



Ain Shams University
Egypt



University of Stuttgart
Germany

Mapping the Impact of Women's Perceptual Safety on Public Spaces:

Investigating the Relationship between Gender, Class, Cultural Centers and Social Relations in Sha'bi Districts in Cairo

**A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree
of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design**

by

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July, 2016

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07/28/2016

Reeham Sayed

Signature



Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Yehya Serag, Prof. Dr. Josefine Fokdal and Dr. Martina Rieker for always listening to me despite my often scattered thoughts, for their motivation, guidance and believing in me during the course of this research.

I am grateful to my dearest friends Hala Higazy, Nourhan Abdel-Rahman and Salma Abdelrahman for their support along the way and for the discussions we had thousands of kilometers apart across the different countries of Cairo, London and Stuttgart.

This research couldn't have been done without the support from my friends and colleagues Ahmad Borham, Ahmad Zaazaa, Amr Abotawila, Asmaa Mekkawy, Cady Nasr, Dina Alaa, Hadir Hawash, Ismail Mouneer, Maha Hassan, Maram **Sha'ban**, **Marwa Barkat**, **Menna** Aref, Nouran el-Marsafy, Omnia Khalil, Sundus Sherif and Yasmin Halawa who are always by my side whenever I need insight or advise.

I am immensely grateful to Dr. May El-Ibrashy and Dr. Tarek Waly for hosting me in El-Khalifa community center and Tarek Waly center during the field research in March and April and providing me with the materials and maps I needed for the two case studies.

I wish to express a sincere thank you to the amazing girls and women from el-Khalifa and Kum Ghurab districts who agreed to participate and share with me their stories.

In addition, a thank you to Asmaa Shaaban and Maria Newbird from Sidewalks Cairo workshop, Amal Al-Mohandes from Nazra for Feminist Studies, Ahmed Hegab from HARASSMAP and Hermas Fawzy from OPANTISH who discussed their work with me and were a source of inspiration.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to the IUSD team namely, Prof. Mohamad Salheen, Ahmad Osama, Mohammad Al-Fiqqy and Wesam El-Bardisy for the fruitful discussions.

I consider myself very fortunate to have met Dr. Nabeel El-Hady. I wish to thank him for being the most intellectual and inspiring professor I have ever known.

Another 15,000 words are not enough to express my deep gratitude to my beloved family for their support and encouragement me along the way that enabled me to be where I am right now.

To the 25th January revolution who gives me a whole new mode of thinking. To my revolutionary friends all over the world, those who seek dignity and freedom, I wish you all my best.

الحمد لله.

Mapping the Impact of Women's Perceptual Safety on Public Spaces: Investigating the Relationship between Gender, Class, Cultural Centers and Social Relations in Sha'bi Districts in Cairo

Reeham Ebrahim Aly Sayed

Abstract: The research will shed the light broadly on the working and middle class districts in Cairo, raising questions concerning the dynamics and urban behavior in these *Sha'bi* communities regarding various aspects. One of the topics that this research generally steps is the culture enlightenment, which is happening in such important medieval and historical districts. One example tackled in this regard is downtown, showing how the area has been a spot for cultural revitalization and recently developed attraction points for middle-upper class communities, which can be described as cultural enlightenment projects. The cultural enlightenment has both positive and negative side of **reserving the historic areas, but the most importantly question is; "Who is the cultural enlightenment for? This brings the discussion to the class struggle over space. Following this notion, the research will tackle the impact of these cultural enlightenment projects on the social relations in Sha'bi areas with, focusing on sexual harassment as a behavioral pattern in urban spaces that threatens women's safety. The research investigates particular dimensions and struggles behind sexual harassment in Sha'bi areas in Cairo tackling the issue in two historical Sha'bi districts, whereas each has hosted a cultural enlightenment center. The first district is El-Khalifa and the second is KumGhurab. The research argues that these cultural centers have a distinctive positive or negative impact on the social relations, dynamics and on changing the perception about gender interaction in Sha'bi areas. Particularly, attention will be given to the spatiality of sexual harassment and gender interaction with respect to social relations, social structure and gendered spaces in Sha'bi areas in Cairo. This aims at understanding the meaning of Sha'bi in providing a sense of social security and production of safety. The research will map gender interaction, gendered spaces, and sexual harassment spots and understand why sexual harassment happens to certain groups in certain contexts. The two different case studies will be compared, focusing on the cultural center in each district, and how each center was initiated and merged within its district, explaining how these centers have an impact on women's safety, social relations and gender interaction. Finally, the research will comprise a comprehensive discussion of the importance of street sociability and vitality, the issue of respecting and strengthening the cultural meanings and traditions, production of safety, and introducing a gender-sensitive approach to be within this research's agenda for further enlightenment and development in Sha'bi districts.**

Keywords:

gender, class, social relations, cultural centers, sha'bi, Qahwa, gentrification, culture displacement, struggle, safety, women, sexual harassment, gender interaction.

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Arabic Glossary

- Qahwa Baladi or Qahawi قهوة بلدي **Local cafes**
- Muhafez مخلص conservative
- Mulid, Mawalid مولد, مولد **A birthday celebration for Al Al beet**
- Bent El-Mante'a بنت المنطقة A girl from the district
- Ahl El-Mante'a أهل المنطقة **people from the district**
- Haq Al-Intefa' حق الانتفاع **Usufruc:** A right to use without ownership
- Aurf and Mawrooth عرف أو موروث A habit that people agreed on, considered as a law

1 Introduction

1.1. Prolog

In recent years, women's safety issues in public spaces and their relation to gender-based violence have become on top of debates in the Egyptian society and their importance for the community and research have been escalating within the past decade. Sexual harassment is one of the aspects that threaten **women's safety in public spaces. It has become a widespread phenomenon in** the Egyptian streets that women from all social classes and backgrounds experience on a daily basis. According to the report by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in 2013, studies show that 99.3% of Egyptian women have been exposed to sexual harassment, either physical or verbal (UN-Women, 2013).

In the previous figure (Fig.2), the first displayed photo shows a statement raised **through activism against sexual harassment, expressing women's rights to public spaces and city streets, as well as women's exclusion from public spaces** because of daily practiced sexual harassment. The second photo expresses the gender power relation, which is somehow common in the Egyptian male society **and it declares that women's safety in public spaces is associated with** continuously being accompanied by a male, and most probably a member of her family, to protect her. A study conducted by Harassmap declares that the female respondents reported having been harassed in the past, most commonly during the afternoon either on the streets or on public transport (Harassmap, 2014). This study also states that Sexual harassment has psychological consequences and negative effects on the harassed females who go through feelings of distress and disgust (Harassmap, 2014).

As well as this, there was an important experiment and movie that took place in the streets of downtown Cairo, which shows how sexual harassment is highly accepted in the Egyptian community. A male actor and activist, Waleed

Hammad, decided to dress like women and walk through Cairo's streets to experience the public space like women. He stated that before this experience, he -as a man-found walking on the streets to tease or harass women to be a normal and easy habit. Yet, after being dressed like a woman and being harassed on the streets, he explained that he experienced how harsh it was for woman to use Cairo's streets everyday (Ernst, 2013).

"For a woman, it boils down to her having to focus on how she breathes while she is walking. It is not just the walk. It is not just the clothes. It is not what she says or how she looks... You have to be in a constant state of alertness."(Waleed Hammad, 2013)



Figure 1: Man dressed like a woman in a harassment experiment, (ERNST, 2013)

1.2. On Sexual Harassment and Public discourse in Cairo

Sexual harassment has also been a discussed subject by revolutionary, activists and feminist associations. Harassmap is one of the most renowned active associations that bring sexual harassment into the public discourse in Egypt in the last five years.

In response to the absence of the way of reporting sexual harassment instantly, Harassmap¹, is free software that map the place of harassment's incident once female reports about it (Harassmap.org, 2015). Harassmap was a part of the physical force intervention *rapid deployment forces in* Tahrir square as a part of social security that save females in public spaces. Since Harassmap started working on sexual harassment issues in Egyptian streets, they started also to work on academic research parallel to their societal work. In addition, Harassmap works on different definitions of sexual harassment that are now considered as references for those working on and/or studying sexual harassment.

¹ **Harassmap**, an award winning volunteer-based initiative founded in late 2010 that is working to end the social acceptability of sexual harassment in Egypt to build a society that guarantees the safety of all people from sexual and gender based violence. (Harassmap.org, 2015)

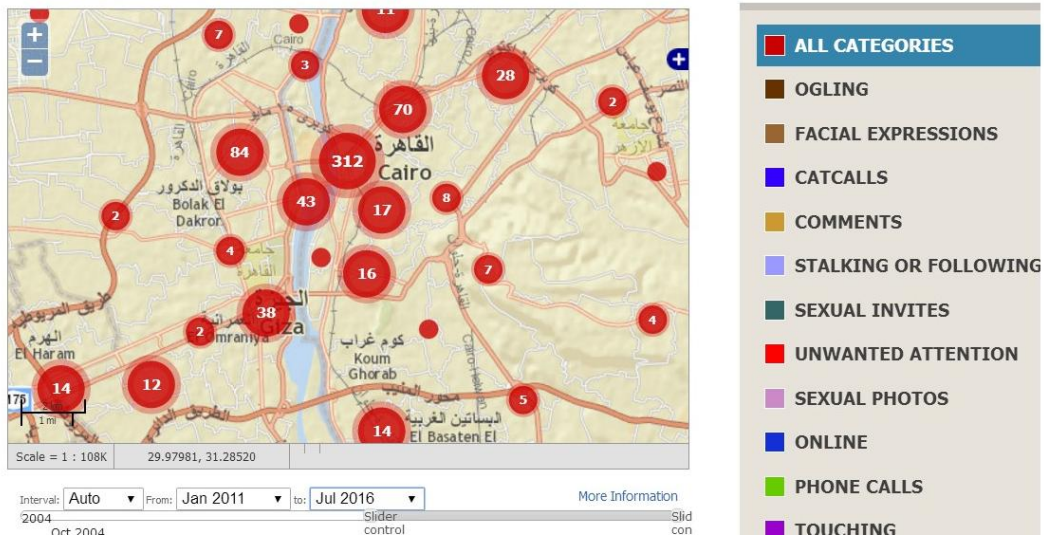


Figure 2: All Categories of sexual harassment, harassmap, 2011

According to Harassmap’s work on reporting sexual harassment across Cairo, females, from several districts in Cairo, are witnessing and reporting sexual harassment. The phenomenon of sexual harassment is not related to the crowdedness in public spaces, feast seasons and protests. It is a practice of everyday life for men and a part of a daily experience of women whenever they are roaming city streets and public space.

1.3. Sexual Harassment and Urban phenomena

While reading and understanding issues related to sexual harassment like gender and class in public spaces, I have some questions and observations that relate to sexual harassment as well as reflect on what’s happening in the city of Cairo. Given this, what’s happening in Cairo means the dynamics of the city’s districts in two senses:

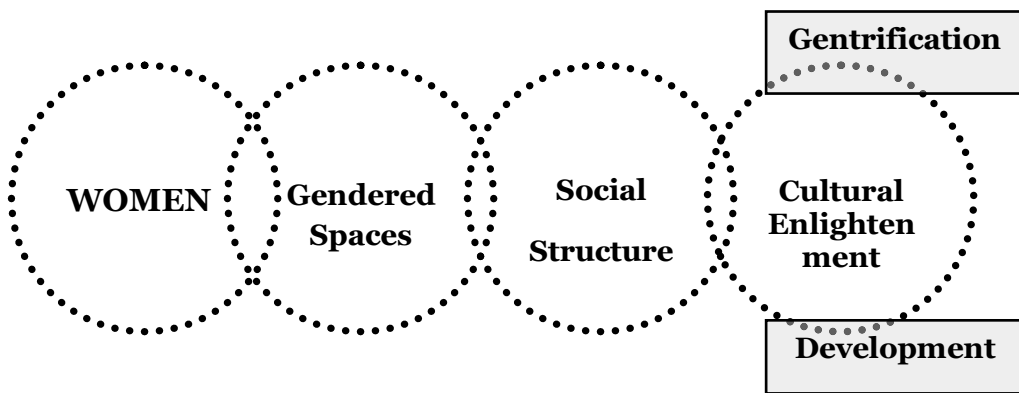
The first one is how government deals with these middle and working class areas. The second one is about social relations, class politics, gender interaction and the effect of the way that government deal with these districts.

The government's approach to informal areas has two major ideologies. The government's approach to informal areas has two major ideologies. The first is viewing informal settlements as a problem and a threat that must be removed (Tadamun, 2014). The second ideology is around how the urban growth should be extended into desert land (Mitchell 1991, Sims 2012). The government follows intervention strategies and preventative approaches in informal areas. The first approach is a forced eviction demolition, resettlement and upgrading based ("Coming up Short: Egyptian Government Approaches to Informal Areas - Tadamun", 2014). The second approach is to lemmatize the growth of informality in a way to improve or remove it (ibid).

The government sees that informal settlements have many circumstances in regard to unfortunate housing settings as well as environmental hazards (Shehayeb, D. K. 2009). However, informal settlements are uniquely distinguished for various aspects, including their self-sufficiency, walkability, working nearby home and collective work, among other characteristics (ibid). Moreover, a **great segment of Egypt's urban inhabitants is living within three residential options: deteriorated districts (Sha'bi), mass housing in new cities and informal settlements** (ibid).

Since the second approach of improving goes beyond the deteriorated districts and it has been adopted in middle class districts like downtown. There is a wave of development called cultural enlightenment projects happening now in old and historic districts of Cairo. This wave of development has been exposed to the critique of urban activists that see that sense of development is a multi-party strategy for gentrifying the downtown (Magid, 2014). On the other hand, it is exposed to the support from other stakeholders who dream with the nostalgia of the heritage and the image of Cairo as a cosmopolitan city. They see that there is kind of activities does not suit the medieval sense of the city like metalworking in downtown (Berger, 2014). The other part of the equation sees that relocation of these activities is the solution. Given that, the cultural enlightenment projects have become the key for developers that will give Cairo

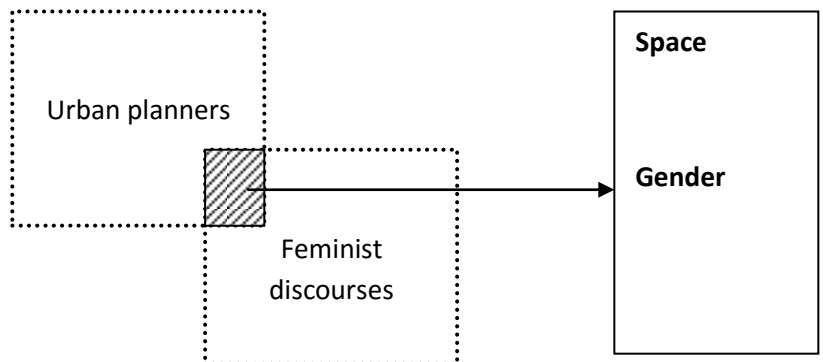
the promising and cosmopolitan image. These projects are townhouse gallery, renovating hotel Viennoise and spreading spots to host music festivals (Breger, 2014). Downtown Cairo is considered as one of the first historic areas that witnessed the wave of cultural enlightenment. I argue that cultural enlightenment projects have an effect on changing any social interactions in the city as well as it change the origin space users with new ones. In that sense, I **would focus in my research on two Sha'bi and working-middle class districts showing what do Sha'bi and middle-class districts witness regarding the cultural enlightenment and community development projects, social relations and interaction, gender aspects and public spaces.**



1.4. Research problem

This research draws on urban planners and feminist discourses around space and gender that explore the relationships between the space as gendered arena, women perceptions of safety, social relations, new cultural centers and class dynamics within Sha'bi districts in Cairo. The research aims to investigate these relationships from a spatial perspective in order to map women's perceptual safety. The trigger behind this research is that I experienced sexual harassment in Cairo streets and curiosity sometimes takes my soul to understand and investigate the phenomena from my perspective as an urban researcher.

The researcher's interest in the issue is reflected in this research through the attempt of putting the phenomenon in an urban context with limited variables that help to investigate the struggles behind the phenomenon. The selected contexts are distinctive with class differentiations, spaces under and out of residents' control and different institutions and gendered spaces.



1.5. Research Aim and Assumption

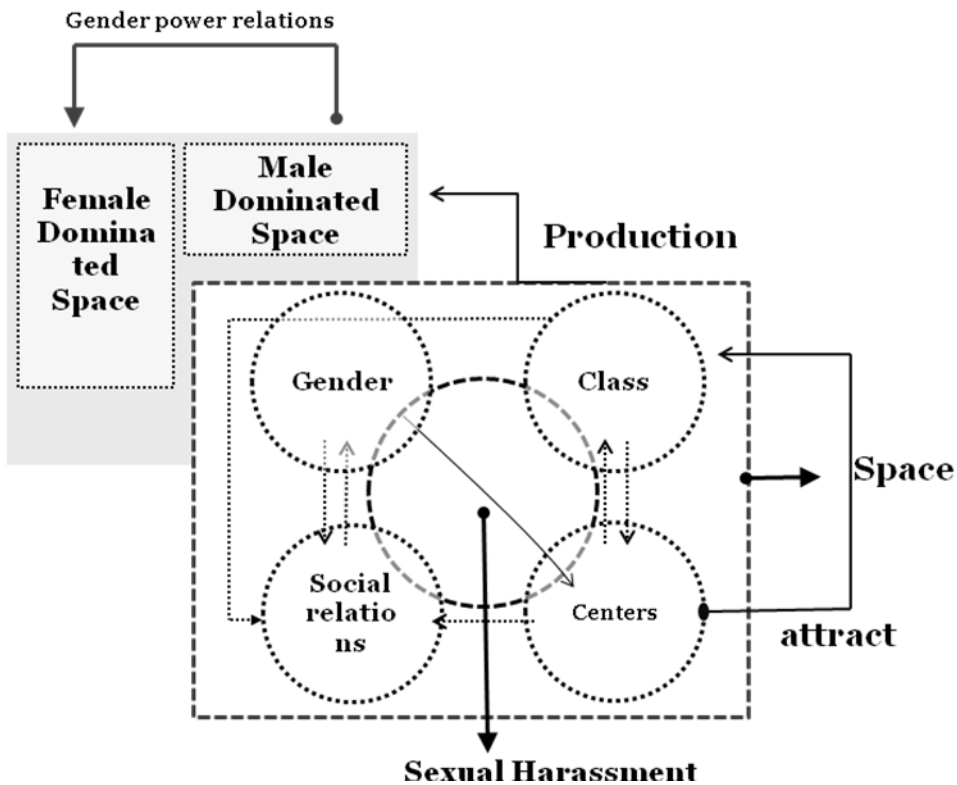


Figure 3: Research aim

The research main aim is to investigate the relationship between gender, class, entities and social relations in *Sha'bi* neighborhoods in Cairo, and understanding how cultural centers have an impact on changing the social relations and interactions in these conservatives and *Sha'bi* communities. The research examines and investigates how sexual harassment is an intersection of **these four struggles over spaces as well as one of the aspects of women's safety in public spaces.**

The research assumes also that social relations play a role in providing or sense of safety and security to women whether who used to visit these two

neighborhoods or who residents in the two selected neighborhoods are. Moreover, the research attempts to identify variables that contribute to **women's safety aspects in different categories in public spaces within Sha'bi** district s while it open doors for future research in that regards as well as looking at the spatial dimension beside the social aspects of the space.

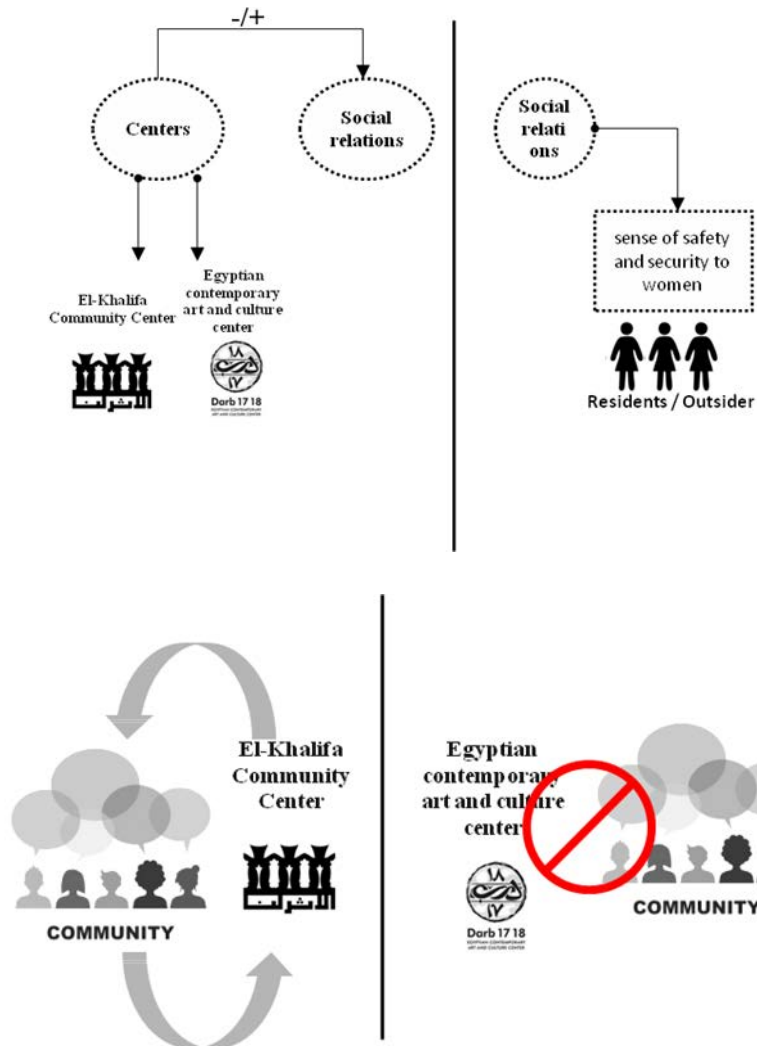


Figure 4: research assumption

Additionally, the research aims at mapping **women's** perceptual safety in public spaces as well as to map gender interactions and their association to the social

structure of **Sha'bi** areas. Furthermore, the research will map sexual harassment and how it relates to gendered institutions in every area. The research will show the different types of gender practices towards female according to the class differentiation of female **visitors'** centers in the two case studies. In other words, sexual harassment takes other shapes according to the different contexts.

1.6. Definitions

1.6.1. Sexual harassment

I will focus within my research framework on some definitions that have been identified by Harassmap which include Ogling, unwanted comments, stalking, following, facial expression, **touching female's** body and man touching his penis once he sees a girl in front of him (Harassmap.org, 2015).

1.6.2. Sha'bi

I will define ***Sha'bi* within the selected contexts according to people's behavior** in the streets, how they use streets and how they have commitment to each other. People, who live in ***Sha'bi*** area, would interfere to solve any problem like ending a fight, correct the naughtiness of young people in the street and protect **women. "*Sha'bi*" areas, the street is central to many activities**, including weddings, death observances, playing, socializing, and selling various foods and goods. Social interaction, in the neighborhood, varies from commercial activities some of it carried out by women to selling vegetables and bread in the streets and local markets to local cafes. Zeeta is also a main aspect of any Shabi neighborhood (Ghannam, 1997). It means noise; this noise makes the neighborhood livable as well as a bit safe for women to go through vital streets (Ghannam, 1997).

1.6.3. Safety

I contribute to the definitions of safety from my research's field work. According to the different perceptions of safety that have been explained by females, perceptual safety is the right to move around city streets, to use and appropriate public space, to set in public space and interact freely without restrictions that may come from social relations and practiced power relations.

1.7. Research Significance

On the ethical level, the research supports and promotes the notion that females are not responsible for the physical violence against them. On the time level, the phenomenon of sexual harassment has been on the top heated debates in society and recently it gets attention from the political Parties and Constitutional institutions.

On the societal level, the research offers to enhance the built environment for **women against violence "Sexual harassment"**.

Finally, and most importantly, on the spatial level, the phenomenon is tackled a lot from the social science scholars, feminist geographers and little attention **given to relationship of Women's safety, built environment and its relation to** everyday experience of physical violence.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1. On Safety

In an attempt to identify the relation between safety and women in poor neighborhoods, it can be said that safety seems to be a predominant cause of anxiety for these women living in poor neighborhoods, where they are used to having daily trip by walking in neighborhood streets and public spaces. Perceptual safety in this research is distinctive, since it measures a different variable, which is that how women perceive their own safety in many regards, like negotiating the space, occupying the space, gender interaction and spaces out or under social control.

“This is something everyone already knows: A well-used city street is about to be a safe street. A deserted city street is about to be unsafe” (Jane Jacob, 1961)

Moreover, this research is highly motivated by the work of Jane Jacob and her **developed theory, “Eyes upon streets”**. In her theory, Jacob discusses the sidewalks, explaining that their uses and users are the participants of the civilized and barbarism attitude that shapes the city. Jacob also explains the **idea of “Eyes upon street” with the traffic throughout the day that provides** observant eyes that increase sense of security and social safety in streets. The **theory also discusses how the “social capital” can be defined in this context**, which is basically the everyday activities that take place in the neighborhood that construct relationships between neighbors. Jacob states that social capital provides a foundation for mutual trust, shared efforts, and resilience in times of **trouble.” In addition, Jacob** argues that street peace does not come from keeping the streets observed and controlled by the police, but rather through voluntary control between people themselves. In order to maintain this state of **safety and neighborhood’s street peace, streets must have** three main qualities;

the first quality is differentiation between what is a public space and what is a private space; the second quality is eyes upon streets, which refers to the street owners as social actors, and finally the existence of continuous activities on sidewalks that provides both numbers of “*effective eyes*” –as described by Jacob-, and muster people to observe the sidewalks of city streets. The departure point of the research is based on what Jacob argued in how city streets should be prepared to handle strangers. It was also argued by Phadke **that the production of safety is so much associated with women’s negotiation** and confrontations of threats and danger in public spaces and transportation means.

2.2. On Gender: Struggle and Space

The **work of this research draws on Doreen Massey’s work on her concept of space, social structure and identity.** Massey stated that social relations have spatial form presented in the social space, which is produced by spatial practices and communications. This is also an intersection between her work **and Lefebvre’s sense of space. Massey also clarified that some of the social relations are restricted within the space (Levebvre, 1991).** On Social relations and interaction in space, Massey also draws on the characteristics of urban areas and how it is not only a product of internalized history than are the recent fortunes of its manufacturing industry (Massey, 1994). In addition, Massey figured out how the space is not only a product of social relations, but rather that these relations comprise the social phenomenon in the space. From this notion, it can be stated that the construction of gender-power relations, as a **part of the social relations, restricts women’s mobility in the space.**

Due to the expansion of capitalist process of production, which is characterized by private ownership of production means, in the nineteenth century; the **women's geographic distribution changed according to the change of economic** process of production (Massey, 1994). Change in social and spatial organization of work matters to women as well as men (ibid).

In addition to that, Massey has identified the difference between the public space and private space, as well as the definition of each of them.

The abovementioned literature will be the base to draw upon on the analysis section regarding the production of social relations, meanings, private and public spaces.

2.3. On Social space: space negotiation and spatial practices

Henri Lefebvre defines social space as a social product or social Installation that relies on values and social production of significations. Lefebvre investigates struggles over these significations and examines how social relations in districts are associated with social and cultural meanings. In addition, in a study conducted by Nadia Ilahi on street harassment in Cairo, the author clarified the **social space in Egypt “felt” different according to gender.** (Ilahi, 2009) She illustrated that the different experience of men and women demonstrate different senses of social space. She also discloses that women in Egypt are reclaiming public spaces as well as men and women are challenging the conventional cultural meaning of public space (Ibid). In this research, the meaning of social space will be investigated in the light of gendered institutions and gendered spaces. Additionally, the research will focus on the sense of social space; the perceived space with spatial practices examining, how women reclaim and appropriate public spaces according to the culture meaning and **also restrictions of Sha’bi societies in Cairo.**

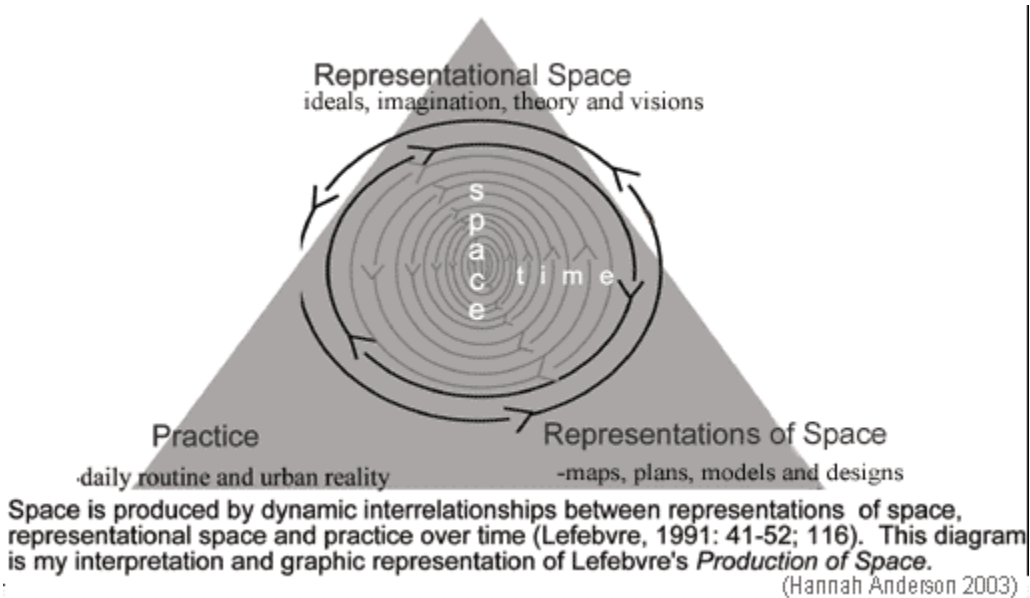


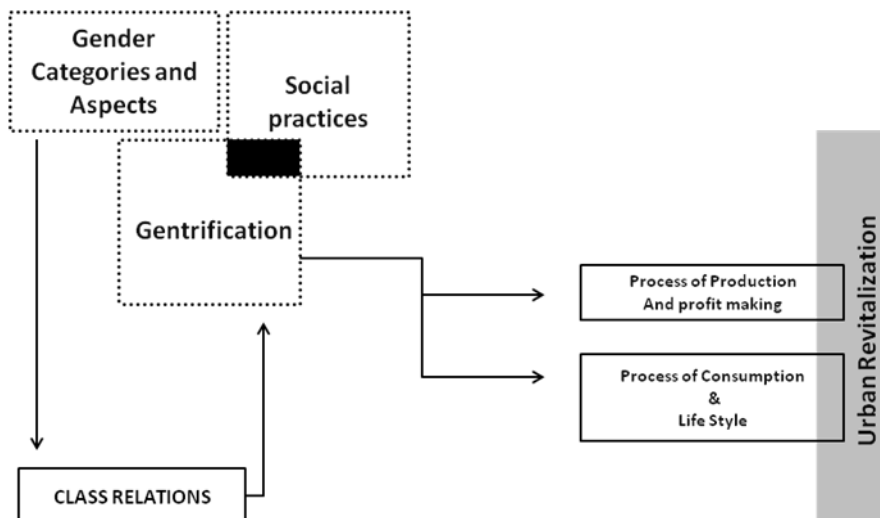
Figure 5: Lefebvre's triads of social space, Source: Hannah Anderson, 2003)

2.4. On community and social relations in the City

One of the inspirational literatures in this regard is Franc Tonkiss's book, "Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms". In her book, Tonkiss highlights how social interaction has been produced in modernized cities. She demonstrates that the community still endows a common shared expression for bringing notions of cultural ties, social networks and local spaces simultaneously (Tonkiss, 2005). Tonkiss also describes the idea that group identities come together to be a common tongue that presents the whole community particularly in the way that urban minorities have been established. In this sense, community languages are embodied in these shared politics of identities (ibid). Within Tonkiss's analysis of Robert E. Park's mode of thinking and concepts of community, community is defined within different frameworks. It is particularly relevant to this research how Tonkiss discussed

the second concept, which is the social model, where communities are distinctive with social networks and institutions (ibid). The social relations that come out of this community are not only based on the cultural ties between the community, but also on the institutions like the community associations, religious organizations, meeting spots, restaurants and social spaces (ibid). Tonkiss declares that in order to analyze a community within an urban context, the spatial and social aspect should overlap in an inseparable manner. This shall be the basis to draw upon in the field analysis section of this research.

2.5. On Gentrification, Culture Displacement, and Gender



Source: Author based on Liz Bondi

Figure 6: gentrification and Gender practices, Source: based on Smith,1987 and Bondi 1999

Ruth Glass argues that gentrification is a process of capturing injustices between social classes, which is created by urban markets and policies. The

critical aspect about gentrification is that it combines changes on several levels; economic, social and physical (Smith, 1987). Upper middle-class users go to fixed-up and newly built areas, in which social restructuring and capital investments are taking place (ibid). Gentrification is argued to be a social transformation, physical conversion and economic change in the land and housing markets (Smith, 1987). Smith also points out that gentrification is a combination of social, physical and economic procedures, as well as being related to middle-upper-class immigrants. Bondi has also argued that gentrification is a phenomenon that has multi faces. She also clarifies that gentrification and gender are a representation of the economic and cultural practices in working class neighborhoods (Bonzi, 1999).

The notion of gentrification and gender is also discussed within the context of differentiation between the experience of women and men in space and its association with gender inequality and class identities. Many scholars tend to study the causes behind gentrification and little attention to the effects of it (smith, 1979).

The theoretical framework of this research will explore the impact of gentrification inside the newly built environment of the pottery village on the **Kum Ghurab residents' perception** of gender, class, and new activities of the middle-upper class community. It will also investigate how people perceive the impact of gentrification, which is the culture displacement, and how they react to it.

3 Methodology

3.1. Research Strategy

This research is a data-driven exploratory research that relies on preliminary fieldwork data. It presents findings and maps from qualitative and comparative analysis between two case studies. The research employs the ethnographic study of foreign and Egyptian women who have experienced sexual harassment and teasing in public spaces in El-Khalifa and in Darb 1718, Kum Ghurab neighborhoods. The sample of women included in this study ranged in age, social class and education level. They are mostly university and school students, stay-at-home ladies, street vendors in the market, Baladi women, foreigners who used to visit the area, as well as members from El-Khalifa community center-Megawra and newly members from Darb 1718 Art contemporary center and pottery village. The social relation of the target group to the area is one of two options; they either used to live in the selected neighborhoods, or they visit them on daily basis.

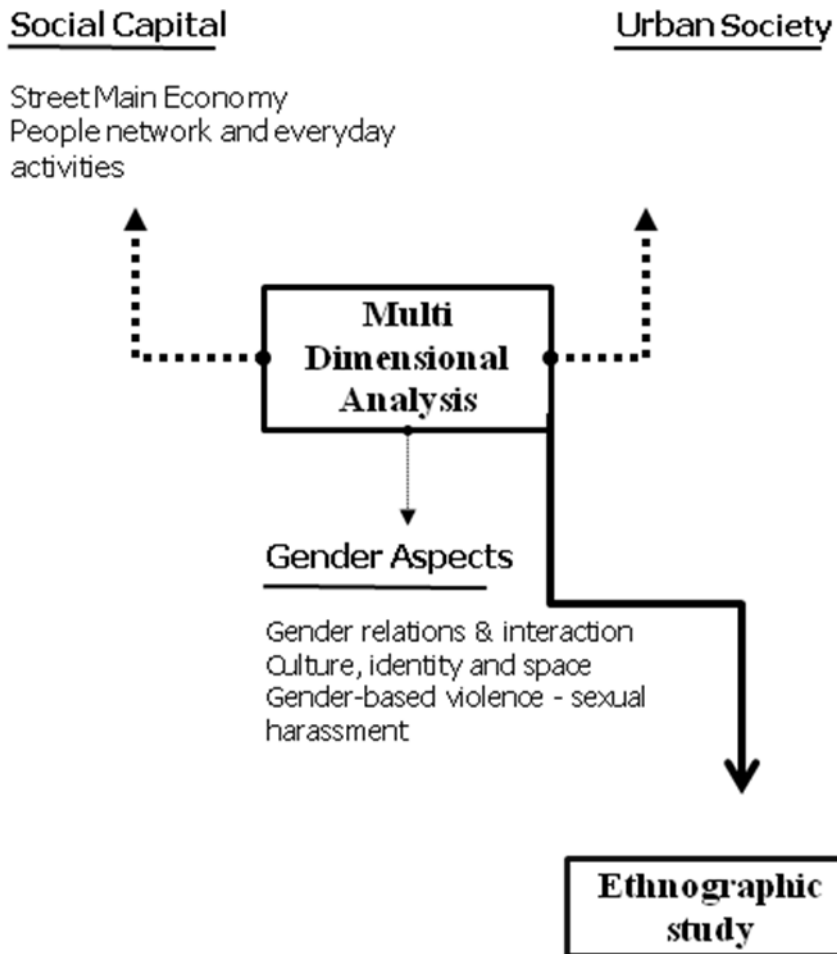


Figure 7: Methodology diagram no. 1

The adopted methods and tools are the same in the two case studies except the part of the social survey and the socio-demographic study. It is not applied in the case of darb because of safety reasons as well as the researcher sees that study might not fit in this part in the research. The situation in the second case study is that the path in Kum Ghurab area is occupied by workshops owners and it is not a residential path. Moreover, the main objective of the socio-demographic study is to map the social relations between the residents whether they are relatives of friend.

3.2. Methodology Limitation

The research faced several limitations mainly due to safety issues facing the researcher herself and women who are exposed into the experience of sexual harassment in the streets. In addition, the researcher could not conduct interviews with some stakeholders, especially with men who used to talk about sexual harassers on the lips of others **as they didn't practice it before. This adds** to the sometimes unethical interviews collaboration of some users, which was discarded from the research. The researcher sometimes stopped these kinds of interviews with men. The researcher sometimes depended on alternative sources of gathering qualitative data.

Jan Jahl **talks about mapping in his book “how to study urban life”** describing how important is to map behaviors. He says that mapping is capturing **what’s’ happening** in the space

Jan Jahl talks about mapping in his book “how to study urban life” describing how important it is to map behaviors. He says that mapping is capturing what’s’ happening in the space.

The research is based on the use of primary data like participatory and non-participatory observation, social questionnaires, focus groups, semi-structured interviews and mapping social relations. The used tools are meant to capture the social meanings, relations and ordinary everyday activities of the people in their settings. The research also employed these tools in order to understand the dynamics of gender interactions in the public space, inside or outside the neighborhood, and its association to the social relation and social composition in such *Sha’bi* neighborhood. The ethnography study presented in this research deals with the research aim respectfully in the sense of how gender relations, **class differentiation and public spaces intersect coexist in “Sha’bi”** neighborhoods. This work is conducted intensively from March 2016 to April 2016. Bernard argues that ethnographic study would be stronger when a number of methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative, are adopted.

In this part of the research, interviews with program coordinators, members from NGOs, women from feminist associations, Sidewalks workshop participants and urban activists are also included. Since ethnography is a highly flexible, an experiment was done with the girls from the technical school, through the field research, in order to investigate the relationship between sexual harassment and the social sense of security of the neighborhood as well as understanding the complex relation between space and sexual harassment.

The research also investigated the gendered spaces in el-Khalifa according to the cultural and traditional meanings and backgrounds of this urban *Sha'bi* community, which restricts women's interaction and presence in certain places like "*Qahwa Baladi*" or in the art contemporary center Darb1718.

In the first case study, Social questionnaires were done in order to understand and map the social relations between people in Al-Ashraf Street as well as to know the socio-demographic of the street. The socio-demographic study focuses on certain parts, which is the relationship between the residents whether they are friends or relatives.

Observations are were conducted two times throughout the day in the case of El-Khalifa and at one time in the case of Kum Ghurab to capture the important activities related to the normal daily street life and also the everyday major incidents that affect women's experience in public spaces inside the district and outside.

In the first case study, the first observation timing was around 13:00 pm. At this time, the school day ends and girls go out of the technical school. Boys and Men, from the area or outsiders, gathers at some points mostly at in front of the school entrance and street, street corners, cafes, kiosks, on their motorbike or just standing and walking. The second observation timing was at 19.30 pm. starting from this time; men gather on Cafés "*Qahwa Baladi*" after finishing work and taking a nap at their homes as well as El-khalifa community center starts its lecture and events. At the time of the fieldwork, Eshaa' prayer was at 19.30 pm or a bit before. Though, men's presence on the street is noticeable.

Focus group meeting targets girls from technical school and university students. Focused interviews target outsiders and centers' visitors and members in the sense of which streets they prefer to walk through and their perceptions of safety in the area.

In the second case study, the target groups to be interviewed are men from Kum Ghurab, Kum Ghurab cafes owners, Darb 1718's female and male visitors and members.

Direct non-obtrusive observations are adopted in Kum Ghurab in order to know how women in the area perceive alley as a social space.

Focus group meeting targets Darb 1718's female visitors and members to understand their daily experience to and from Darb 1718.

Experiment "test walk" is done with on the girls that work at Tarek Waly center in the pottery village. The test walk is a trial to navigate Kasr El-Sham' street twice on the same day. The first one from the pottery village to one of the grocery shops inside Kum Ghurab. The second is from the pottery village to Mar Girgis metro station. The test walk is done to understand also how the community reacts to the outsider females who are middle-upper-class. Darb 1718's members and visitors are middle-upper-class people.

Participatory and direct non-obtrusive observations are adopted in both case studies in order to map gender interactions and to draw how women use the space.

These tools help in mapping gender interaction as well as they will open further discussion in chapters four and five about sexual harassment, gendered spaces, and social security.

These maps lead to discussion in chapter four about sexual harassment, gendered spaces and social security.

3.4. Rationale for selecting the case studies

The research relies on a comparative analysis between two different problematic situations. The first case study shows the impact of the community center on the district and its **residents' perceptions about gender interaction, sexual harassment, Women's safety, and common and well-known traditions "Taqaheed"**. The second case study tackles the relationship between gentrification process in the pottery village in old Cairo, the rising of new contemporary art centers and community response to the different lifestyle and cultural displacement. Moreover, it declares the opposite of the first case study and how sexual harassment is a practice resulted out of the isolation and bad relation between the new center and Kum Ghurab community.

The good relationship that is built between the community center and the community itself might provide a sense of security and safety in the street for women and specially outsiders. The researcher is considered as a part of the research, contributing with her personal experiences, through the fieldwork days. A personal incident happened to the researcher and other outsiders. While the researcher was walking in Al-Ashraf Street and someone starts to approach her for teasing or harassment, and once the researcher entered the gate of EI-khalifa community center, he came and apologized for his disrespectful behavior.

This incident shows that when relationships are built upon respecting the social sense, traditions, cultural and religious background of such neighborhoods; the community responds positively to this entity, even when this entity is rather different from the community culture.

The researcher sees that the comparability is strong in the terms of the good or bad social relations and this supports the research argument which is based on these relations.

In the second case study, people in the area are in clear opposition of all the **aspects of Darb 1718. People from Kum ghorab express how they hate Darb's** members, visitors, events and concerts. They claim that the activities offered by Darb1718 are contradicting their beliefs, traditions and culture.

The distinction between these two case studies helps in clarifying the research issues as well as enriching the research discussion, declaring how the good relations between the people and a cultural center might affect social interaction, gender interaction, and perception of safety either in a positive or in an equally negative way. The differentiation also shows the class and gender struggle over public space.

4 Women Negotiating El-Khalifa Public Spaces and the Everyday life

4.1. Prolog - Historical background of the area

Al-Khalifa encompasses a zone of residential pre-modern urban fabric of privileged heritage value. It has a significant and wide range of elements of historical buildings and old street pattern among other aesthetical agents (URHC, 2014). The area is named according to El-Khalifa Al-Ashraf Khalil Ibn Qalwoon, the eighth Mamluk sultan. El-Ashraaf Street, the study area, is named according to El-Khalifa Al Ashraf because he played a very important role in the expulsion of the Crusaders from Egypt. The district is so rich with tangible and intangible medieval heritage. This historical attributes of El-Khalifa district provides more dynamics to the area as well as attracts many different people. In 2011, *Al-Athar Lana*² initiative takes place in El-khalifa by Megawra Built environmental collective. El-khalifa community center, a new community center, has been located and founded in El-khalifa district. Social interaction has changed in the district since this initiative started.

4.2. Street Dynamics, Everyday life and Street Activities “El Ashraaf” The Safest Street

“Streets and sidewalks, the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs. Think of a city and what comes to mind? It’s streets. If city’s streets look interesting, then the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull.” Jan Jacob (1961), p39

^{2 2} Al-Athar Lana initiative means the monument for us, it is initiated by megawra; the collective built environment and the forst event with El-khalifa community.

It is a based residential street with mixed-use activities that vary from commercial, recreational activities to many religious spots. The street has further religious activities in the normal days and extra religious activities like *Hadra* and religious songs in *Mawalid* days. The street connects Al-saliba Street to Sayda Nafisa square. People define their street starting from El-Khalifa Market to Sayda Nafisa square.

Sidewalks status is so narrow and used by the shop owners or women selling vegetables. The street width is allowing the two way directions for cars and *Toktok*. Street lighting at night is not enough; many girls complain about it. Street soundscape in *Mulid* is a mix between *Sha'bi*³ songs as called "*Mahragnat*" and *Hadra* performance music and *Anashid*. In normal days, street soundscape is also noisy. Children used to escape from the school and they spend most of the day at the street playing. *Toktok* also contributes in noisy as it becomes the main means of transportation inside the district. *Toktok* drivers used to play "*Mahragnat*" along the day. The dominated activities in the street are "*Qahwa Baladi*" and the market space. "*Qahwa Baladi*" is a male dominated space and the market is a female dominated space.

Al-Ashraaf Street has been for several years a part of the path of "*Aal El-beet*"; which aims to boost tourism in this area of Cairo. The path starts from this street and specifically from El Sayeda Nafisa, May Allah be pleased with her, and then followed by Sayeda Sekina mosque, May Allah be pleased with her, then Sabil Umm Abbas and finally the area surrounding Sultan Hassan mosque and the arms market. "*El Sayeda Nafisa Mulid*" takes place in March every year; *El-Leila El-kebera* takes place on 16th march. Street vendors, the big night of *Mulid* "*El-leila el-khebera*" and Mozmar with some religious songs are the main parts of *Mulid* as a commercial and religious activity (Al-Ansari, Al-Ebrashi, 2013). People come from Upper Egypt to attend *Mawalid*. Some of

³ *Sha'bi* is derived from the word *sha`b*, which means "people" or "folk." It indicates authenticity and rootedness and is linked with many positive qualities, such as cooperation between neighbors, respect for traditions, and willingness to help those in need. (Ghannam, 2002)

them stayed in tents over night and sell stuff through the day (ibid). The others have relatives in Cairo and they stayed at their places during the *Mulid* days. Swings plastic toys vendors and street vendors have some tents for celebration (ibid). Males sing Zekr music and perform their special music on drums and flutes with interaction from the audience (ibid).

The most popular *mulidis* al-Sayyida Nafisa, followed by al-Sayyida 'Aisha then al-Rifa'I (El Ansary, Al-Ibrashy, 2014). These *Mawlid* are visited by followers from all over Egypt.

4.3. Sha'bi "Muhafez" in El-khalifa

Sha'bi is a kind of social interaction that has an urban form. It is more like an urban practice that takes place in certain areas of Cairo (Sayed, 2016). The field work also figures out the meaning of *Sha'bi* district in the sense of social relations, social interaction, and social protection. The area has two different main institutions, El-Khalifa market, and local café "*Qahwa Baladi*". The study is meant to map women's negotiations in public spaces, appropriations of the public space "El-Khalifa market" and perception of safety which relate to social relations, gender interaction and gendered spaces within *Sha'bi* meaning.

Sayed Reda, a man from the area, explains that there is always a critique from the side of El-Khalifa residents "*ELMuhafezeen*"⁴ towards some attitudes of the outsiders, whether outsiders that come to Megawra or come to the Qahawi in el-Sayeda Nafisa Square. Residents claim girls that smoke inside El-Khalifa and specifically in front of El-Khalifa community center as well as sitting on **Mostafa's Qahwa and ordering *Shisha***. He states that El-Khalifa district is considered a conservative community. He describes the term Conservative in the following way. People respect each other. The youth respect the elderly.

⁴*ELMuhafezeen* is an arabic term means conservative people who keep on their traditions.

These traditions must be respected within the whole community. People help each other in resolving fights in streets.

Being “*Muhafez*”, conservative, has another notion when it comes to women. Women are not allowed to dress freely outside their houses. Sayed says that **most of our women wear the black tall outfit “Abaya” as well as veils. The percentage of women, who don’t cover their heads and hair, is few. Girls are not allowed to sit on “Qahwa Baladi” and to talk to men who sit there. Moreover, girls should not talk loudly on the phone while on the street. He criticized women sitting on *Qahwa* in El-Sayeda Nafisa square. He said “These are not our traditions. Those women are not from our district”. In El-Khalifa women’s mobility is restricted in many regards. Households’ women are only allowed to go to the markets and grocery shops. This is their daily trip inside El-Khalifa district. Otherwise, women’s place is at home.**

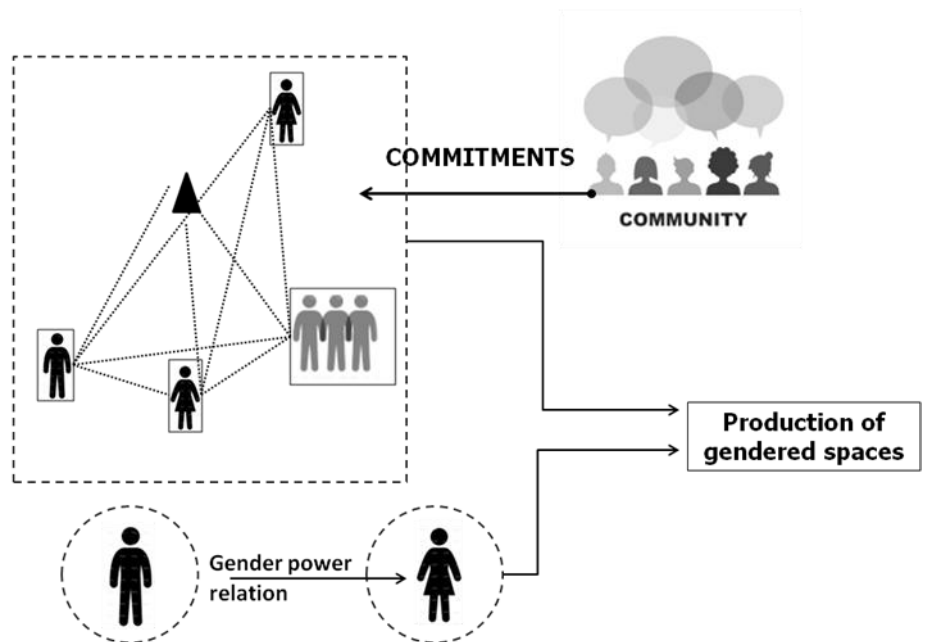


Figure 9: community commitment and women

4.4. The Impact of El-khalifa Community Center on Sha'bidistrict

The good relationship between the center and the community might be affecting residents' behavior as well as perception of safety for outsiders. Moreover, social relations between the community members themselves and between the community the new center are sometimes affecting gender interaction and women's perceptions of security. El-khalifa community center is located in Al-Ashraf Street in El-Khalifadistrict in 2013.

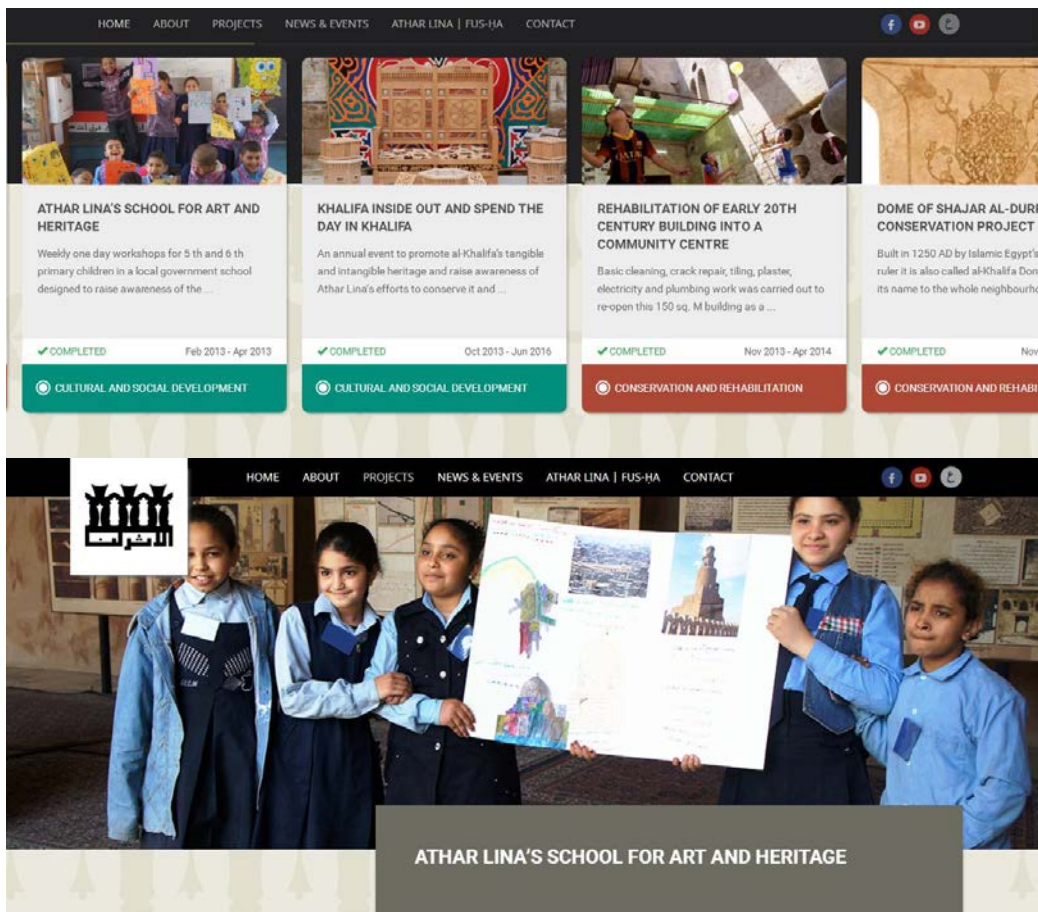


Figure 10: Al-Athar Lana activities

Maram Adel, Assistant Coordinator at Megawra and El-khalifa community center, explains the process and the history of Athar Lana program which is initiated by Megawra. Al Atharlana has three phases; the first phase includes an interactive workshop and focus group meetings with the residents of Al-Ashraaf street in order **to understand street's problems. The second phase engages and works with El-Khalifa kids.**—They focus on teaching them art and heritage in Shagaret el Durr school. The-third phase of Al Athar Lina starts with opening El-Khalifa community center and launching the tourism promotion which starts with **“Spend Your Day in El-Khalifa 1”**

Education, Health and first Aids, Tourism promotion, Capacity Building and solid waste management are the five main axes of Al-Athar Lana.

Sayed Reda is responsible for the Capacity Building and Craft Development at Al-Athar Lina and also from El-Khalifa district. He sees that the activities, organized by Megawra, attract many outsiders as well as get attentions from the authorities and municipalities. The authorities start to pay more attention to the area; they clean the street and provide street amenities. He has many concerns regarding the attitude of the outsider people who visit El-Khalifa center for workshops. He states that these people are very different from **El-Khalifa's** people regarding their lifestyle, behaviors and the way they ~~are~~ dressed. On the other hand, he cannot deny that El-Khalifa district has become more vital after the presence of El-Khalifa center. Sayed represents a big percent of people from El-Khalifa who are engaged with the community center activities.

El-Khalifa community center is located on Al-Ashraaf Street, beside Shagaret El-Durr dome.

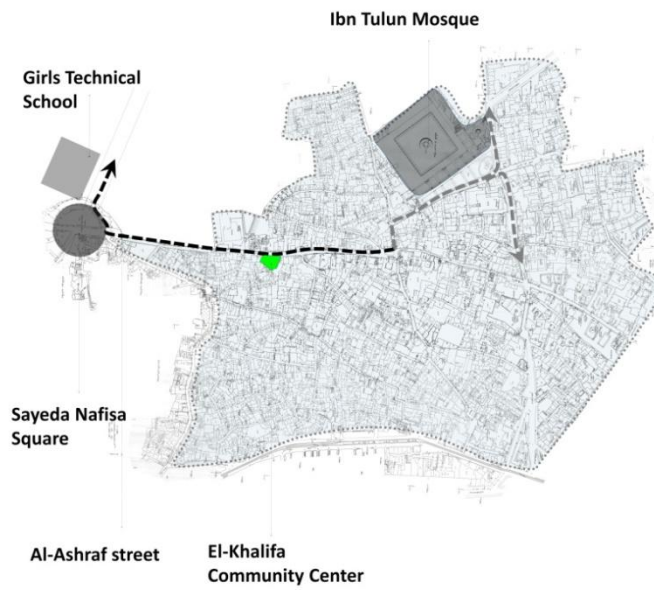


Figure 11: the location of El-Khalifa community center



Participatory workshop: al-Khalifa, A Dream

A workshop in Darb al-Husr open space, the designers and the locals will work together to stimulate and visualize dreams of the area's future.

26 May 2016

ورشة تشاركية: الخليفة حلم

ورشة في ساحة درب الحضر بالخليفة، حيث تتعاون مجموعة من المصممين المعماريين والعمرانيين مع بعض سكان منطقة درب الحضر بهدف تحفيز وتصوير أحلام وتطلعات




Figure 12: Al-Athar Lana activities

4.5. Gender, Identity and Space in El-Khalifa District

But there are other ways, too, in which space and place are important in the construction of gender relations and in struggles to change them (Massey 1994: 179). From the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces, and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood (Massey 1994).

In this sense, gender and space are produced through everyday practices in terms of social relations (Massey 1994). My work focuses on capturing how gender interaction happens in *Sha'bi* districts and how it is sometimes restricted due to the sense of security and the socio-demographic characteristics in EI-Khalifa. I also focus on understanding the everyday life and incidents that women and girls face in EI-khalifa streets on daily basis as well as examining the relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics, ~~this~~ sense of security and different classification of girls and women that either come to or live in EI-Khalifa.

4.5.1. “QahwaBaladi” As a Social Space and Male Dominated Space

“Rather, while creating the public, they do so in ways that reproduce such social phenomena as gender and **class differentiation**” (Peterson, 2011)

Gamal Al-Ghitany explained in his book “Features of Cairo in a thousand years” that “*QahwaBaladi*” is an important part of Historic Cairo and Cairenes life. Although “*Qahwa*” existed, it has not always **been called “Qahwa”**. The name “*Qahwa*” popped up and appeared in the Egyptian society when coffee entered Egypt with the Turkish Empire rule in 905 *Higri* timing (Al-Ghitani, 1997). Since 10th Hijri century, *Qahwa baladi* is spread in many areas in Cairo. Al-Ghitany points out that *Qahwa* is an economic, political and social space that **contributes in forming the society’s opinion where people can gather and discuss things related to politics and parliament issues** (ibid). He also considers “*Qahwa*” as a **small world** that reflects what people face on daily basis. *Qahawi* are the models of institutions encompassing the public sphere, places and gathering point where people comes together (Habermas 1989: 27). *Qahwa* is one of the most major forms of Egyptian public space (Peterson, 2011). It is a place where social networks are strengthened ~~ing~~ and unbreakable (ibid).

Local cafes in El-Khalifa are dominating the street activities. *Qahwa* space inside El-Khalifa district is occupied by males only. *Qahawi*, on the edge of El-Khalifa district, host both males and females.

4.5.2. Sexual Harassment, Social Action and Gendered Institutions in El-Khalifa

Young women in el-Khalifa don't merely escape from sexual harassment by men. I interviewed "Mostafa" the owner of "Qahwa" in El-Ashraaf Street; he said

"There are types of girls in the area; the respectful ones and others who want to be harassed by men. We, as men, can understand those two types of women. We sit on "Qahwa" and sometimes we have nothing to do, so we say some words to girls who pass in front of us. He also said that we, as men, cannot say any shameless words to local women, "Bent El-Mante'a", who pass through the street."

Mostafa believes that every woman, who wears improper outfits that don't respect the values of the *Sha'bi* district, wants to be harassed by men. Moreover, women, who navigate such conservative district, should be aware of the culture of the district. The only threat is the drug dealers who stand in the alleys perpendicular on El-Ashraf Street. Another complaint comes from Menna **Sha'ban, a university student, she said that there is a man who has a small juice tank selling in El-Khalifa market. Men used to gather in the evening after 19:30 pm to chill and harass girls.**

Referring to the social relation between el-Ashraf residents themselves, men have a role in protecting a woman in some incidents. However, in el-Ashraf Street, the situation is still safe for women to walk until 21:00 pm. This

protective attitude either comes from these social relations between the residents or from the gender construction and domination over women. The strong social structure plays a role in women's safety in the district. This protection ends at the edges of the district for many reasons. El-Khalifa's residents cannot control larger spaces or spaces on the edge of their district like El-Sayeda Nafisa square.

4.5.3. Gender Interaction, Class Dynamics, and Social Structure in El-Khalifa

“Moreover, since it is those relations which constitute the social phenomena themselves (jobs, economic functions, and social classes), the nature and the development of the phenomena and their spatial form are necessarily intimately related. And since social relations are bearers of power what is at issue is geography of power relations in which spatial form is an important element in the constitution of power itself.” (Doreen Massey, 1994)

Through the conducted study, I point out how gender interaction happens in el-Khalifa district. The girls from the technical school said that boys, whether from the area or outsiders, gather at the time when the school day ends. From 13:00 13:30 pm, certain spots and intersections in the district have been occupied by men like, kiosks, street corners, and SayedaNafisa Street, where the technical school is exist, SayedaNafisa square and badr el-Din el-Zanaty Street. There are classifications of couples and females in a way that makes them avoid certain streets and walk through others. For instance, if the girl is from the area and has a boyfriend, she will never walk through the main street to avoid being watched by El-Khalifa's people. In *Sha'bi* areas, people have a good relation and they know each other. That might provide a sense of security and fears. If the girl is an outsider, the situation is better. She can walk together with her boyfriend on

every street without having the fear of being watched. One of the technical **school girls said “Then, there are no worries. She can ride his motorbike behind him and these couples know which streets that other girls avoid in order to go through.”**

On the other hand, the sense of security, that **sha’bi** district provides, stops at the edges of the area. The experience of gender interaction in public spaces inside the district differs from outside. I sat a couple of hours in two different *Qahwa Baladi*.

The first one is inside the district and the other one in Sayeda Nafisa square, which is outside the district, in order to know the difference in gender interaction. **The first “Qahwa”** is beside El-Khalifa community center. The center hosts many events that attract El-Khalifa residents as well as outsiders; foreigners and Egyptians. This “Qahwa” hosts some meetings held by the **community center visitors. Am Mostafa, the owner of this “Qahwa”,** is very welcoming to host the outsiders. He loves the idea of gender interaction however, he states that they should be respectful **and they shouldn’t act in any way that sounds weird and annoying to the locals, “Ahl el-Mante’a”.** He says that outsiders are so beneficial for him and his business; they usually order tea, coffee and sometimes “*Shisha*”. Residents of El-Khalifa point out that their **women are not allowed to sit and socialize at the “Qahwa”.** They didn’t consider it as their culture.

“There is no woman from our relatives and neighbors who sits at “Qahwa” anymore and our women are not familiar with this culture. “El-Khalifa community is conservative.”
(Sayed Reda, 2016)

Another type of at “Qahwa” is outside the district and at Sayda Nafisa square. This type of public space encourages another type of spatial practice that allows **more gender interaction. This “Qahwa”** mainly attracts outsiders who prefer to stay outside el-Khalifa area. Gender interaction is mostly happening on the day.

People gather for fun or meeting. There are also women beggars who occupy-the green plots within “*Qahwa*” in El-Sayda Nafisa square. The location of this “*Qahwa*” is quite important being in the middle of el Sayeda Nafisa mosque square where both events *Mulid* and *‘Aza* are hosted.



Figure 13: Qahwa in Sayeda Nafisa square

4.5.4. Female Classifications and Space Navigation

In this part, I will explain in details the experience of different females who navigate El-Khalifa spaces on daily bases.



Figure 14: Females walking in El-khalifa district

- 1  Girls from El-Khalifa
- 2  Megawra's Visitors /Outsiders (Foreigners, Egyptians, Members)
- 3  Couples
Girl from the Area
- 4  Couples
Strangers
- 5  Strangers (Experiment) 

Figure 15: Female classification and different groups

4.5.4.1. Girls from El-Khalifa, School and University Students

This map indicates the main paths that are always taken by el Khalifa females on their daily trips to school and university. The gendered institutions are located in these paths. The experience of girls from el-Khalifa differs inside the districts from the southern side of the district.

From the conducted interview; people from el-Khalifa do not consider the left side, highlighted in the map, as part of their district. They consider it as space out of their control where strangers who come from nearby districts.

The characteristics of the outdoor public spaces, according to el-Khalifa resident perception, provide a sense of freedom in gender interaction. Therefore, couples might take this space as an unwatched space to interact freely without the social security that comes from social relations inside the district.

On the other hand, if the girls take these paths while going outside the district to Sayeda Aisha Square, they will experience sexual harassment. The sense of security which is provided by social relations and social connections does not exist in the south-eastern part of the district. In addition, in this part, gendered institutions are located and men gather there at the same time that girls are **leaving the technical school. Gendered institutions” Qahwa Baladi” and street intersections occupied by males are considered threats to females on the streets.** Girls from El-Khalifa can pass through the safety zone without any bad incidents of harassment. People of El-Khalifa know their residents very well.

4.5.4.2. El-Khalifa community center Visitors (Foreigners, Egyptians, Members)

For El Khalifa community center visitors, however, the situation is quite different. As mentioned before, El-Khalifa community center hosts many foreigners. From the interviews, one of the foreigners, who lived in the area for a couple of days, said that her experience in el-Khalifa changed day after another. She experienced sexual harassment only once. Attachment to the community center provides a sense of safety to females. Petra, from Germany, said that after her harassment incident, she did not face any harassment incidents afterwards. She stated that people started to protect her because she was staying at house of one of the well-known persons in el-Khalifa and people also got to know that she is giving workshops in the community center. Regarding Egyptian female outsiders, they said that they ~~are~~ face verbal harassment only in El-Khalifa streets but they realize that they look and dress differently than females from the area. The existence of gendered space also increases the possibility of harassment of this group especially in the street leading to Sayeda Aisha square.

4.5.4.3. Couples, Girl from the Area

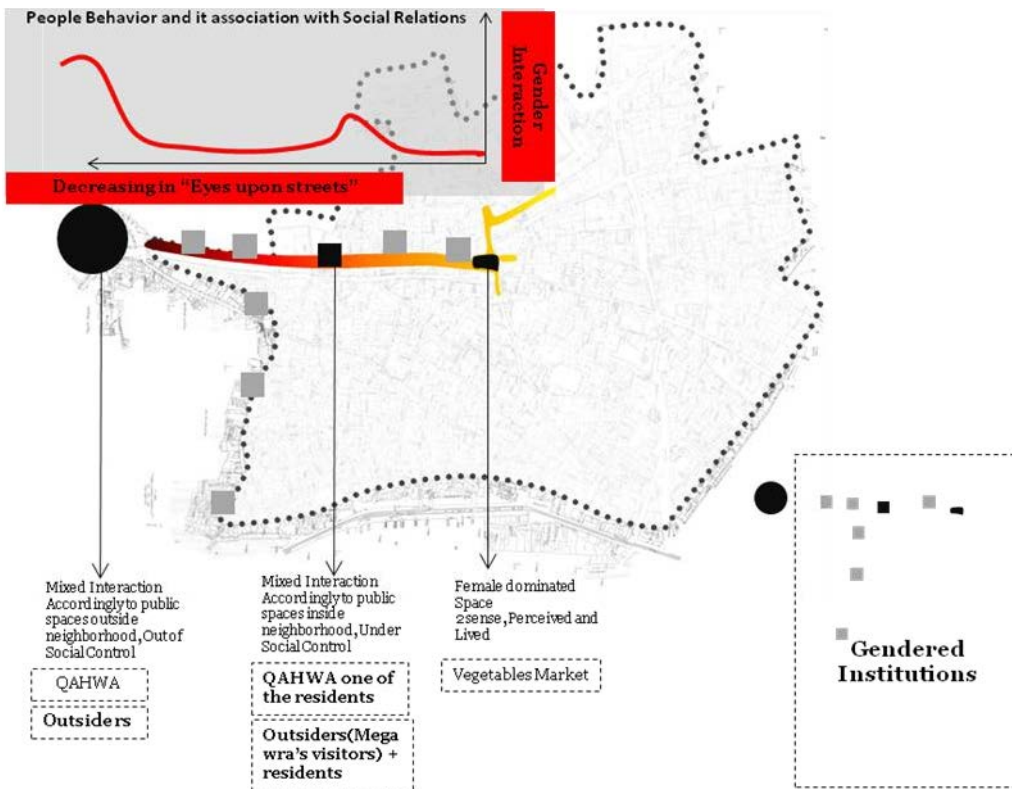
This map indicates how gender interaction between couples happens in El-Khalifa and how it is restricted due to social relations. They usually take streets that people from the area are not familiar with. In this case, there is another power controlling the space which is the practiced gender power relations. This area is sometimes safe for girls and sometimes unsafe. To conclude, gender interaction happens along the south-eastern side of the district. Sexual harassment is a must in the street of the technical school and sometimes in El-Sayeda Nafisa square.

4.5.4.4. Stranger Couples (girls from the technical school)

For this group, a sense of freedom is given to them because both males and females are strangers. Therefore, they can navigate and walk through the **district's main streets. Another factor contributes to the girls' safety here is that** every female is accompanied by her boyfriend. Therefore, they are the luckiest to go freely under the protection of practiced gender power relations as well as less exposed to sexual harassment.

4.5.4.5. Strangers – School students

For the stranger females, from the technical school, who have not any friends from El-Khalifa, the situation is the worst. There is not any kind of protection, gendered power relations or social relations except in Al-Ashraf Street. The street is considered as a safe area. They sometimes go through it and then go right as shown in the map. The experience afterward is hard because of street intersections are occupied by males.



1. Figure 21: gender interaction and "eyes upon streets"

To sum up, gender interaction and sexual harassment are so much related to the social relation and the observing eyes on streets. Gendered institutions also play a role in this regard. The female's behavior of navigating El-Khalifa is affected by gendered institutions and street politics which include sexual harassment or protection.

4.6. Souq El-Khalifa, the Market as a Female Dominated Space



Figure 22: El-khalifa market, (Source: Athar Lana, 2015)

There are two main gendered institutions in the El-khalifa district; The Qahwa and the local market. El-khalifa market is not considered as the most significant female dominated space in the district but is appropriated by mostly female. The percentage of females that occupy the space is around 80 percent of the street vendors. There is more attention, in studies related to local market, to the merchants and less attention to how social interaction happens in the market space and to the market a social space and how people interact in it as well as how the market space is appropriated. Moreover, the experience of women in the market whether they are sellers or buyers. While talking to women in the market, the first impression is that all of these women are from the area or surrounding districts, such as El-Helmeya, to sell their vegetables and bread and it in the market. It turns out that some women come from Giza because they were forced evicted from local markets in other places.

Women who were asked stated that this market is very safe. People know each other and they have good relations in terms of protecting each other in hard situations.

“The market space is appropriated according to the need of gaining money and increasing the income.”

(Personal communication, one of the female merchant, 2016)

Through appropriating and utilization of the market space, women consecutively, expose their activities, supervise and safeguard the space and the passengers. The market is full of movement because it is located in an important intersection of two important streets. It located in the intersection of Al-Ashraf Street and Ahmed Ibn Tolon Street. Twenty percent of the activities run by men; one of them presents a threat to the women’s safety on daily basis. A man who sells orange juice in the market is a sexual harassment spot. Men gather at this point after 19:00 pm. On the other hand, the market is still moderated by females. A good example of this is one of the female merchants in the market. She has been selling bread in the market 20 years ago. A female’s power in the market is significant.

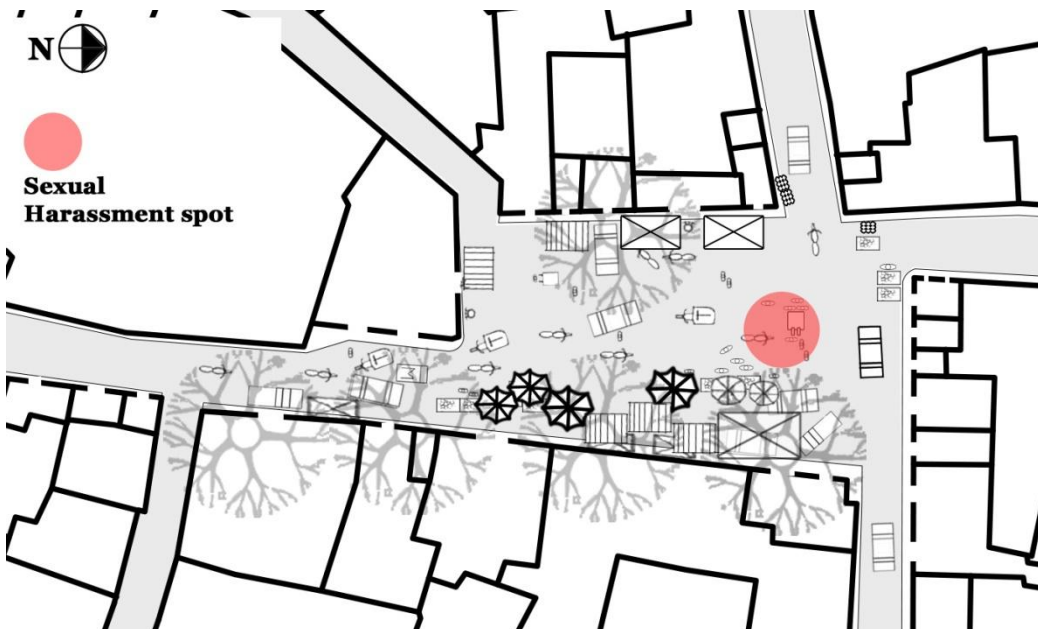


Figure 23: El-Khalifa market activity settings

5 Intersection of Gentrification and Gender in the Pottery Village in Kum Ghurab

5.1. Prolog

This chapter demonstrates the analysis of social change in the pottery villages as a result of internal gentrification inside the pottery village as well as arguing that sexual harassment is a result of urban phenomena like gentrification and culture displacement.

“Every time there was gentrification, there was a migration of some people, while some stayed, some came and adapted while others came and changed [their surroundings]” (Shawkat, 2014)

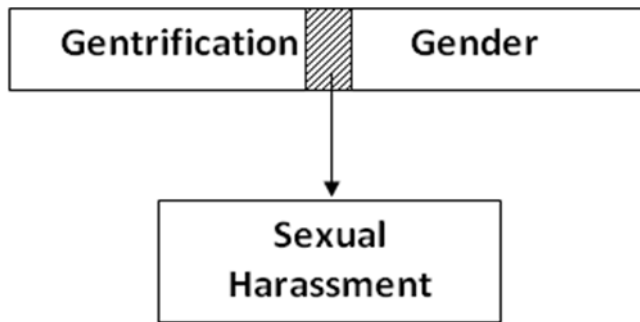


Figure 24: The relationship between gentrification and Gender

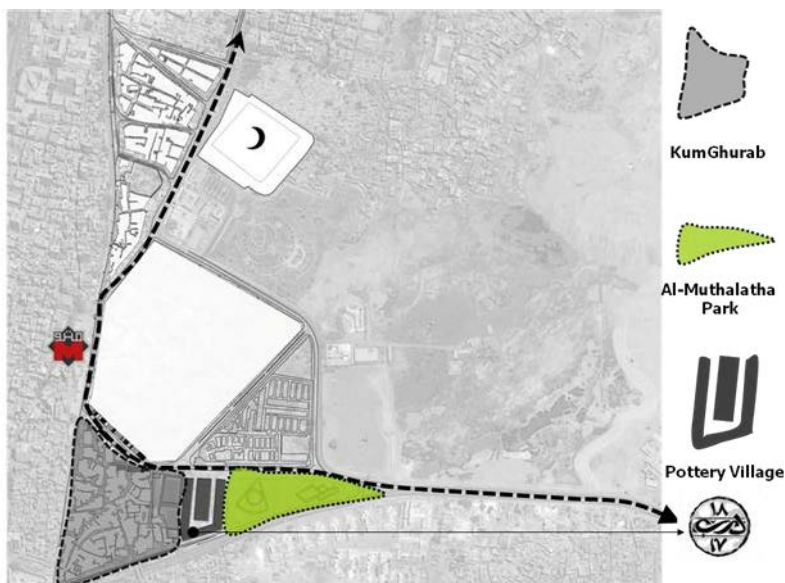


Figure 25: A Key map for the area

5.2. Kum Ghurab as a pottery industry area

Pottery-industry in Islamic Cairo is as aged as the origin of al-Fustat by the Arabs and it is the main economy of Al-Fustat (Nassar, H., & Hewitt, R. 2012). Al-Fustat city is the first Islamic capital city of Egypt in AD 641 located on the **eastern side of the hanging church in Old Egypt's Coptic district and Amr Ibn al-As Mosque** (ibid). Many small pottery workshops are extended to what is named now Kum Ghurab area within the al-Fustat and close to the center of Cairo (ibid).

The area, which is now the pottery village, was called Al mothalatha before the **development plan. It was informal settlements and tents “Eshash”** for the potters. Pottery craftsmen claim the old technique of old ovens in burning the pottery **products. The existence of these old pottery workshops “Eshash”** was a threat to the health of the craftsmen and the residents of Kum Ghurab.

People of Kum Ghurab are immigrants from Egypt's countryside. They settled down decades ago in Kum Ghurab and they **affected Kum Ghurab's** environment with the countryside culture. They keep their habits of breeding animals in their houses or on rooftops in order to make some money. They also appropriate spaces between buildings to build houses for animals as well as they make the use of rooftops to build pigeonholes.

5.3. Socio-economic characteristic and Urban Conditions before the development plan

“Pottery Village is existed since the fifties and it was developed 10 years ago with a grant from the European Union in agreement with the Cairo governorate, and since more than 10 years and I am responsible for the following up work in the workshop owned by the sons of Haj Mahmoud Abdeen who is appointed by pottery **craftsmen greybeard**” (personal communication, Am Ragab said, A potter, 2016)

The population of the area is about 25,000 inhabitants (Nassar, Hala; Hewitt, Robert, 2012). Most of them work in the pottery industry (ibid). Before the development, the potter used to use the old oven system which emits smoke and pollutes the environment with the dangerous emissions and gases (ibid). The Egyptian government takes a step in order to develop the area to deal with the environmental threats, save the historic craft and also the development is among the millennium plan for developing the whole religious district (ibid). The suggested model of developing the old pottery village aims to introduce new techniques in the industry and distinctive artistic and architectural units for the original potters and artists (ibid).

5.4. Relocation of the Pottery Village

According to Kum Ghurab residents’ stories, when the government decided to include the area in the development plan of old Cairo and especially the development of the holy family path; many pottery craftsmen were relocated in **Al-mothaltha area in Helwan and Sha’ Althu’ban in Cairo. Shaa’ Al-thu’ban** is an industrial area where marble and Granite production lines exist. The relocation has affected the pottery making in a way that many of craftsmen left

it because the government **relocates their workshops “Eshash” to the other** places mentioned above while they cannot afford the transportation costs of the materials to these new places. Therefore, many residents started to work in construction related works.

The construction of the pottery village took seven years to be completed. The relocation had started two years earlier. Craftsmen started to return to the pottery village in 2007. There were thirty craftsmen and artists in the area before the development process. Due to the economic situation, most of them cannot afford to work again in the pottery industry. The price of mud has been doubled and potters cannot afford to purchase the raw material. Some of the craftsmen settled down in the other two relocation areas, namely Al-Muthalatha and Shaa’ Al-Thu’ban. **However, every craftsman or artist has his own usufruct “Haq Al-Intefa’ ” either the craftsmen uses the unit, rents a part of it or rents all of it.**

5.5. Street Dynamics, Everyday life and Street Activities in Qasr El-Sham' street in Kum Ghurab and the pottery village



Figure 26: Qasr El-Sham' street activities

Qasr El-Sham' is an important street that connects Mar Girgis Street to the end of Al-Muthaltha garden. The main activities of the street vary from repairing

workshops to recreational facilities like touristic cafes and local cafes “Qahawi”.

The workshop owners extend their activities out of the workshops on the street itself; Qahawi also extend their seating areas on the street sidewalks in the evening. Men start to gather on cafes in the evening after Maghreb prayers. The sense of street activities allows strangers to go through it. The daily income for the repair workshops and cafes relies on outsiders who come to repair their cars as well as people from Kum Ghurab who used to stay on cafes and sometimes Darb1718 visitors who have good connections with café owners. Moreover, the main outsiders, who come to Darb1718 on daily basis, are Darb1718 visitors. However, the existence of Darb1718 is not welcomed by Kum Ghurab residents, but the street becomes more vital on weekdays when big events organized by Darb1718 take place and less so on weekends. Street dynamics changed since the new pottery village has been constructed and the new outsiders have been located.

Qasr El-Sham’ is quite a wide street that permits the passage of cars, half pickup trucks and Toktok. Toktok is one of the main transportation means for the residents of Kum Ghurab. Generally, there is less traffic on normal days with the **exception to the Darb1718’s event days.**

5.6. On Street politics

“By street politics, I mean a set of conflicts and the attendant implications between a collective populace and the authorities shaped and expressed episodically in the physical and social space of the streets from the alleyways to the more visible sidewalks, public parks, or spun places.” (Bayat, 1997)

In the sense of any *Sha’bi* neighborhoods, the street is occasionally appropriated for local weddings by the residents themselves. There are also rules for the street in *Sha’bi* neighborhoods. The parking manager takes ten

pounds from every car that comes to Darb 1718 and parks. They also control the space inside the pottery village. Darb 1718 cannot control or manage the space itself. **“The street has its own politics and laws and we cannot interfere”** said by one of the potters. There is a barrier that controls the car movement inside the pottery village from outside. This barrier is meant to make the space inside the pottery village walkable for pedestrians.

5.7. Gentrification and culture displacement in the Pottery Village

“Gentrification of neighborhood is destructive of history, culture and community. It is full of violence” (Choi, 2013)

“In Kum Ghurab community, people protect each other, they claimed any other different culture however they accept the existing of touristic cafes where tourists and outsiders might sit on it.” (Personal communication, one of the residents, 2016)

Displacement takes place for millions of people all over the world under the umbrella of urban development. The pottery village is now having six pottery craftsmen and workshops out of the thirty original ones. The economic situation leads to unintended and internal gentrification process. The increasing cost of pottery manufacturing pushed people to rent their units to outsiders mainly artists, professors and architects. The mud price as well as the gas price has doubled 10 times throughout the past 10 years. After 25th January revolution, neither cars nor buses are allowed to pass through the street from the religious compound and Mar Girgis metro station to the area of Darb 1718, the pottery village and Qasr Al-Sham street. The traffic to the pottery village is reduced since then and potters complain about the low rates in sales. **“Potters, in the pottery village, left the pottery works and turned to other crafts like construction in order to afford living cost” one of the potters said.**

5.8. OnDarb1718, the New Art Center



Figure 28: Darb 1718 main building

In 2008, one of the original artist and potters of the old pottery village founded Darb 1718 as a contemporary art center(Darb1718.com, 2016). Darb 1718 is an art center and gathering point for all local and international art events and artists in Egypt (ibid).

Darb 1718 is hosting many activities varies from concerts, galleries, yoga workshops, interior design, and to other crafts and art activities for beginners and professionals by constructing well-built relations with local potters, young Egyptian artists, intellectuals(Darb1718.com, 2016). However, some of the **activities that Darb 1718 hosts don't respect the community's culture or beliefs. Darb1718's visitors and members also point out this issue.** In some concerts, alcoholic drinks are allowed which is considered disgusting and annoying to the residents. **Kum Ghurab's residents claim this as a matter of not respecting the religious as well as the conservative context where they live.** They believe that Darb1718 concerts and activities are impudent ones.

However, people of Kum Ghurab are familiar with outsiders because of the location of the district beside the religious compound, Amr Ibn-Al'As mosque and the historic old Cairo. They used to see foreigners and deal with them on a daily basis. The hosted activities by Darb 1718 attract many outsiders from different social classes; mainly middle-upper classes. People of Kum Ghurab see that Darb visitors come to this place to dance and **drink alcohol**. Darb1718's management members noticed that these events annoy Kum Ghurab residents so; they stopped these kinds of concerts and activities and prohibited the consumption of alcohol.

*“Now, there is a misconception from the side of Kum Ghurab's men about the activities of Darb 1718 so now their women are not allowed to come here because of the foreigners that used to come to Darb 1718.”*Moustafa said

“A woman comes to a concert in Darb 1718; these types of people are well known within Kum Ghurab community. People who are coming to get drunk” (personal communication, Khalid Aly, 2016)

There are many claims from the artists' inside the pottery village. Some of them point that these kinds of celebrations by Darb1718 are cheap. The pottery craftsmen and artists don't work in a good environment. Pottery craftsmen don't hear the ovens because of the high loud of Darb 1718 concerts and this presents a problem to their work on a daily basis.

Furthermore, some potters and artists inside the pottery village state that if **Darb1718's management has the authority to build a physical fence to isolate Darb 1718 area from the community, they will.** In the meantime, there is a dispute between the community and the contemporary art center and its guests on one hand. On the other hand there is a kind of benefit sharing for the café owners and artists' ateliers. **The pottery village is gaining popularity because of the spread of Darb 1718 activities across social media while the pottery village**

loses its identity and its name. The village is now well known with Darb 1718. Recently, however, Darb team realized the gap between them and the community and started taking into consideration the activities which might not be suitable to avoid displeasing the community of Kum Ghurab

5.8.1 Darb 1718 and Vision of Community Development

Ahmad Yehia, from Darb 1718 team, values the existence of this entity inside Kum Ghurab. He believes that it has a good impact on the long term since children will be exposed to art and culture.

Ahmad wonders why people in Kum Ghurab get annoyed with the events in Darb that serve alcoholic drinks since people in Kum Ghurab drink alcohol in their weddings.

Ahmad points out that when Darb 1718 started to approach the community, it was already too late. The gap between the community and Darb 1718 has been increasing since the art center opened and also as long as Darb continues to **host disgusting events according to the community's perception. In order to** decrease this gap, Darb organized *Fustat* Day to host people from Kum Ghurab community to sell their pottery products. People were also encouraged to sell their old and used clothes on that day with low prices. The day was planned particularly to host people from Kum Ghurab community. Most of the workshops' attendees are children from the area; only one woman from the area is coming and working with Darb 1718 as a cleaner.



Figure 29: Fustat Day activities

“We believe that artists are beacons for change and direction in society, in addition to being a guiding light. We can challenge mainstream thinking and promote peace and understanding through the international language of art” (Motaz Nasr, Darb1718 founder, 2016)

Darb 1718 also endeavors to have a long-term effect on the whole area of El-Fustat (“Vision / Mission « Darb 1718”, 2008). Darb 1718 aims to incorporate the art and culture center to be on the tourism map of old historic Cairo (ibid).

Recently, Darb 1718 started to work with the children of Kum Ghurab in educational, artistic and cultural activities. Every week, Darb1718 is offering three days with Kum Ghurab children with help from Mustafa, from the area, **and Ne’ma, the trainer. Ne’ma is organizing workshops for children; she** teaches them how to make 3-D models as well as Theater workshops. Mustapha sees that the existence of Darb 1718 in Kum Ghurab neighborhood might allow people to think outside the box, explore other activities and gain an understanding and different perspective on the world around them. He adds that dealing with different people and cultures is something essential that may

allow them to appreciate other lifestyles beyond their traditional life in Kum Ghurab.

5.8.2 Stating the current problem

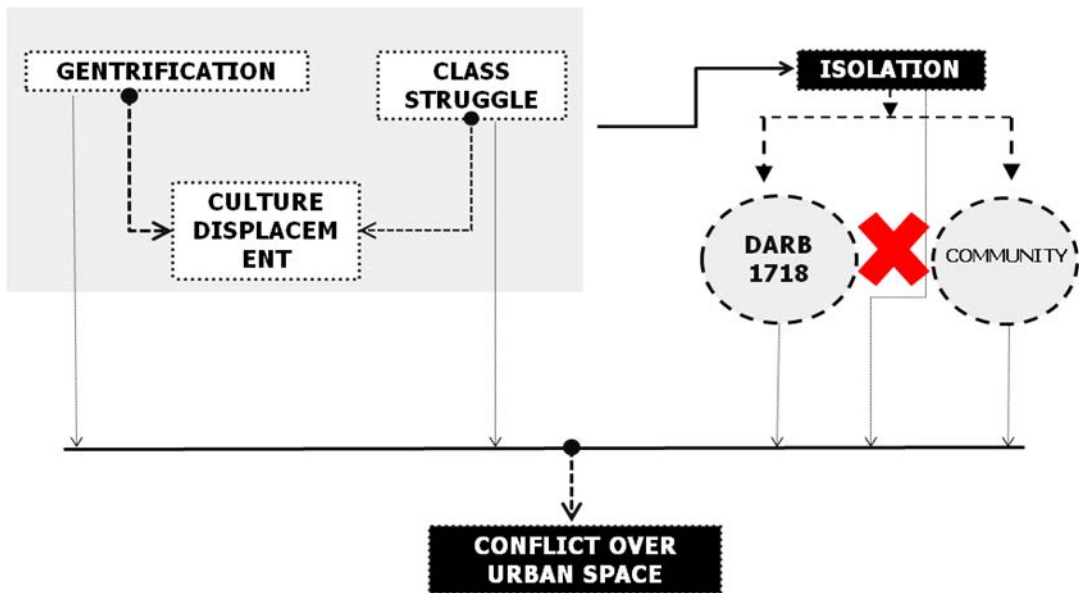


Figure 30: The current problem

The problem now is summarized in the wide gap between Kum Ghurab residents and Darb1718. This gap comes from the internal gentrification process that happens inside the pottery village. Culture displacement is considered as a **result of gentrification**. What's mentioned increases the isolation between Darb1718 community and Kum Ghurab community and presents a conflict over the space of the pottery village.

The conflict over the space has spread beyond the space of the pottery village itself. Another type of practices appears as a way of confrontation to Darb1718 activities. This practice is sexual harassment. I argue that sexual Harassment is an intersection of gentrification, craft and gender.

“A woman comes to a concert in Darb 1718; this type of people is well known within Kum Ghurab community with people are coming to get drunk” (A personal communication, Khalid Aly, 2016)

How does this perspective affect the behavior of women who visit Darb1718, navigate the public spaces and streets surrounding the pottery village? In the following part, I will explain the experience of females in spaces surrounding the village and notions concerning gender interaction and space.

5.9. Gender and Space in the Pottery Village, Kum Ghurab

The work here focuses on gender issues in relation to gentrification in the pottery village. There is a social network of certain groups who form the everyday life of the pottery village and Kum Ghurab area. These groups are members all of whom are navigating Kum Ghurab streets. They are Kum Ghurab Females and Males, Kum Ghurab children, Darb 1718 female visitors and members, Darb 1718 male visitors and members, Moustafa, from Kum Ghurab and Darb member, and Café owners. The social relations between these groups are presented in spatial forms as Massey argued (Massey, 1994). In that sense, the gender power relations, from male to female, play a role in **determining female’s movement and place between public and private.**

According to this classification in Kum Ghurab social network, a direct domination comes from Kum Ghurab male to his wife. Men in Kum Ghurab do not allow their wives to go to the pottery village spaces even if Darb1718 hosts events for Kum Ghurab women. Men restrict their wives movements to Kum Ghurab alleys. Women, in Kum Ghurab, having the privilege to extend their

activities from their houses into those public spaces, i.e. the alleys, transform the alleys into social spaces for women.

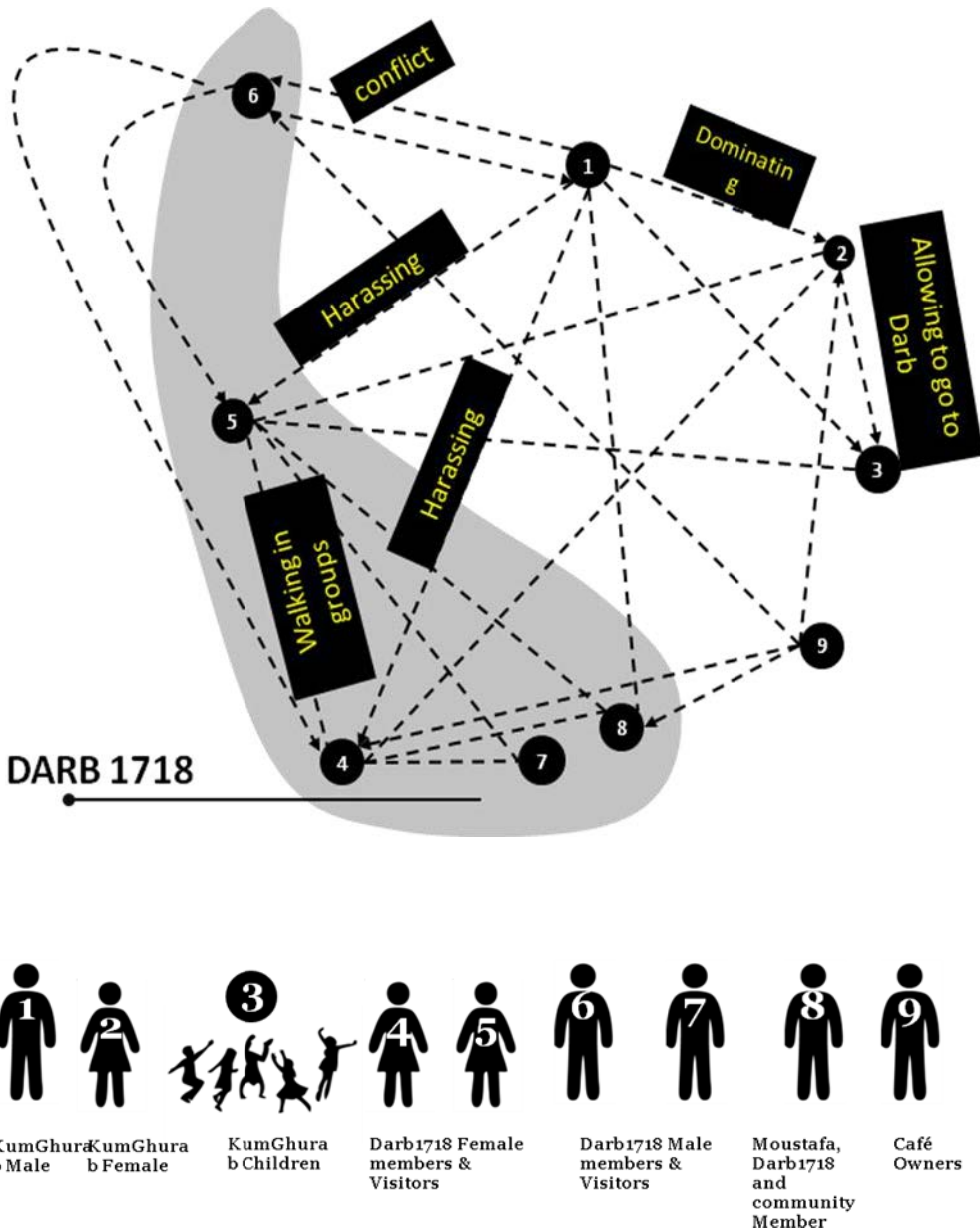


Figure 31: Social Network in kum Ghurab



Figure 32: Practiced gender power relations and blocked spaces



Figure 33: Women's Social Space in Kum Ghurab

Gender interaction, in Darb1718, has another image and notion. It changes from **inside the pottery village spaces to outside on Qasr el sham' street.** Inside Darb1718, especially in El forn spaces and street corridors inside the pottery village, both females and males interact freely. As discussed before, the pottery village is ongoing social change. Many outsiders come to darb1718 because it is **very popular among artists and Darb1718's fans.** This freedom of interactions comes from the new social structure of the pottery village. The new added lifestyle allows new types of urban practices in the pottery village spaces and units.

Moreover, gender interaction in the pottery village is related to Darb 1718 activities, members, and visitors. It happens generally within the territories of the pottery village and particularly in Darb 1718 units.



Figure 34: Outdoor events and concerts hosted by Darb1718.



Figure 35: rooftop of Darb1718 and another type of concerts "Mazzika El-Sat7".

Darb 1718 usually extends its activities to the outdoor spaces where concerts are performed. Interaction usually happens between Darb 1718 members and visitors themselves, both males and females.

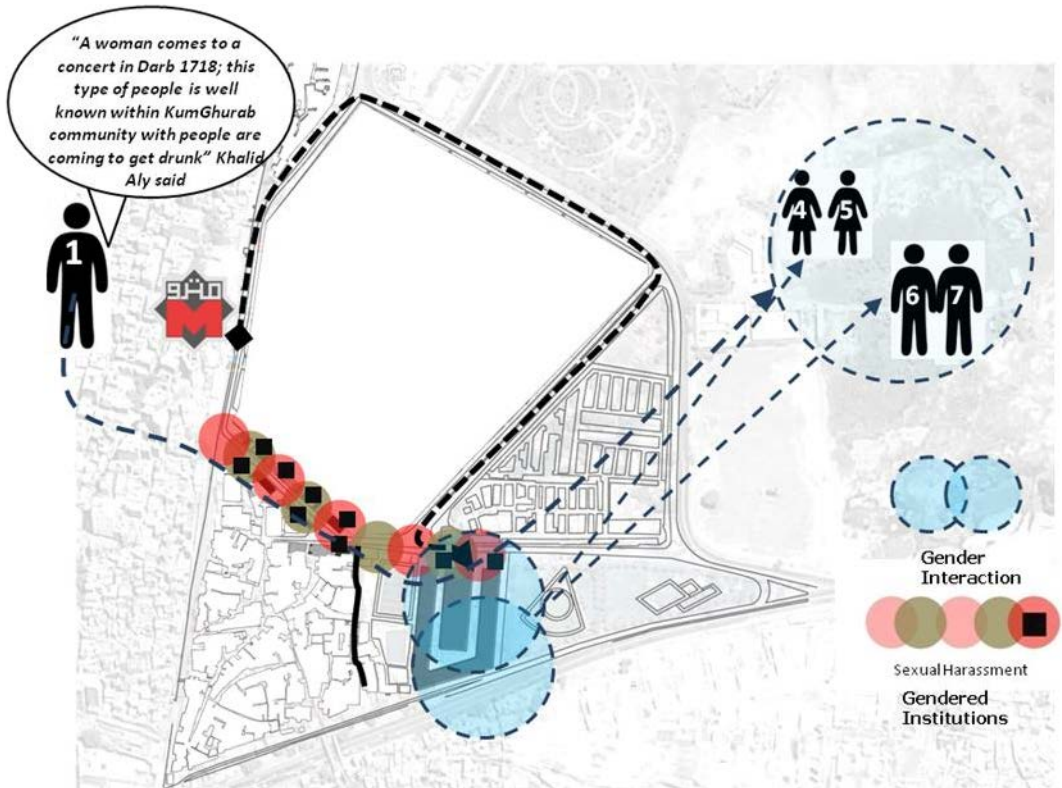


Figure 36: sexual harassment in Kum Ghurab

Referring to the social network, Darb 1718 female visitors and members are exposed to sexual harassment from Kum Ghurab's men. The path, illustrated below, is the street of Qasr El-Sham'. It is the main path that females take on a daily bases if they are coming from the metro station or walking.

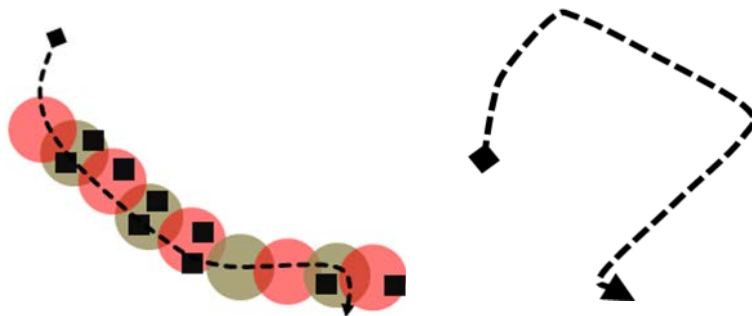


Figure 37: the from the left The main path, Qasr El-sham' Street, from the right the alternative street, Kum Ghurab

Gendered institutions, in Kum Ghurab, are located from the starting point of Qasr El-Sham' street till the pottery village. The existence of these gendered institutions provides the possibility of being harassed. Females sometimes take another long route. They walk in the opposite direction then turn right twice until they reach the pottery village as shown the map.

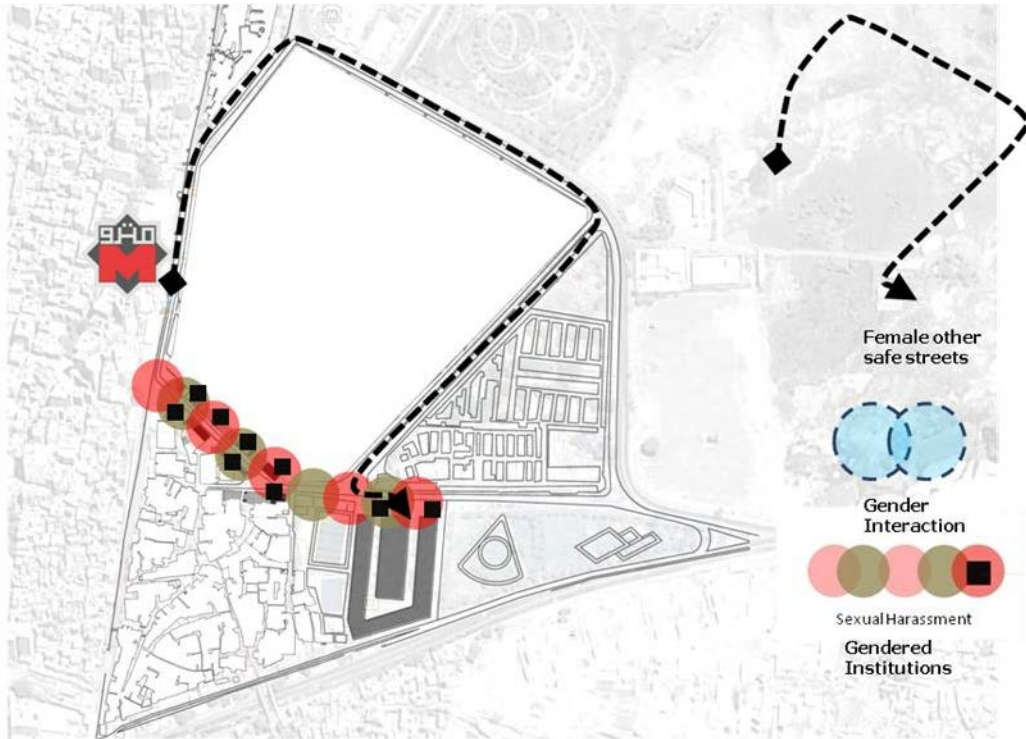


Figure 38: The alternative route

5.10. Conclusion

The presence of Females in Kum Ghurab area is contested whether they are residents or outsiders. Females from the area are not allowed to go to certain places like Darb 1718. The presence of outsider females is not welcomed in Qasr El-Sham' street and even in the pottery village and this brings the discussion back to the community perception of the art center. In all cases, it is all about who controls the street and the common things that bring people together and agree on. This is what Tonkiss argues in regards to cultural ties, social networks and local spaces. She clarifies how mutual ideas can form community perception and one language.

6 Constructing another Departure Point and Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the important findings from the empirical work of the research that has been done on the two case studies. It is an attempt to put everything together and link the research findings to the research assumption and objectives. Moreover, it constructs another departure point for future research and projects to undertake gender aspects as one of the main issues in public spaces.

6.1. Justification and Re-visiting the Research

Assumption

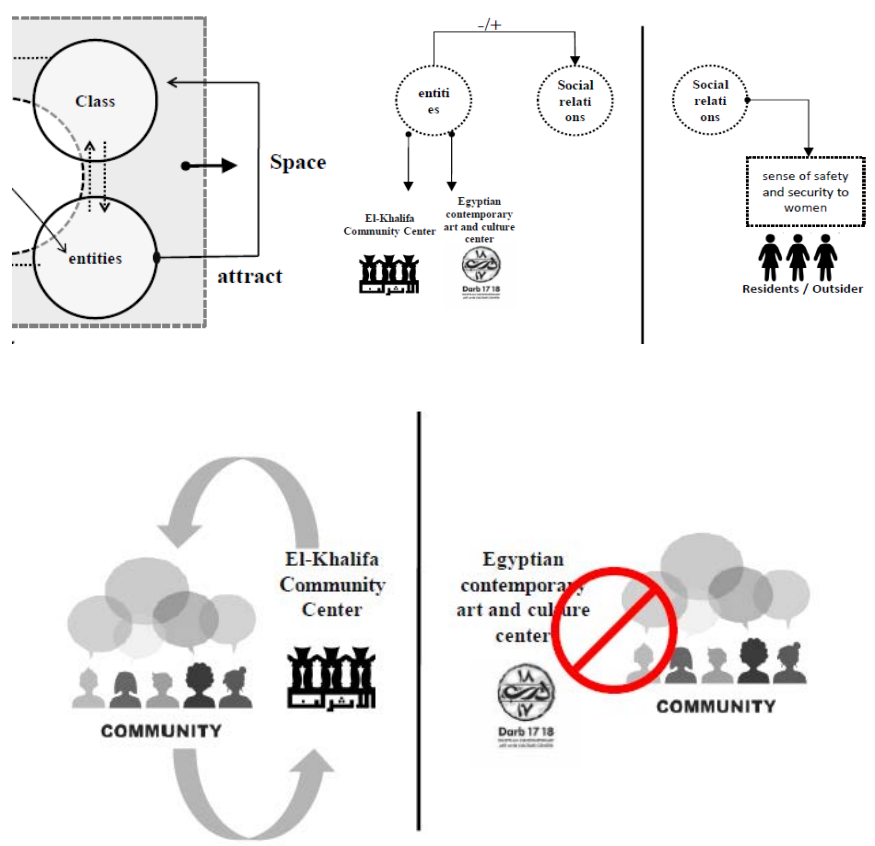


Figure 39: research assumption

The research's assumption is that a good relationship between the community and the community center has an impact on the social relations and dynamics of the community whether positively or negatively. Furthermore, the research assumes that good social relations might increase or decrease the sense of safety **for women on the street. In fact, the research's assumption** is correct in these regards and incorrect in that the extent of social security that comes from the strong social relations among the residents themselves and between the residents and the community center is not for the female classifications. This is illustrated in the first case study. The situation in the second case study is that sexual harassment is now a normal and daily practice in public space which results from such a complex situation in the pottery village as previously explained. In addition, social security in the case of Kum Ghurab is only **exclusive for "Bent ElMante'a", i.e. girls from the district. The situation for** females who are outsiders is the worst. The research assumption therefore, that bad relations between Kum Ghurab people and Darb 1718 has i.e. a negative impact on the community perception about gender interaction and different life **style of the new art center's members and visitors.**

The research assumption does not tackle the spaces out of social control from the beginning. Through the field work, the researcher understands further important issues which are related to the experience of female in these spaces. These issues reveal that the classification of public spaces i.e., spaces within the district and space on the edge of the district, as well as the enclosure of spaces allows certain types of practices in public spaces. These practices vary from social protection, gender power relation and sexual harassment. Accordingly, the research assumption is valid in how social relations and street activities provide the sense of safety but unfortunately for certain females groups and in space under the social control.

6.2. What does the research reveal?

Research findings revolve around inseparable spatial and non-spatial outcomes. The spatial and non-spatial outcomes are explained in relation to women's movement and activity patterns in both districts' streets, gendered spaces as spaces of power and street politics of each area.

6.2.1. Establishing a Common Ground

There are mutual findings between the two case studies regarding gender interaction as a privilege for different groups. The working class males interact on local cafes at the edge of El-Khalifa district. **Females in Sha'bi areas do not** have the same privilege. When the middle-upper-class females and males are in *Sha'bi* area, they interact in a closed community like in Darb 1718, located within the pottery village or Am Moustafa *Qahwa* beside El-Khalifa community center.

6.2.2. Spaces of power

Doreen Massey (1994) has been concerned with investigating the relationship between spatial relations and the production of power.

The Space accommodation in the research has other dimensions behind it. In regards to the market space, appropriating the space takes place for many reasons. The market space is safe but not because there is no sexual harassment. The perceptual safety, in that case is due to other reasons. Females in the market space own the space and feel a sense of belonging that is noticeable in the way they act in that place. Owning the space or literally the

market comes from *Aurf* and *Mawrooth*, passed on to them from their relatives and fathers who came decades ago to the market space and settled down, occupied the space and made social connections in it.

By observing the market **space, female's power** in it is significant as well as one of the strong aspects of dominating, accommodating and appropriating the public space. What is also noticeable is that women in the market space present a high percentage, about 80%, of the workers there. This observation suggests two important points. The first is that women present an economic power equal to that of the men there or more. The second point is more about the following question. **Is the presence of women in public spaces interrelated to their contribution to the family's income? And is the presence of women otherwise contested?**

Females realize that there is no sexual harassment as long as they stay in their place at the market, selling their products. In El-Khalifa, females still have more power and have more exposure to the public life through sales and interactions whereas the situation in Kum Ghurab is slightly different.

Women's social space also does not stop at the market space and house. In Kum Ghurab, alleys present the spatial practices of women as they extend their social life outside their homes into these alleys and the "Mastaba⁵", the seating area. This is the normal result of the practiced gender power relation from males to females in Kum Ghurab. There is no breathing space for them in Kum Ghurab apart of the pottery village spaces and the street alleys. There are no hosted activities that suit *Baladi* or conservative *Sha'bi* women in Kum Ghurab and El-Khalifa. Darb 1718 area is blocked for females because of Kum Ghurab community's **perception about Darb1718's members and visitors there. Women** negotiate the allowable spaces by their husbands inside Kum Ghurab. To summarize, spatial practices whether in public or private spaces do not only

⁵*Mastaba⁵ "the seating area usually found in front of homes and it attached to the home building*

contribute to the production of spaces as Lefebvre argues, but it contribute to the production of gendered spaces.

6.2.3. Gender and Street Politics

From the research findings; sexual harassment, gender interaction, gender power relation and sometimes new cultural practices are the main factors that **restrict women's movement in the streets. Roaming public spaces is still a clamor of women's everyday experiences.**

Females from both areas are distressed along their way. Females from the area **don't feel safe in spaces outside of social control and this** brings us back to the street politics, who owns the street? And who controls the street? Females from the area do not feel safe in certain places in the area itself where males occupy it at certain times throughout the day.

People protect "Bent El-Mante'a" and harass other stranger females. Men control their wives **movement in streets and mothers control their daughters'** movements after 11:00 pm because of the possibility of being harassed. The differentiation of spaces affects the incidents of sexual harassment in relation the female classification. The presence of gendered institutions, male dominated spaces, has both benefits and drawbacks. The benefits are that in *Sha'bi* communities, *QahwaBaladi*, local cafes, are important places where men can breathe and ~~en~~ relax. The drawbacks are that in *Sha'bi* communities, *Qahawi* is a male dominated space especially when they are located in the heart of the district. The existence of these *Qahawi* increases the possibility of being harassed according to female interviewees. Gendered power relations sometimes provide safety to a certain **group of females. Females' experience of** navigating the space differs according to their relation to space and social networks in each area.

Streets not within social control by El-Khalifa Residents have both benefits and drawbacks for females, the benefits lie in the freedom of gender interaction but which comes at the cost of possible harassment. The same street allows both opposite behaviors to take place on them.

6.2.4. The importance of Street Sociability and Vitality

A safe zone is a zone of activities where people know each other, protect each other and have strong social relations with one another.

The results indicate that there is a sense of street sociability in the two case studies, however; the types of street activities are different in providing a sense of vitality and safety at the same time. In El-Khalifa, a sense of surveillance is present and clear. On the other hand, in Kum Ghurab; a sense of tension is obvious between the community and the pottery village.

6.3. Contribution to future research

The research contributes to the discourse between social science scholars and urban researchers by mapping how gender interaction is associated with social control, and how sexual harassment is associated with social security. This is achieved by gathering this information and mapping it in two important historic districts of Cairo. The research also contributes to the knowledge by tackling the phenomena from another perspective and developing a unique argument that focuses on the spatiality of sexual harassment and gender aspects. Through exploring this perspective, the research adds another definition of safety and gender interaction from this perspective of two particular districts in Cairo.

6.4. Which issues do conquer the public space within the research framework?

The research conquers **that women's existence in public space is contested** and points out the ongoing struggle regarding the community perception and misconception about gender, practices in urban space like sexual harassment, gender interaction and practiced gender power relations. It also points out issues related to the gender struggle over space as well as related to the outside development arena in Cairo.

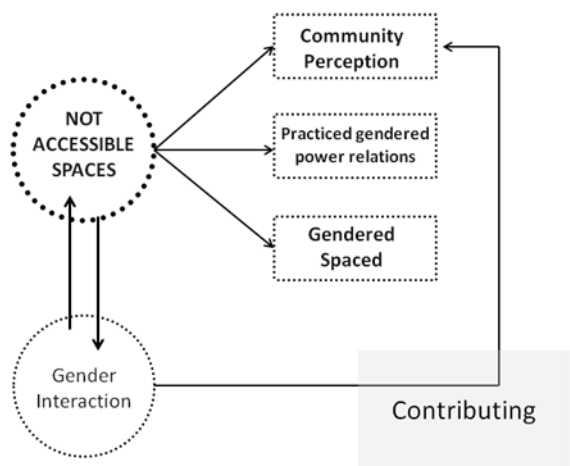


Figure 40: Ongoing struggle

The research also suggests that the spatial impact of the phenomena of sexual harassment on the space is not strong in terms of physical modifications that might be done by women in the space. However, the phenomenon has a great **impact on women's daily experiences in city streets, changing the pattern of movement and correlations to gendered spaces**. The research findings indicate that the phenomenon of sexual harassment is strongly related to the practices of class and gender in urban space. In both cases El-Khalifa and the pottery village, it is also related to urban trends and phenomena like gentrification, cultural enlightenment, and development projects.

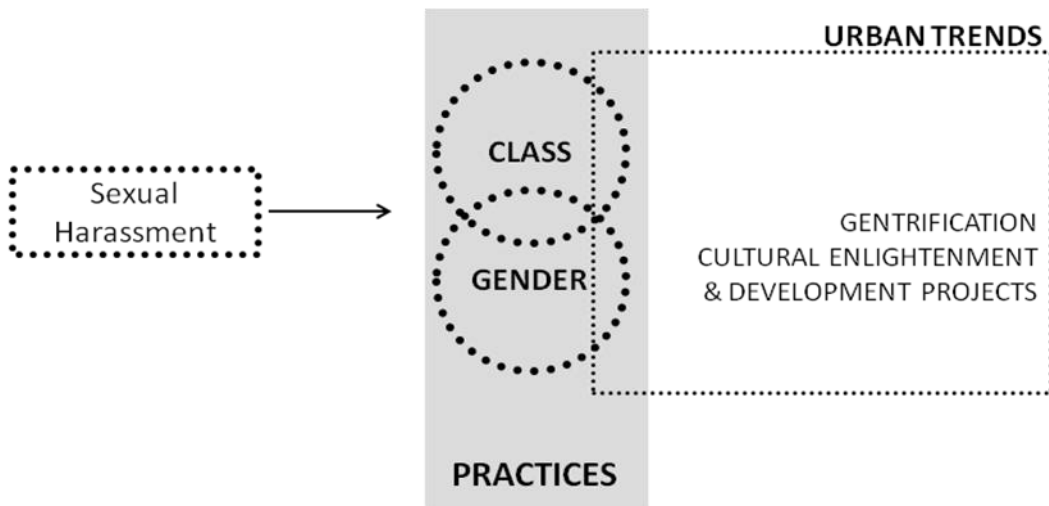


Figure 41: Sexual harassment and practices in urban space

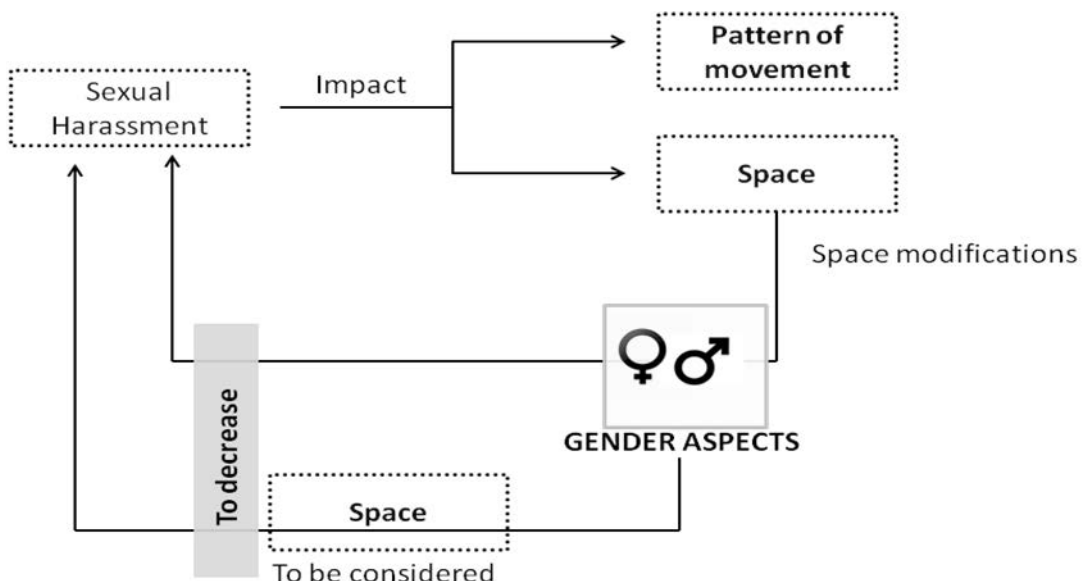


Figure 42: relationship between sexual harassment and space modifications

In Fact, It cannot be said that the opposite of what is mentioned in the last five lines. In other words, it cannot be affirmed that if a physical modification would take place in a space, it would not affect the phenomena of sexual harassment by reducing the act of sexual harassment. Moreover, gender aspects should be approached in the development agenda since the phenomena of sexual

harassment become a widespread phenomenon in several areas of Cairo. Additionally, the cultural and development projects should consider gender aspects in their visions for community development or in their art and cultural revitalization projects.

6.5. What's missing? Introducing Gender Sensitive perspective in the Development Agenda

After understanding how women use public spaces and navigate the everyday life. It is important also to point out the obstacles that women face on a daily basis which varies from sexual harassment to movement restrictions and to practiced gender power relations. The most important question now is how to **deal with these issues in order to enhance women's experience in public space.** Parallel to these issues, Cairo has been witnessing a wave of cultural enlightenment projects in the medieval and historic heart of the city, attracting another segment of the population to take part in them. Therefore, this increases the ongoing gender struggle over space, gender sensitive perspective sounds to be logically considered parallel to the development agenda and combined with it. The significance of gender sensitive approach is that it takes into account the needs of users of the space male and female, allowing space appropriation by residents themselves and fulfilling a culture that is informed by social backgrounds and everyday experiences by females and males.

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Appendices

Focused interview	El-Khalifa community center	
When did you start working with the community?		Notes
What kind of activities you offer to the community		
What do you think of the community perception about the community center?		
To what extent, the community is interactive with you?		
To what extent, the community is interactive with you?		

Focused interview	El-Khalifa community center Female member	
Are you exposed to sexual harassment? Where?		Notes

Focused interview	Female in El-Khalifa market	
Why you are staying here?		Notes
Are you new here or is it parents place?		
Is the market safe place?		
Where are you go before settling down in El-khalifa?		

Focused interview	Darb 1718 female visitors and member				Notes
What do you think about art center?					
Are you exposed to verbal harassment before ?					
Do you think that people of Kum Ghurab hate Darb 1718? Why?					

Social questionnaire	Yes	No	Notes
EL-Ashraf Street			
Do you live in El-ashraf street?			
Do you live in El-ashraf street?			
Do you have relatives in the area?			
Do you know the shop owners in El-ashraf street?			
Do you know the shop owners in Badr el din El-znaty street?			
Do you have relatives in Badr el din El-znaty street?			

Focus group meeting	Technical school students, El-khalifa				Notes
Where do you usually get harassed?					
When do you leave the school on daily bases?					
Which streets do you prefer to walk through?					
Which street don't you prefer to walk through?					

Focused interview	Men from Kum Khurab and Cafe owners				Notes
Do you think that kum Ghurab people hate Darb1718? Why?					
What's your opinion about Darb activities? And do you these deferent activities should be presented here in such conservative context?					
How do you see Darb1718 community and Kum Ghurab community together?					

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الأسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كل في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،



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التاريخ: /

رصد إدراك النساء لسلامتهن وأثره على الفرغات العامة:

البحث في العلاقة ما بين النوع والطبقة
والمراكز الثقافية والعلاقات الاجتماعية في الأحياء
الشعبية في القاهرة

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

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جامعة شتوتجارت



MM/DD/YYYY



رصد إدراك النساء لسلامتهن وأثره على الفراغات العامة:

البحث في العلاقة ما بين النوع و الطبقة
و المراكز الثقافية و العلاقات الاجتماعية في الأحياء
الشعبية في القاهرة

رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

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