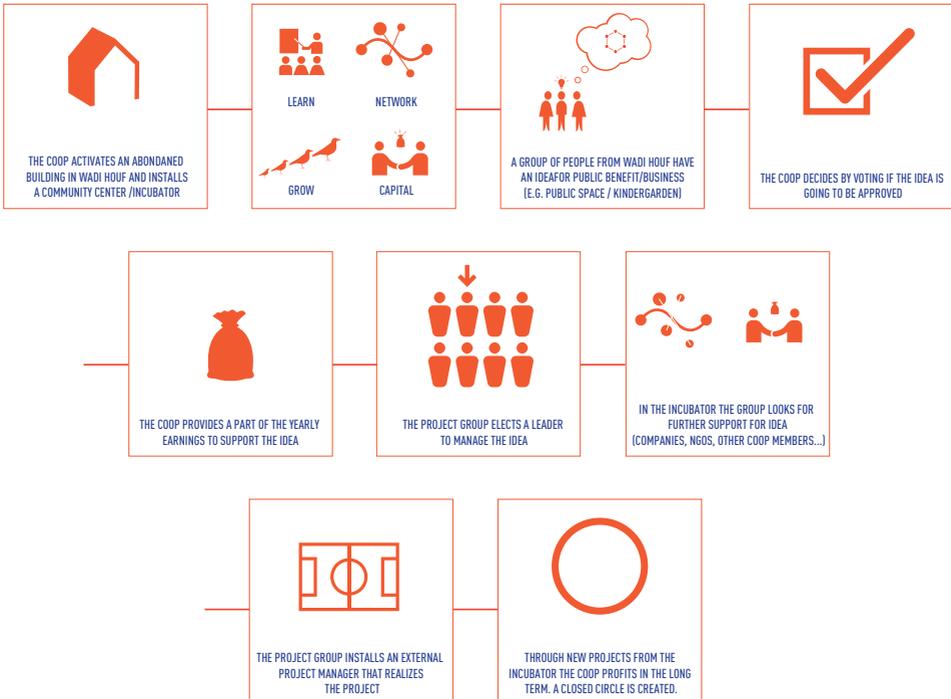
community, as well as to implement solutions for the outlined problematic issues. The combination of both ideas helps to create a corporate identity and a new sense of community.

In order to reuse the large area under the power cables, the first step for the cooperative would be to rent the 80.000m² from the municipality. In the next stage, the land would be divided and through incentives rented out to people that are interested in cultivating it including crops like figs, mangos, olives, lettuce and other vegetables or fruits that can grow in the dry soil. In addition to that, the existing commercial areas of Wadi Houf, which belong to the cooperative, can be reactivated. The coop

should provide new plots for simple shops or permanent market stands.

A potential farmer could rent a place to sell his produced goods. In the process, the commercial centres become what they were initially planned for. The cooperation financially benefits both the cooperative and the residents renting out plots of land or shop units in the commercial areas.

The idea of an incubator is to encourage the people to participate in the neighbourhood lifecycle. It will be beneficial for the community to create a platform, where creative individuals can collaborate, network, exchange knowledge and work on ideas, receiving financial and executive support.



DECISION-MAKING IS THEN DONE WITH THE HELP OF THE INCUBATOR'S COMMITTEE

PROPOSALS

The perfect location for the incubator platform is an abandoned building or an available site in Wadi Houf, which will be accessible and visible to all citizens. It will not only help to evolve Wadi Houf, but also reinforce a conscious community.

To improve the management and the exchange of knowledge of the cooperative, a major event with all members, residents, representatives of the companies in the area should take place. The stakeholders and the incubator platform will be a perfect form of expression to present and discuss the new ideas. It is also important to set certain priorities and select the ideas that propose a solution to the biggest issues. By setting the criteria, the best ideas will be selected which is an important step to continue expanding the cooperative.

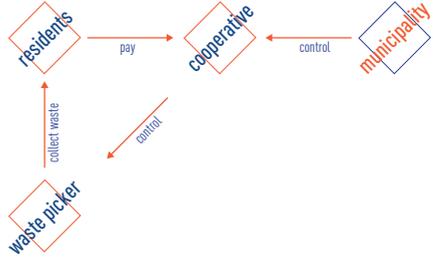
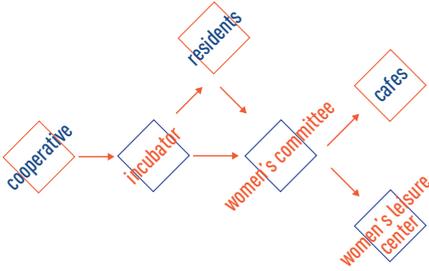
The 80.000m² area (under the power cables) acts in a way as a motor to support the incubator financially and vice versa. Ideas such as agricultural businesses or a new public space in the area could come to realization with the help of the incubator. This supports the idea that the abandoned area under the power cables can become the new centre of Wadi Houf.

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ELECTRICITY POWER CABLES AND GARBAGE PLOTS © LUKAS HELLWIG

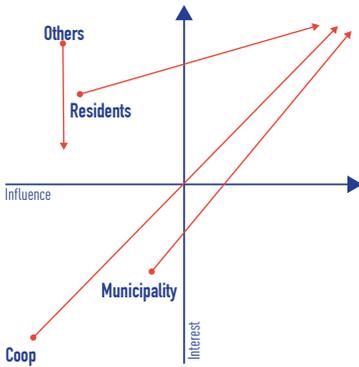
PROPOSALS



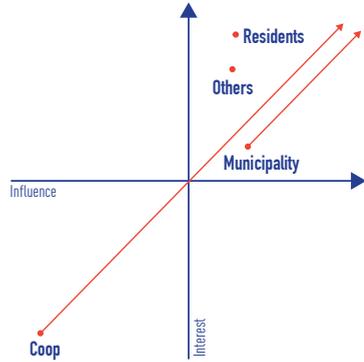
HOW TO IMPROVE SAFETY AND SECURITY

HOW TO LINK STAKEHOLDERS TO MANAGE WASTE

EDUCATION

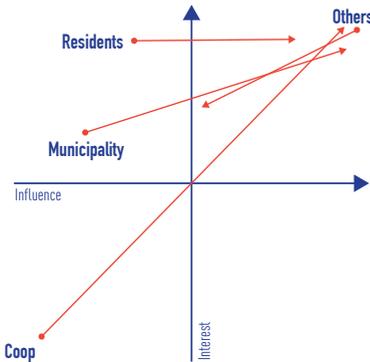


GARBAGE

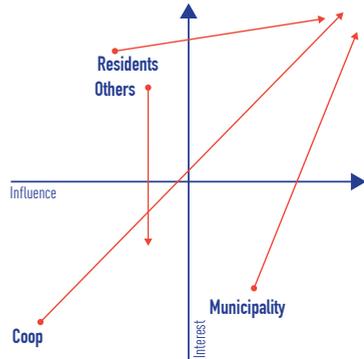


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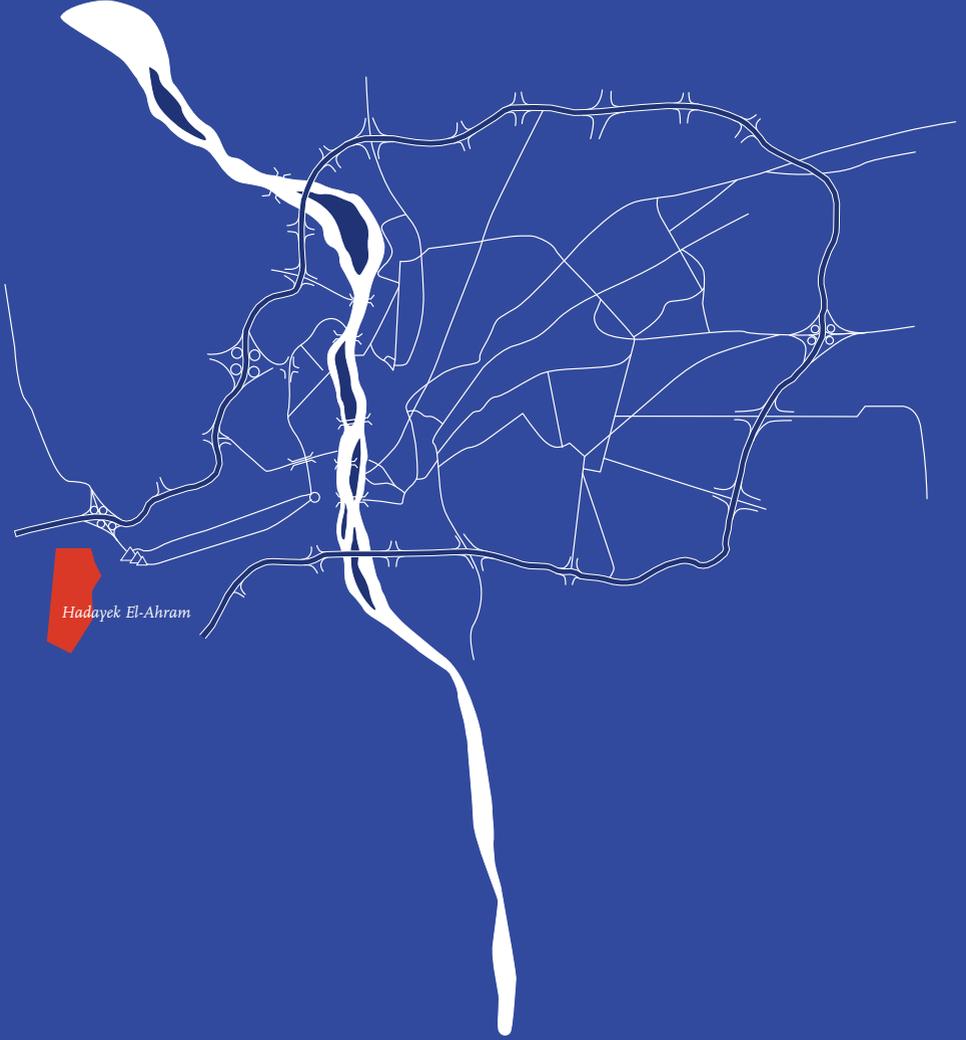
TRANSPORT



INSTITUTIONS



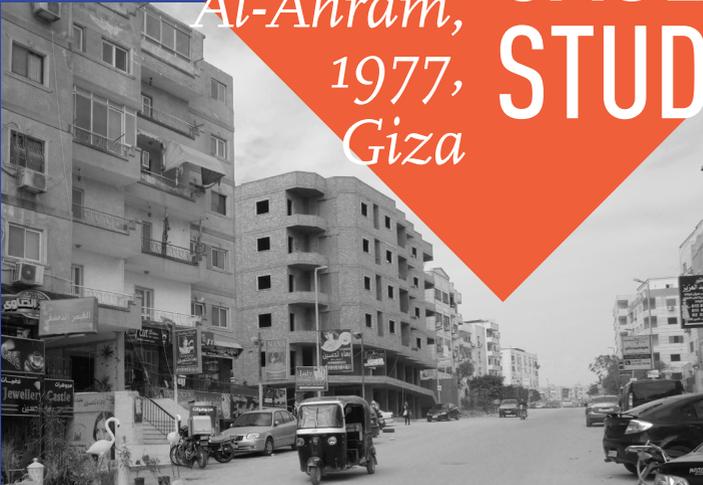
IMPROVING THE STAKEHOLDERS INTEREST AND INFLUENCE IN EACH OF THE ISSUES



Hadayek El-Ahram

*Hada'eq
Al-Ahram,
1977,
Giza*

CASE STUDY 2



DEVELOPMENT

The study area is located in the north of Hada'eq Al-Ahram, in the Governorate of Gizeh, which is situated two kilometers west of the Giza pyramid complex. Established in 1977 as a cooperative association for housing and urbanisation, Hada'eq Al-Ahram is built on 6.540.800qm of unpaved desert land. In the beginning, the land was divided into 4000 plots and the first infrastructure was implemented. Due to proximity to the Giza pyramid complex, the UNESCO limited the building height to G+2 (ground floor with two upper floors, including a mezzanine). Concerns by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (now MSA) that the stability of the Giza pyramid complex might suffer from the infrastructural measures have now been resolved. Consequently, the violation of the limitation of building height began.

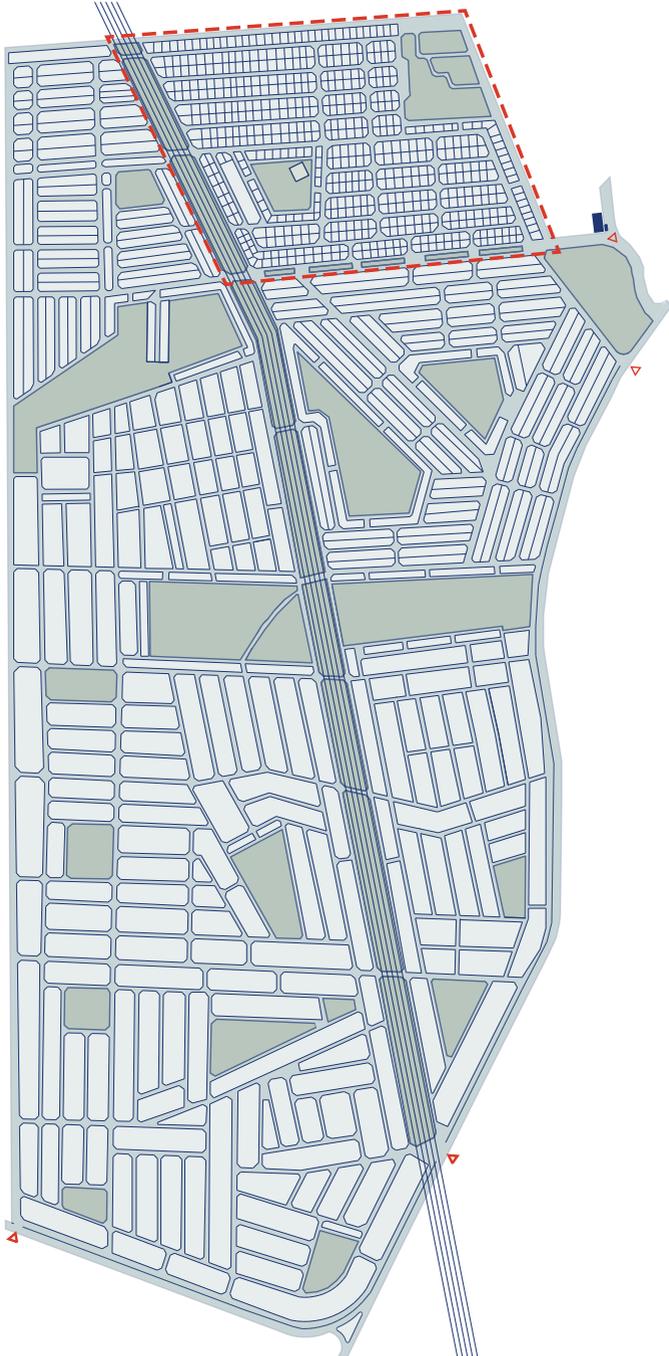
Until 1996 100% of the construction volume was G+3. As a result of a shift in administration from the cooperative to the municipality from 1996 to 1998, construction stopped. Henceforth the building height has been massively violated. Until 2008, 40% of construction was G+4, after which the violation increased up to 85% G+7.

The first part of the workshop was to analyse the economic structures, the socio-cultural dynamics and the physical patterns of the area. Subsequently, the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in the respective fields were identified and were put into relation to each other. From the SWOT analysis, the issues were put also in relation to the stakeholders to clarify the responsibilities. Finally the proposals, to tackle the issues and to improve the coop structure, were elaborated on and conclusions were reached.

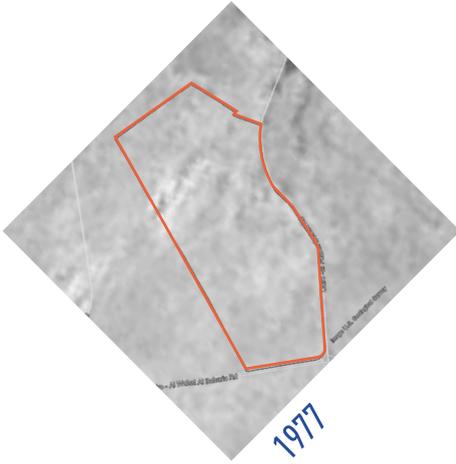
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CASE STUDY 2: HADA'EQ AL-AHRAM
MASTERPLAN AND AREA STUDIED



TIMELINE FOR HADA'EQ AL-AHRAM



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1977
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
COOPERATIVE

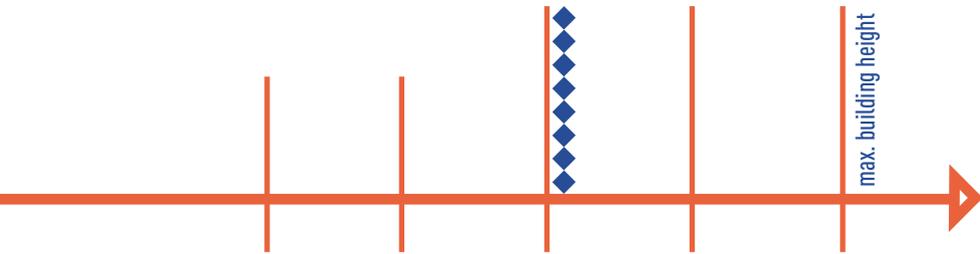
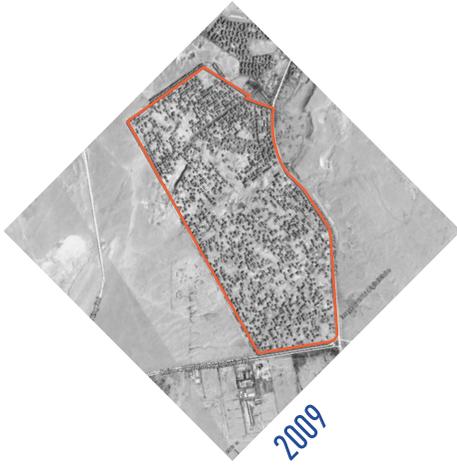
1986
UNESCO DISAGREED ON
G > 2 IN CONCERN OF
THE PYRAMIDS VIEW

1992
INFRASTRUCTURAL
CONCERNS BY
SUPREME COUNCIL OF
ANTIQUITIES
(SOLVED)

1996
CONSTRUCTION STOPPED
DUE TO SHIFT OF POWER
TO THE MUNICIPALITY

1998
THE COOPERATIVE AGAIN
WAS ABLE TO GRANT
BUILDING PERMISSIONS

2003



2006
MASSIVE CONSTRUCTION
GROWTH

2008
AREA FENCED;
GUARDED OPEN GATES

2009
BUILDING HEIGHT
VIOLATION

2011
MASSIVE VIOLATION OF
BUILDING LAWS

2013

max. building height

BUILDING HEIGHT PLAN

The majority of buildings are higher than G+4 (64%). A third is G+4 (32%) and just a small proportion of buildings are less than G+4 in height (4%).

Due to the division of the Hada'eq Al-Ahram development into two main construction phases (the first in the 1990's and the second after 2006) the houses built in the site show many different, and most of all modern, facades. More than half of the houses were constructed between 2006 and 2016 (63%). One third (33%) has been built between the years of 1995 and 2006 in the earlier construction period and only a few houses have been built between 1995 and 2006 and raised by another floor after 2006 (4%).

When the two maps were compared, it was discovered that the majority of the people live in houses which were built after 2006 and have more than G+4 (63%). A third of the residents live in houses that were built between 1995 and 2006 and have less than G+4 (33%). This corresponds to our information that the second and bigger construction wave began after 2006 when the owners of the plots built higher and much more people were interested in moving to Hada'eq Al-Ahram.

BUILDING AGE PLAN

A quick survey has been conducted to classify the buildings chronologically, as shown in the figure.

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DIFFERENT BUILDING HEIGHTS © CLEMENS LINNENSCHMIDT

BUILDING HEIGHT PLAN



BUILDING AGE PLAN



COOPERATIVE HOUSING
ZONING / FUNCTIONS

According to the original master plan, Hada'eq Al-Ahram is meant to be a functionally separated area (educational, commercial, and religious use vs. residential use) where commercial use is only permitted in designated service areas.

However, due to a lack of developed or functioning service areas, there is a growing mix of uses (also within individual buildings). As a result informal shops opened, mostly located on ground floors along the main roads and partly inside the residential blocks, providing a wide range of services and goods. Presumably due to higher profit potential, commercial use is expanding to upper floors, often including the second and even the third floor of formerly exclusive residential buildings.

Currently approx. 89% of the buildings floors are residentially used whereas 10% are commercially and 1% religiously used. In general, most of the services provided are informal which, according to interviews with residents, attracts a higher proportion of people from lower classes who come to Hada'eq Al-Ahram to work and have increasingly started to move there as well.

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SHOPS ON GROUND LEVEL © CHARLOTTE WEBER

LAND USE PLAN



COMMERCIAL USE PLAN



The findings gained through interviews with residents, observations and mapping of Hada'eq al-Ahram have been summarized and clustered in a SWOT analysis showing the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities regarding the physical, economic, social and institutional structure of the site.

In general, the SWOT analysis shows that there is a need for action due to the weaknesses and threats Hada'eq al-Ahram faces. At the same time, the given strengths and opportunities form an important basis to implement future changes and improve the quality of life in this area.

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PUBLIC SPACE USED FOR PICNICS © JANA SCHALL

COOPERATIVE HOUSING
EXTRACTED ISSUES

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deminishing
role of coop.

◆
UNCLEAR
RESPONSIBILITIES

◆
MISSING APPLICATION
OF REGULATION

◆
CORRUPTION

◆
BOARD OF
PRIVATE INVESTORS



class & social
mix

◆
UNFULFILLED
EXPECTATIONS

◆
IDENTITY/
IMAGE

◆
REVERSE
GENTRIFICATION



lack of services

◆
UNDERUTILIZED
MALLS

◆
NO OFFICIAL
GARBAGE
COLLECTION

◆
UNDEVELOPED
SERVICE AREAS



informal shops

◆
CHANGE OF USE

◆
IGNORANCE OF
BUILDING LAWS

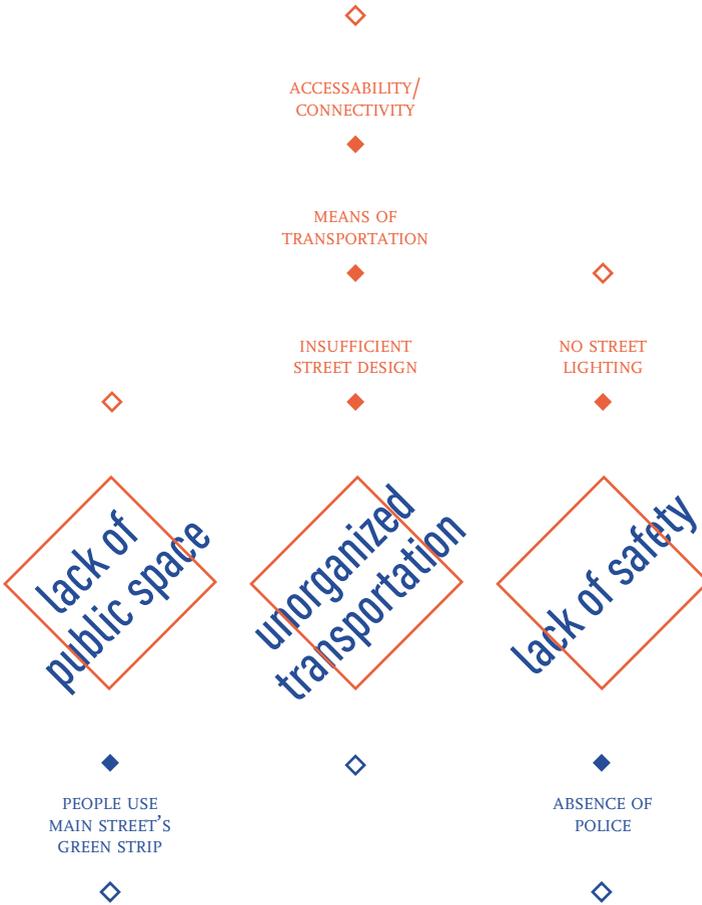


◆
GARBAGE/
SMELL



◆
PROVISION OF
DAILY NEEDS

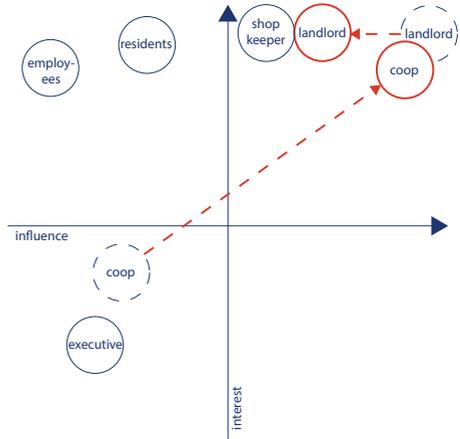




CASE STUDY 2: HADA'EQ AL-AHRAM
PROPOSAL PUBLIC SPACE/SHOPS

Introducing a spatial restructuring:

Following the current informal shop distribution, commercial zones should be defined. Within them, the ground floor may be used as commercial spaces. The remaining residential areas are to keep clear of any commercial activities in order to avoid garbage, odor and noise pollution. Ensuring the supply of services on the one hand, this will allow the planned service areas to be kept clear and available as open public spaces. The maintenance of public spaces and services will be financed by special taxes on commercially used areas.



STAKEHOLDERS' INTEREST AND INFLUENCE SHOULD BE ADJUSTED FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF PUBLIC SPACE



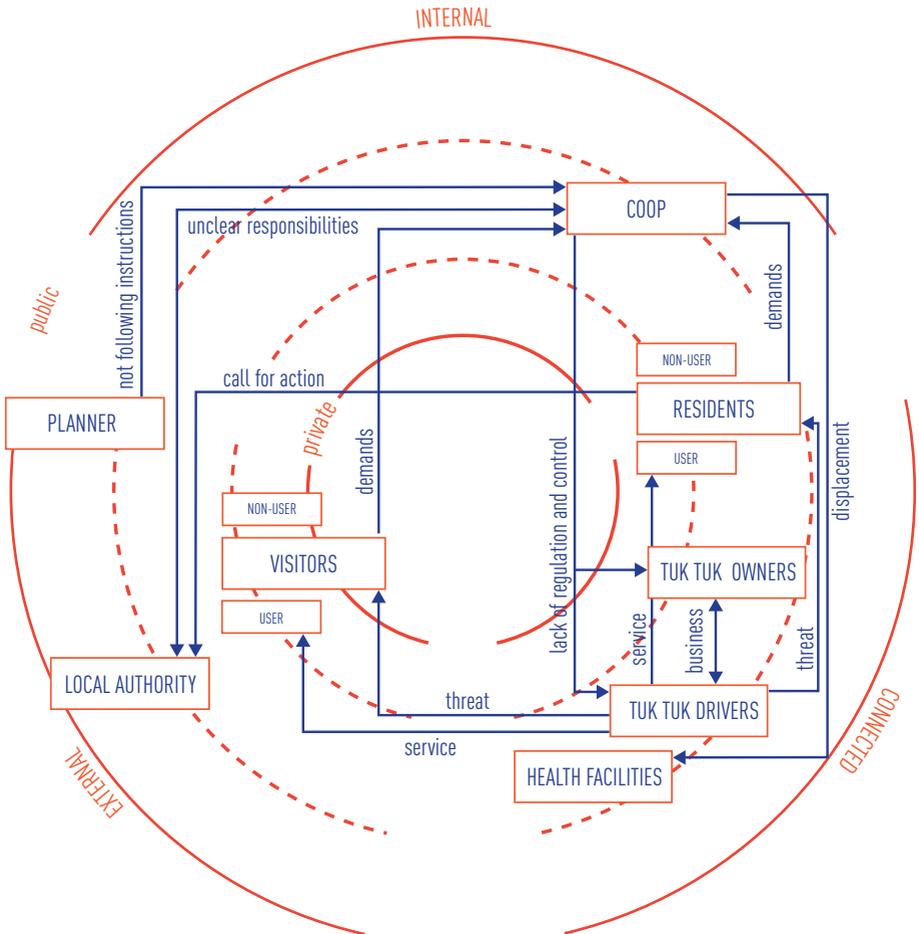
PROPOSAL FOR AN ALLOCATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

ISSUE: TRANSPORTATION

One of the issues is the unorganized transportation system and the means of transportation provided by lower income classes (Tuk-Tuks). This causes the development of a class and social mix that deviates from the resident's expectations (who expect a middle to high income class gated community) and threatens the desired image and sense of identity of the community. This

results in a form of reverse gentrification and a missing sense of responsibility for the area (garbage problem, informal activities following individual rather than community based interests).

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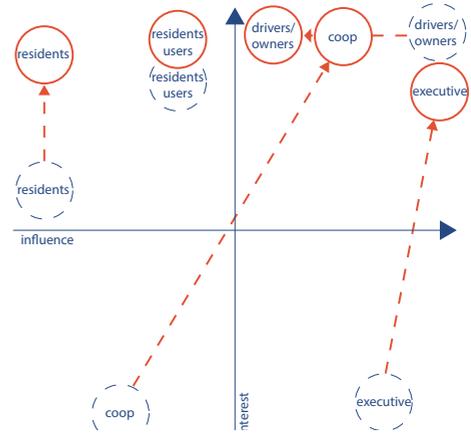
REDEFINING THE ROLES OF STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR INTERACTION TO IMPROVE TRANSPORTATION IN THE COOP

CASE STUDY 2: HADA'EQ AL-AHRAM
PROPOSAL: TRANSPORTATION

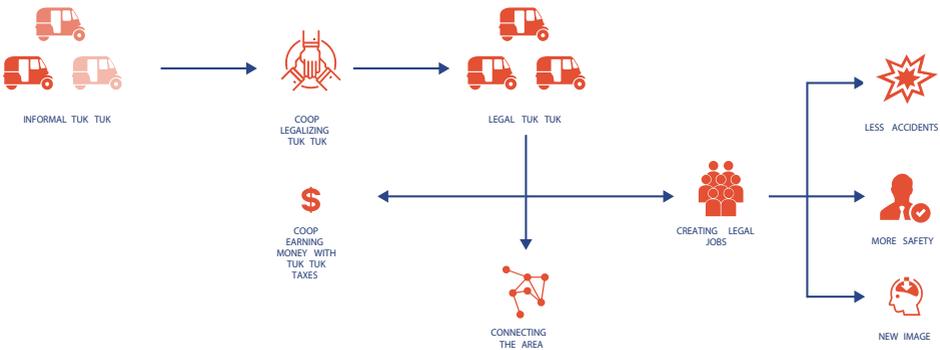
Introducing a new Tuk-Tuk System:

To enhance traffic and transportation safety, the coop has to regulate the Tuk-Tuk system by enforcing a licence system, whereby drivers and owners of Tuk-Tuks have to be registered and obtain licence plates for their vehicles. Accordingly, the cooperative is able to monitor the drivers and to trace them in case of any incident.

Residents will thus still be able to use this means of transportation, while at the same time the threat of security by the Tuk-Tuks will be reduced.



STAKEHOLDERS' INTEREST AND INFLUENCE SHOULD BE ADJUSTED TO IMPROVE TRANSPORTATION



LEGALIZING TUK-TUKS AS A WAY OF MANAGING AND IMPROVING SAFETY AND TRANSPORTATION IN THE COOP

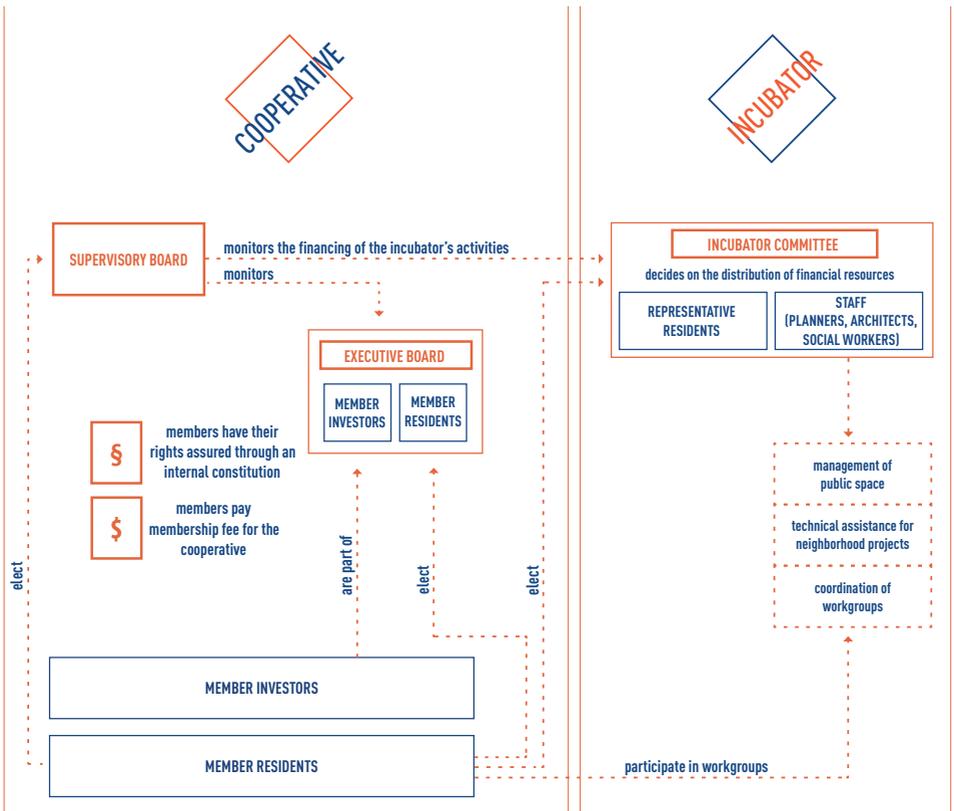
COMPARISON

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This brief study enabled an in-depth insight into the current reality of the daily life of the residents and users of the two cooperative housing projects as representative samples for the cooperative housing model. It attempts to answer the following questions: how are they organized and how do the cooperative structures in Cairo function? This workshop has helped to better understand the institutional processes and the mechanism of the cooperative model, which will both be discussed in the comparative analysis. Despite the cooperative models ability to provide affordable housing, strong institutional errors became clear in the cooperative model in Egypt. Even though the presented proposals

(in the previous sections) for each case study focus on the development within the existing legal framework of the cooperative structure, there is also an urgent need for improvement of the structure itself.

From a comparative perspective, both areas have passed through different processes since their beginning, and also have different current physical conditions of their built environment today. Although the cooperative of Wadi Houf was established earlier than Hada'eq Al-Ahram, Wadi Houf is less dense (i.e. lower average heights and lower number of residents). In the last couple of years, its average heights is slowly getting higher, while Hada'eq Al-Ahram in its first phases (till



COMPARISON
COMPARISON

2008) has mostly more average heights and higher in density. Most of the existing current challenges and issues are found in both areas, which are as follows:

Social Change and Class Conflict:

This phenomenon is more obvious in Hada'eq Al-Ahram than in Wadi Houf, due to the fact that more people were attracted to the area for different reasons in different phases of the development. Conflicts have started to take place recently between first settlers (residents) and new comers who moved to the area in recent years. There are also conflicts between those who carry out commercial activities and the residents given the lack of regulations that controls such activities.

Public space:

It appears to be a main issue in both cooperatives, although it has a higher priority in Hada'eq Al-Ahram due to the higher density and increased conflicts.

Garbage:

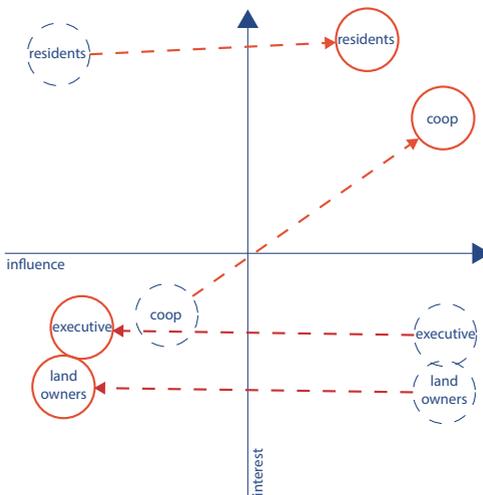
Solid waste management is an issue that most Cairo districts suffer from, and the two case studies are not different from other Cairo districts.

Informality:

Informal services take place in both areas as a way of fulfilling the residents needs. However this phenomenon is more dominant in Hada'eq Al-Ahram. More informal shops are spread in its main streets; informal means of transportation (i.e. Tuk-Tuks) take a considerable share of the traffic inside the area, while it differs at Wadi Houf.

Governance:

In fact, the coop's role from a legal point of view is not reflected in reality. Some questions are raised: do they really act as cooperatives? Or was it only for a certain time during the initial phase but not anymore? This will be discussed in the following section.



CONCLUSION

Even though the cooperative housing model in Cairo has followed international standards in the initial phase and the underlying normative values in the coop legislation, the legal framework does not support the idea and is partially even contradictory. Different from the cooperative principles, the cooperative model in Cairo does not necessarily prohibit forms of common ownership and gain.

In the case of the housing sector, what could be observed is that the cooperatives serve a group of individuals to secure subsidised land, which later is not protected from private profit interests. The former land does not stay under the control/ownership of the cooperative and therefore does not support a sustainable long-term coop housing idea, and loses the ability to tie its member to a common shared good.

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This housing cooperative model in Cairo shows problems in the application as was discovered through fieldwork, particularly from legal and institutional aspects. This is also accompanied by mismanagement, lack of interest and a missing sense of community, which results in a decline of interest in the cooperative structures as soon as homeowners are provided with private land.

As a general remark, the cooperatives reinforce the social segregation along income barriers. In Cairo, living in areas with homogenous income groups has been observed in several districts. However, a cooperative brings people together who share the same profession. With this predisposition, other factors such as social status and financial ability of a cooperative's member group remain

somehow similar from the beginning. This leads to “spatially isolated” groups of people with similar social and financial levels, contradicting the idea of a cooperative, where members are supposed to invest their different and unequal resources for a common good and share the “profit” thereafter.

In Hada'eq Al-Ahram, due to the unfulfilled expectations of the first settlers who hoped for a gated community, the growing social mix is seen by them as a threat rather than an opportunity, which impedes identification with the area and the sense of belonging to a community. This leads to a low sense of responsibility from the residents towards the area (e.g. garbage problem) and people pursue selfish rather than community-orientated interests. This is different from the relationship between Wadi Houf residents and their area, which shows a better sense of belonging.

In the case of Wadi Houf, the cooperative structure focuses on the maintenance of a democratic relationship between residents and investors that do not live in the neighborhood (through elected supervisory bodies and a constitution). It can supervise the suggested “incubator” that focuses on the practical implementation of ideas that emerge from the residents themselves. The coop structure aims to empower the residents and provide them with an institutionalized framework to articulate their interests and rights.

Currently, both areas are being developed through informal and profit/private interest driven activities rather than through a determined and integrated coop organized planning. In addition with unclear and hardly accessibly coop structures (and most of the residents not

being members of the coop) this results in a missing (perceptible) implementation of coop principles as well as a lack of formal service provision.

In Hada'eq Al-Ahram, the existing structure of the cooperative is considered one of the most challenging facts that faces the future of the cooperative housing project: most of the residents are not members in the cooperative and not eligible to elect the board; meanwhile, the board is dominated by private investors; the cooperative body has limited and unclear responsibilities; and the scale of the area and involved stakeholders is unsuitable. Some residents therefore suggest permanently abandoning the cooperative concept. However, a complete re-structuring of the existing coop on the one hand and the systematic reinforcement of the cooperative principles on the other hand will be inevitable.

This study proposes a redefinition of the tasks and responsibilities of the housing cooperative body. It is important to open the membership of the association to all neighbourhood residents or even make membership mandatory for the area. To tackle dismantlement and corruption, higher standards of transparency and elements of control need to be implemented. To ensure the proper functioning of the cooperative, financial capital needs to be available. Here it is proposed to establish a regular fee for every member. This also raises the involvement and interest of every affiliate in the cooperative as their money is involved. The proposed structure was developed considering the identified success factors for sustainable cooperatives. Therefore, dissolving the current board is unavoidable in Hada'eq Al-Ahram's

case. It is recommended that the election process for the new board be modified to include and prioritize the residents as voters and representatives. Furthermore, the responsibilities that were transferred to the executive bodies in the 1990s should be re-transferred to the elected cooperative board. Beside the coop board - which holds responsibilities for all sectors in the area - sectorial and area-based committees of volunteering residents can serve as a link to the rest of the residents to address the above-mentioned scale problem. The coop's mandate would then include developing a new agenda that incorporates all formal and informal stakeholders to facilitate addressing the current priorities. Moreover, it is highly recommended to arrange regular meetings between the coop board and committee representatives with the executive bodies - especially the municipality - to coordinate the development in Hada'eq Al-Ahram. To implement this re-structuring proposal on the ground, it is essential to initiate the project through a top-down approach on a governorate and/or ministerial level on the one hand; and a bottom-up approach led by older land-owning residents on the other hand.

In order to address the existing residents problem, they should become formal members of the coop and be informed about the role, purpose, scope of action, agenda and possibilities for community engagement. Although the coop principles cannot and should not be forced on the residents, the provision of information regarding current events and planning (e.g. a monthly newsletter for all residents or an online platform), the creation of benefits for cooperative engagement

CONCLUSION

especially within more informal and open participation structures should strengthen those principles in the future through an empowerment of residents.

As experiences from Germany show, especially in top-down initiated cooperatives, residents have to learn how cooperative housing works, thus education and support are important tasks and communication and dialogue key competence and responsibility of the coop. Besides those institutional structures the coop should additionally offer facilities both for civil engagement and leisure activities in order to strengthen the neighbourhood and simplify committee and community work. A marketing strategy could help to build a community identity and create an image (internally and externally) people can and want to relate to in order to reinforce social cohesion and satisfaction with the living environment.

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Nevertheless, in both studied areas the existing coop structure is an important basis for future improvements. It offers the potential to build a sense of identity on the coop (and its principles) rather than on the idea of a gated community.

During the fieldwork, some bottom-up initiatives have been observed in both areas. It is believed that this can improve the quality for the overall community if they are provided with the adequate support from the administrative structures accompanied by a stronger neighbourhood network. The proposals presented try to build on and strengthen those initiatives, to act as the basis for a lively community, disregarding the weak administrative and management structures.

The key aims should be to consider the residents needs, to strengthen the community and social cohesion in order to minimize (social) conflicts and improve the quality of life. One of the main instruments to reach these aims is the restructuring of the coop especially regarding the empowerment of residents by reinforcing their influence and participation but also additional developments (see proposals) regarding safety, transportation, the creation of open spaces for interaction and exchange and the approval of a regulated/adapted informality rather than its abolishment.

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