Cover photograph: Darb al-Ahmar Socio-Economic Project, Cairo, by Tara Todras Whitehall, 2006
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TOWARDS INTEGRATED SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Jurjen van der Tas

DEFINING BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

The Area Development Projects of the HCP operate on the understanding that communal disarray and poverty are among the main reasons why historic urban structures lose their vitality and fall into disrepair. The physical aspects of the rehabilitation process are therefore considered as inseparable from socio-economic factors. However, non-physical activities aimed at enhancing the quality of life (such as improved community health, higher levels of education, health insurance, etc.), are less tangible, and usually not as well understood as are activities related to physical rehabilitation of the environment. To cover this gap in perception, it is important that targets for social-economic improvement be as clearly defined as physical targets and be agreed by all parties involved prior to the start of any project.

The first step towards improving the quality of life for communities living in dilapidated historic cities is to analyse the deeper causes of poverty and define ways for creating an enabling environment that can uplift people’s standards and resources. The creation of such a framework depends on three key “dimensions” of poverty eradication, where elementary needs will first have to be fulfilled. These are i) fulfilment of basic needs, ii) access to the means to achieve welfare and iii) a secure social and physical environment. In principle, all three would need to be addressed with the same degree of priority, but there might occasionally be reasons for ranking a particular dimension, such as the fulfilment of basic needs, ahead of others.

The second step is to link the three dimensions of poverty eradication to tangible domains where asset creation can take place. This will anchor project incentives in a meaningful development framework that allows for quantitative and/or qualitative measuring of progress. In the urban context, six such domains for asset creation have been identified. They cover: i) social and cultural assets, such as local charitable institutions and local organisations involved in the performing arts; ii) physical infrastructure, such as housing stock and public open space; iii) natural environment, such as parks and rivers; iv) health & education, such as clinics, hospitals, schools and training institutions; v) economic well-being, such as adequate family income and a conducive environment for entrepreneurship; and vi) representation & influence, such as services...
provided by local or regional civil society organisations that champion the cause of the target beneficiaries.

The six domains represent collective values as well as individual values. Social & cultural assets, physical infrastructure and natural environment can generally be considered part of common good, whereas health & education, economic well-being and representation & influence are seen as mostly representing individual values. The differentiation between individual and collective values is important, as it determines to a large extent the choice of tools (and therefore by implication the character of project activities) that are needed to achieve the goals within the various domains.

Under ideal circumstances, Integrated Area Development projects carried out by HCP in places such as Darb al-Ahmar in Cairo, Asheqanwa–Arefan in Kabul, Komoguel in Mali, Stone Town in Zanzibar or the Old City of Aleppo, would address all three dimensions of poverty eradication and their corresponding domains of asset creation in equal measure. However, the reality on the ground may not always allow each domain to become operational with the same level of intensity. Therefore, efforts have been made to base all project objectives upon at least one domain of asset creation in the first instance, and subsequently engaging in other domains, with the aim of covering all aspects of poverty eradication in later phases of the project.

**FORMULATING GOALS, OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES**

Although the project activities associated with specific domains vary according to the character of each project initiative, the different sectors under which they are headed do appear in virtually all community development programmes that HCP is involved with. Housing and public space improvement are nearly always present, as are basic social services (comprising the sectors of education and vocational training, health, water and sanitation as well as solid waste removal). In addition there are the sectors of cultural events, employment creation and access to micro-credit for stimulating income generating activities.

In addition to these various sectors, the Programme also refers to three themes of overall importance that are common to all activities. These cross-cutting themes are Gender, the Environment and the Organisational and Institutional Development of Local Organisations (that includes strengthening of Civil Society and capacity building of local institutions). They not only play an important role in the HCP context,
but are in fact central to all institutions that are part of the Aga Khan Development Network.

While the overall goal and the immediate objectives of HCP’s interventions may suggest a linear type of project development, the strategy allows for web-like configurations by interweaving different sectors and linking them up with the three cross-cutting themes. As can be seen in the table on page 19, project activities aimed at asset creation of the target group are clustered in different sectors. The interaction between these sectors creates synergies and exposure to other activities. Such integration may also create tensions, but good professional management will minimise negative side effects.

Obviously, an integrated urban development effort requires constant attention and balancing at almost all levels of project engagement. Although this may seem labour intensive, it is believed that the overall outcome of this approach is well worth the investment – particularly because additional benefits reaching beyond initial anticipations can be achieved using this method.

Such “bonus” benefits can be compared with a phenomenon long known in the world of animal breeders as the “heterosis effect”, which is the opposite of inbreeding. Heterosis happens when hidden genetic boosters cause the offspring of hybrid parents to be substantially better than would theoretically be expected. It is this gain which matters in integrated community development projects. Heterosis provides a positive outcome that exceeds the expectations. It is bigger than just the sum of the results, the more since it is primarily a product that shows the effectiveness and ultimately the impact of the intervention, rather than the direct results.

A few examples of gains due to integrating different sectoral activities during the course of one single project will illustrate this best: In Kabul, the rehabilitation of the historically very important quarter of Asheqan-wa-Arefan was initially a limited initiative, aimed at restoring the characteristic Uzbeka Mosque (page 18) and upgrading the area around it. It soon became clear that there was scope for enlarging the project by including the rehabilitation of other characteristic houses, by developing skills through vocational training and by expanding the sewage and street paving to the entire neighbourhood. As more people joined the programme, there was an unintentional but noticeable change in the attitudes and understanding of the local inhabitants about the unique historic and aesthetic values of the houses and streets of their neighbourhood. Occupants of some local houses have since volunteered
to change recently installed eyesores such as metal doorframes in favour of the traditional wooden frames. Moreover, the area is now kept clean by the inhabitants themselves, to the extent that this part of Kabul, once known as the dirtiest of all quarters, has become an example for people taking control of their own environment. A similar situation occurred in the villages of Karimabad and Ganesh in Northern Pakistan, after HCP started with the physical rehabilitation of the villages while restoring the benchmark buildings connected with them.

In Cairo, an initiative by CDC, HCP’s local implementation agency in the Darb al-Ahmar district, to assist the elderly by making simple adjustments to their homes with products from CDC’s own workshops, led to demand from volunteers to receive training in order to better address the needs of the elderly. Small ergonomic improvements by the project unleashed initiatives for voluntary care for the less able and elderly in the community, in a way that was never foreseen.

The ruin of the former Darb Shoughlan School in the same district was, after careful restoration by HCP, turned into a local community centre. The demands for the use of this centre for cultural events have grown over the years to the extent that additional premises had to be made available.

**COLLECTION OF BASELINE INFORMATION**

In areas where HCP projects interact with the local urban community, the project formulation is preceded by an extensive fact finding and orientation process. Carrying out a baseline survey amongst local households is an important element that is nearly always part of such fact-finding exercises. Material is collected and analysed from all available sources. Issues that generally are difficult to assess straightforwardly, such as income and expenditure levels, are approached from various angles in order to arrive at better estimates and as a means to calibrate some of the preliminary findings. Neighbourhood Walks with knowledgeable individuals, Focus Group Meetings and analysis of rejected loan applications for micro-credit (if available), can often provide the required additional information to arrive at better estimates.

By using such techniques in Cairo and Aleppo, it was possible to make realistic estimates of average income and expenditure of the local population. In contrast, this was not possible in Zanzibar, in spite of all efforts that were made. Zanzibari income levels appear to be substantially lower than household expenditure. Non-declared sources of income must in such a case be estimated and incorporated in the total. A tale-telling
element for all household budgets, is the percentage of the income spent on food. Without exception, it was found that all urban poor that live on an income of less than one US dollar per day (the UN definition of the poor) tend to spend more than 50% of their income on food items. Zanzibar did not appear any different in that respect.

Although HCP field teams collect a lot of data (a typical baseline survey may produce 500 or more variables), the information sought still reflects a bias for the sectors of intervention that are close to the Programme’s mission and that were discussed in the previous paragraphs. The development proposal for an urban area that eventually emerges, therefore, reflects certain HCP priorities and nearly always includes one or two major focal points of historical value that are the subject of physical rehabilitation. This entry wedge into community matters is typical of HCP strategies and supersedes or complements other, more conventional intervention strategies such as productive investments, improved infrastructure, starting up micro-credit initiatives or arranging participatory social mapping exercises.

<table>
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<th>DIMENSION OF POVERTY</th>
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Table showing the linkage between dimensions of poverty, domains of asset creation and major development sectors.
Once all necessary background information and data concerning the project area have been collected and analysed, and the project definition can be formulated, a range of individual project activities is formulated that in general relate to the seven main sectors of HCP initiatives: Housing and Public Buildings – Public Open Space – Educational and Vocational Training – Health – Water, Sanitation and Solid Waste – Employment – Micro-Credit and Income Generation. While each Area Development Project may have its own profile in terms of the weight of these sectors, in most cases all seven are represented in one way or the other.

**HOUSING AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS**

This sector is at the core of the Historic Cities Programme. In the majority of cases it is not houses but public buildings which are central to the initiative. The reason for this is that the costs to redo houses in historically sensitive areas are often prohibitively high and local oc-
cupants generally do not have the means to make a substantial financial contribution. In Cairo, however, the Programme has been fortunate in finding donors who, through its local agency CDC and with assistance of AKAM (the Aga Khan Agency for Micro-Credit), can provide grant/loan packages to local occupants, that consist on average of 75% grant and 25% loan. These funds allow some 120 houses to be rehabilitated over a five year period.

A few housing rehabilitation initiatives in Zanzibar’s Old Stone Town were carried out at a 100% grant basis, but occupants would still be required to pay monthly fees for maintenance after completion. The purpose of housing improvement is not just to create better living conditions for the occupants, but also to contribute to the rehabilitation of the public space that the house occupies, to the integrity of the historic area and to add to its aesthetic value.

Public buildings are present in all of HCP’s Area Development initiatives. The choice of building is highly dependent on its historic significance for the neighbourhood, its accessibility and its potential
A restored Ottoman house in Cairo’s Kayerbek complex, for instance, now houses the offices of CDC’s health programme as well as a health clinic for Mothers and Children of the poorest households. An annex of the restored historic Umm Sultan Sha’aban complex in Cairo accommodates a computer laboratory for skills development of administrative staff and secretaries, while a major 18th century Ottoman palace nearby may accommodate a new vocational training centre for the Darb al-Ahmar neighbourhood.

Even the historic Ayyubid city wall of Cairo, which HCP has been restoring over a six year period, has been given a new function: in departure from its original purpose it now serves as a link between the community and the new Azhar Park, attracting visitors rather than keeping them out. Tourists are motivated to move from the park into the old city and to discover the historic Darb-Al-Ahmar district, which will create new commercial opportunities for residents.
The Komoguel Grand Mosque which HCP restored in Mopti, Mali, has foremost a religious function, but draws also visitors from abroad. HCP’s Guest House in Herat (Afghanistan) is based in a major historic building in the city’s historic centre. This building was first fully restored by the Programme. The completion of the conservation work in Aleppo’s Old City by HCP marks the start of community activities aimed at bringing benefits from tourism to the local inhabitants who live around the citadel. In all of these cases, the public buildings have proven to be a suitable entry wedge for access to the local community in order to start development activities.

PUBLIC OPEN SPACE

Many poor historic centres where HCP is active have high population densities. Better use of limited public space and creation of additional areas where the public has free access, are therefore of great importance. In the heart of Aleppo’s Old City, the restoration of the Citadel is now followed by the enhancement of the surrounding prime public open space as a landscaped pedestrian area and civic meeting point. Further involvement of HCP in the development of a green zone on a large vacant lot just outside the project area, could provide substantial benefits for the inhabitants of the Old City too.

Urban parks, as green public spaces par excellence, have become essential components in all of HCP’s Area Development Projects. Al Azhar Park (with over 30 hectares the largest park in the HCP portfolio), is now acting as a major catalyst for socio-economic development in the adjacent Darb al-Ahmar district. In Khorog, Tajikistan, a central urban park is being redeveloped as the only major open space available. The Foradhani Park is central to possible future developments in Zanzibar’s Stone Town and even Kabul’s existing Zarnegar Gardens, one of the few public green spaces in that city, has become part of HCP’s activities.

Squares, streets and even alleys can be put to multiple use. In Cairo’s Darb al-Ahmar a small, but centrally located square which is dominated by the 14th century Aslan Mosque has been identified as a key public open space to be developed. Furthermore, HCP has also been involved in the development of a master plan for the reuse of public space in the entire district. Of equal importance is the creation of public open space around recently rehabilitated buildings. Not only does this contribute to better visibility and access to the building, but it also can help to prevent encroachment and damage, thus ensuring longer lasting benefits to the public.
Levels of education in most, if not all of the Programme’s intervention areas, are generally low to very low at the start of launching activities. Literacy levels, in particular for women, reach only 60% in Cairo, 70% in Aleppo, but are as low as 25% in Kabul and only around 30% in Mali and Zanzibar. Many do not complete their primary school, as parents often do not see the need for further education in the absence of career prospects for their children.

To address this issue, HCP has, in a number of cases, initiated literacy classes for adults, either directly or in collaboration with experienced local NGOs. In addition to this, attempts are being made to increase the level of involvement of parents in the education of their children. The children and adults’ libraries that were set up in Cairo, for example, have become a focal point for interaction with parents and children, as have after school activities which are aimed at stimulating creativity and emphasizing the need for continued education.

As a rule, HCP projects are not involved in secondary and higher education, but instead focus on vocational and administrative training. The assumption is that the vast majority of people in the poor areas where interventions take place, would be best served with knowledge of a particular skill or trade that could be marketable, thus adding to the family income. Vocational training is also a direct spin-off from HCP’s work related to housing improvement, rehabilitation of historic buildings and improvements of public space. It is no coincidence, therefore, that common trades such as carpentry, stone masonry, plumbing, metal work, crafts development related to restoration and electrical engineering occur frequently in the corresponding vocational training programme.

More recently, administrative skills development has been added, because in most countries the traditional skills are exclusive to men and fewer opportunities exist for women outside domestic services. Administrative skills development includes bookkeeping, secretarial skills and efficient use of several common computer programmes. Not only are these programmes preparing candidates for the labour market, but the training is also done with an eye on stimulating entrepreneurship. In some cases it can be used to foster development of other activities. In Cairo, successful trainees are offered the possibility to buy a computer with a micro-credit loan, thus opening possibilities to start businesses that would enable local workshops to produce bookkeeping records or create the income end expenditure statements required for loan applications from the micro-credit programme.
HEALTH

HCP does not see a role for itself as a major provider of healthcare. Still, information collected at source from the target group in the intervention areas nearly always points at the lack of available health services or at their high costs, thus placing proper healthcare out of reach for most households. As a result, many suffer from poor health or from conditions that could have easily been avoided. Since most surveys point at mothers, mothers-to-be and children as the group that is most at risk, efforts have been (and continue to be made) to focus on this group. Preventive rather than curative healthcare is the main principle in HCP’s social programmes. This means that the majority of health related activities consist of awareness raising and conscientisation.

In addition, diagnostic healthcare is sometimes offered, followed up by referring individual patients to local specialised clinics and hospitals. Small curative interventions can often be dealt with on the spot. HCP does not always carry out these activities by itself. In the Rahaleo sec-

Health care for women is being taught by a professional in small groups in the Darb al-Ahmar health centre, which is located in a historic building (see page 9).
The Raha Leo Health Centre operated by the Aga Khan Foundation in Zanzibar.

Secondary health centre in Zanzibars’ Stone Town, healthcare is managed by its sister organisation AKF. In Cairo, through its local organisation CDC, HCP took initial responsibility for making health services available for the poorest households – a responsibility that was passed on to AKF in early 2008.

With the focus on Mother and Child Healthcare, the programme in Cairo not only includes a variety of awareness campaigns and diagnostic services for groups as well as for individual patients, but it also deals with issues such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Far from being outrooted, the practice of FGM, albeit illegally, is unfortunately still widely applied in parts of Darb al-Ahmar and other districts in Cairo, affecting an estimated 80% of the female population. With a sharp increase in the number of patients visiting the health centre since it was moved to a central location in early 2006, there is now hope that a critical breakthrough can be made in changing attitudes and thereby improving physical and mental health among the population.
WATER, SANITATION AND SOLID WASTE

Providing the local population with access to proper sources of water goes hand-in-hand with improved sanitation. Nearly all intervention areas of HCP projects suffer from a lack of both. In cases where drinking water and sanitation facilities are available, but insufficient in number, the focus may very well be on increasing the accessibility. However, in providing access to water HCP, would generally be working at the secondary level (the individual street), and even more so at the tertiary level (individual houses). Primary water supply is considered a Government responsibility for which other agencies would be better equipped.

In Zanzibar, additional taps and toilets were built in buildings that could house up to one hundred people. Creating additional washing and toilet facilities in Darb al-Ahmar is also considered, in order to reduce dependency of many on just a few facilities, which are often in a deplorable state. In Mali, access to a higher number of public water taps in the open street is of importance, as is creating proper drainage of waste water at street level through a system of open or partially covered drains. The same holds true for HCP’s activities in Kabul.

Removal of solid waste in densely populated urban areas is of equal importance as the provision of water and sanitation. The Programme sees its role in starting up and helping to sustain community-based initiatives for garbage collection and maintenance of a clean and healthy environment. On a permanent basis, however, it is believed that solid waste removal is a community and municipal responsibility. Through its projects, HCP can initially act as broker between the different parties involved and can help kick-start periodic cleaning campaigns with volunteers, in order to clean roof tops or vacant lots where garbage has been allowed to accumulate. There is also a role for HCP in raising awareness amongst the public about the problems associated with solid waste and in showing technical innovation in treatment and removal. Examples are separation at source and local composting, thus making use of organic waste for rooftop gardening (Cairo).

In Mali polythene bags are removed from the garbage and used as an ingredient for composite bricks, which are then used to pave local streets. Equally important is the preparation of contingency plans for solid waste collection in case of strikes, unrest or other types of interruptions for regular removal. In close collaboration with local community organisations, HCP’s local teams help to draw up plans for allocating temporary depots in neighbourhoods, where solid waste can be deposited during emergencies and periodically be trucked off.
EMPLOYMENT

The Programme’s involvement in employment is mainly a consequence of its engagement in vocational and administrative training, as well as its involvement in stimulating the development of income generating activities. The basic principle is that HCP and its local companies are not permanent job providers, nor agents that seek business in the job market. However, the local companies acknowledge the obligation to help find work for those who have received on-the-job training in conservation or in construction-related activities once the work has been completed. In addition to this, in places like Cairo HCP takes on limited numbers of motivated local job seekers who receive training in life skills and personal presentation, in order to help increase their chances on the job market.

By constantly scanning the market for vacancies and updating a database for this, a limited level of job matching can be carried out which (in Cairo) helps about three hundred people each year to find suitable
employment. Market scanning is also important in order to provide feedback to the HCP’s regular vocational and administrative training activities, as it allows the training programmes to be tailored to actual market requirements, thus increasing the chances of trainees to find direct employment after graduation. In addition to direct employment, a limited number of trainees can yearly be placed as apprentices in local workshops as part of their training programme.

MICRO-CREDIT AND INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES

Demands for credit at micro level are often high in the areas where HCP is operating. Nearly all household surveys that have been conducted in intervention areas, show that debt servicing requires between 5 to 15% of the monthly expenditure. Most of these debts are social loans, often occurring within the family. However, it often traps families in a vicious cycle of taking up new loans to service old ones, without any prospect of investing money in means that can lead to sustained increases in income.

In tandem with AKAM, the Aga Khan Agency for Micro-credit, HCP is reaching out to households in its intervention area in order to improve the quality of life by increasing family income through productive loans (which include professional services, workshops and retail, but can also include education or professional training), by providing loans to improve living conditions in the house and by providing so-called social loans, such as those required for crucial medical operations. More recently, new products such as micro-insurance have been introduced. The catchment areas for micro-credit operations tend to be much larger than the intervention areas defined by HCP, in order to reap the benefits of going to scale.

Left: A street in Mopti (Mali) showing the absence of proper solid waste management and the abundance of discarded plastic bags.

Plastic material is melted and mixed with river sand and compressed in moulds to produce solid pavement bricks.
DEDICATED AS IT IS TO THE IN-DEPTH REHABILITATION OF URBAN HERITAGE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD, THE HISTORIC CITIES PROGRAMME (HCP) OF THE AGA KHAN TRUST FOR CULTURE DEALS WITH A COMPLEX REALITY. FOR HISTORIC CITIES HARBOUR AN IMPORTANT ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY THAT GOES WELL BEYOND THE REALM OF “BRICKS AND MORTAR”. THEIR MONUMENTS AND THEIR TRADITIONAL URBAN PATTERNS SPEAK TO US ABOUT THE ATTITUDES, THE ASPIRATIONS AND THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF PAST GENERATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS. THAT IS HOW CITIES GAIN THEIR SYMBOLIC DIMENSION AND HOW THEY ARE ENABLED TO DISPENSE CULTURAL IDENTITY.

While the architectural shell, due to its material inertia, tends to resist the effects of time, the more volatile social realm is subject to changes and transformations that are not immediately reflected in the built form containing it. It is this delayed interaction between physical structures and more intangible social, emotional and spiritual factors that makes interventions in historic cities particularly challenging, because once the delay leads to structural incongruence, remedial action is needed.

The built structures and the social processes framed by them may not always evolve at the same pace, yet they are nevertheless interdependent. Very often, physical decay is not just the result of ageing and weathering, but the consequence of non-material factors of a social, psychological, economic or legal nature. Such is the case with the exodus of former residents and the immigration of a poorer rural population that affect many historic cities in the Third World, or with the image of a “backward” historic inner city area lacking proper services and infrastructure. Rigid rent control systems and a corresponding lack of incentives for proper maintenance can also lead to creeping decay, and sudden land-use changes prompted by new commercial opportunities can result in aggressive demolition and substitution of scores of buildings.

The causes of such deterioration cannot be offset by physical restoration activities, important as they may be, but must be tackled at the root, by addressing the development trends, the social impulses and the behavioural patterns that influence the life of local communities. Whenever physical interventions are carried out without being grounded in related socio-economic action, their effects will rapidly fizzle out, and the best-intentioned conservation project may turn into a futile exercise, which also means that, from a financial point of view, it will be a lost investment.

Therefore, one can say that rehabilitating historic cities has to do with restoring the balance of the urban system and re-establishing a certain coherence between container and content. In other words, it is about reweaving the network of correspondences between formal material structures and related informal life processes that are rooted in the social, emotional and spiritual domain. The creative interaction between man and his built environment constitutes the heartbeat, as it were, that animates complex urban systems, keeps them alive and makes them culturally productive. Enhancing the human development potential and correlating it to its physical counterpart is therefore the best way to ignite vigorous, self-supporting urban rehabilitation. Once successfully established or restored, this mutual rapport will nourish the identification of residents with the spaces and buildings they inhabit – which is the psychological pre-condition for making urban rehabilitation sustainable.
Thus it becomes clear that proper urban rehabilitation must rely on a dual approach: In physical terms, the urban shell needs to be repaired, restored, partly reconstructed and adapted to contemporary needs while remaining faithful to the basic cultural and morphological principles that have presided over its growth. (In the special case of single listed monuments, stronger conservation measures may apply.) In social and economic terms, the living conditions of residents must be improved in the areas of health, education, services, employment, income, etc., in order to revitalise the community from within and to enable residents to take charge of their built environment. The art of the urban planner consists in interlocking both lanes of action.

The convergence and the combined pursuit of physical and social objectives will, indeed, produce important spin-offs and multiplier effects that could not be obtained by single, isolated interventions. The physical upgrading of infrastructure and public open spaces, for instance, will substantially raise the perceived image and prestige of an inner city area and thus in turn encourage owners, tenants and even outsiders to invest in further improvement. Enhancing health standards, providing better education and building local
institutional capacity can be done by re-using and restoring existing historic buildings, which will greatly boost the sense of social solidarity and local pride. Introducing training, employment and added income opportunities through ongoing socio-economic development projects will, in turn, improve people’s material well-being and their capacity to invest in their homes and workshops. By exploiting multiple “ladders” of integrated action and their catalytic effects, it is possible to break and reverse the downward spiral of decline to which many historic centres in the developing world have been subject in the past. And, what is more, it will be the most economic and efficient way to undertake urban rehabilitation, because of the many inbuilt trigger effects that can leverage outcomes much superior to the initial investment.

It is this type of integrated urban rehabilitation which for the past years has been at the forefront of the efforts of the Historic Cities Programme. The pioneering projects in this respect were on a small rural scale, namely the upgrading of the villages of Karimabad, Ganish and Shigar in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, followed by the comprehensive Darb al-Ahmar revitalisation scheme in Cairo, which gained momentum with the construction of the adjacent Azhar Park – an initiative that has completely turned around the profile of this formerly marginal historic district. Similar efforts have also been deployed in Zanzibar Old Stone Town, and, under particularly challenging circumstances, in the district of Asheqan-wa Arefan in what has remained of the Old City of Kabul. Further opportunities have recently opened up in Mopti (Mali), in the Old City of Delhi (Nizamuddin area) and in the Walled City of Lahore, where the HCP is now becoming active.

Due to the relative novelty of this type of integrated approach – and also to the particularities of each site and each community involved – the respective interventions are highly experimental and depend on a number
of feedback cycles for continuing revision and improvement. HCP deliberately abstains from imposing pre-conceived development blueprints or rigid, large-scale planning schemes that are much too abstract to grasp the realities on the ground. Instead, each project is custom-tailored to the conditions prevailing on site. Being built up pragmatically and incrementally with feedback from the local constituencies, it is allowed to gain its own profile and to produce its own lessons.

While there are no universal prescriptions or recipes for successful project implementation, a basic framework of criteria and references is needed to guide action under different circumstances and to permit comparative evaluation. The general methodology and the initial results discussed in this brochure are by no means intended to be definitive, since the current initiatives continue to evolve. However, as an essential complement to the physical conservation projects described in earlier HCP publications, they deserve a presentation in their own right. Accordingly, this brochure is putting forward a basic conceptual framework as a reference for discussion, and, hopefully, further progress.

Through their ambitious approach, such integrated urban rehabilitation programmes necessarily fall under the ambit of the overarching Aga Khan Development Network agenda – which also enables them to draw on the resources of the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development, the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance and the Aga Khan Foundation, with its long-standing experience in rural development, as well as social, health and education projects. This inter-agency coordination is expected to boost the concept of integrated projects and will hopefully result in a breakthrough with regard to implementing an interactive conservation and development agenda, in which the total results largely exceed the sum of the parts.
MEASURING PROGRESS

By Jurjen van der Tas

Any intervention aimed at improving living conditions of the poor, whether in an urban or in a rural environment, inevitably raises the same questions: will the outcome of the intervention match intended objectives and can we be sure that positive change has really been achieved?

Methods of measuring positive change, however, have been a matter for debate. It is generally agreed that the indicators used to verify positive change should be measurable, comparable and consistent over the lifetime of an intervention. Such indicators, however, do not always address the issues that are relevant for the well-being of the beneficiaries, because they do not cover micro-economic levels, nor do they refer to individuals and their needs and perceptions.

FROM QUANTITATIVE TO QUALITATIVE INDICATORS

Over the years, many of the indicators used to measure the quality of life have focused on quantitative aspects. However, knowing how many doctors are available per 10,000 patients, or how many teachers there are for a given number of school children says little about the quality of health services and education. Additionally, perceptions of what constitutes “better quality of life” may vary over time – for the target group as well as for the development agencies involved. As a result, new development objectives may be introduced that require more specific evaluation criteria, such as, for example, civil liberties or rights of association.

In the search for such new qualitative indicators, current thinking tends to focus directly on the stakeholders and to define positive outcomes in terms of target group satisfaction. From the point of view of specific target groups, it appears that fulfillment of basic social services (leading to improved health, better education and access to water and sanitation) are often of primary importance. Equally important, but often not directly perceived by target groups, are individual rights and democracy, political stability, the absence of war and social equality across class and gender. Freedom of movement and expression is also often cited, although it is sometimes narrowed down to more easily measurable aspects such as access to transportation and better telecommunications.
Measuring progress while taking into account the perception of target groups requires differentiated indicators that look at short-term gains as well as long-term change. These indicators are tied to the three conceptual project levels: the impact of overall project objectives; the effectiveness of project strategies; and the results achieved in individual project activities. This approach, which is explained in more detail in the following pages, is likely to remain embedded in future HCP projects and wider AKDN activities in general.

The Links Between Inputs and Achievements

Programmes and projects tend to follow the same logical sequence when answering the following questions: What is the aim? How will it be done? Which will be the activities? In most interventions, the what, how and which questions usually follow the same logical sequence, with a hierarchical order starting from a broad perspective (major objectives) to a more specific strategy and on to clearly spelled out activities.

There are strong arguments for maintaining this hierarchical order in project design, that is, when the inputs are being defined. Activities are linked to a strategy, which in turn serves the goals or objectives. However, when it comes to measuring the achievements that an intervention has produced, views are far from united. The terms which are most frequently used in this regard, are “Impact”, “Outcome”, “Results”, “Change” or “Effectiveness”. Since the deeper meaning or reach of these words has been left open to so many different interpretations, it would appear best to define what some of these would mean and how they could best be applied in the context of HCP’s activities.

“Results” are defined as the most easily measurable products, which are directly linked to “Activities”. At a second level comes the “Effectiveness” of the intervention. Effectiveness is defined as progress that has been made in relation to the strategy and primarily accounts for the process of delivery, the interaction with the target groups and the linkages between the cross-cutting themes and the main development sectors, such as housing, credit, employment and basic social services. At the third level comes “Impact”, which is defined as lasting and durable change, and which is linked to the “Objectives” of the intervention.

Linking hierarchically ordered inputs to levels of achievement of a similar hierarchical order not only allows one to see at which level outputs are directly attributable to inputs, but it can also help to trace and rank the less tangible, often indirect outputs.
Following the model suggested above, measurable indicators of a quantitative nature would especially apply to the Results. Indicators for effectiveness, on the other hand, would be a mix of what could be measured quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The qualitative aspects would largely consist of linkages with HCP’s crosscutting themes: the environment, gender and development, and organisational and institutional development of civil society organisations.

**INDICATORS FOR RESULTS**

Indicators for Results should be Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant and related to Time (the SMART principle). This means that, at the Results level, HCP’s different interventions are generally measured in quantitative terms only. Because the results are considered the direct product of the activities, one would primarily be looking at the success rate of deliberate attempts to deal with issues that are relevant to HCP and to the target group. In densely populated urban environments (where most of HCP’s interventions take place), relevant indicators would most easily be brought under the headings “availability and access to basic social services”, “housing”, “open spaces” and “access to credit”. Based on a number of assumptions, the following quantitative indicators related to activities and results would be of importance.
Health:

Improvements in people’s access to healthcare and better health regimes are supposed to result in higher levels of awareness and noticeable increases in the number of people who benefit from affordable medical services. They are also intended to lead to noticeable increases in levels of mobility among the chronically ill, the handicapped and the aged. At the awareness level, one would expect to see high retention rates of health messages coming from outreach programmes.

In the longer term, one would expect to see decreases in infant and maternal mortality rates, increases in the number of births attended by skilled staff and also increases in demand for sexual health education and awareness as well as family planning. Similarly, the number of people covered by immunisation campaigns would grow, and the number of cases of chronic diarrhoea or other easily transmittable diseases would decline.

High attendance rates in the mother and childhood programme of the Darb al-Ahmar health centre located in a restored 18th-century house.
Improvements in the general status of mental health, although extremely difficult to measure for the population at large, might be achieved by clustering anecdotal evidence into categories. Some level of improvement might be measured as a result of better living conditions, improved employment possibilities, improved status within society, a cleaner and safer environment and better general knowledge as a result of improved education levels.

**Education:**

Although HCP does not engage in primary or secondary school education, serious efforts are made to help reduce the drop-out rates of school-age children, usually in collaboration with local civil society organisations and, occasionally (as in Cairo) by directly contacting parents. In the short- and medium-term, one would expect to see noticeable increases in the number of young people attending school, as well as increases in the net primary school enrolment ratio. Where girls are considered in a disadvantaged position one would expect to see increases in the girls-to-boys ratio of school children. Likewise, where HCP is directly engaged in adult education, increases in adult female literacy levels and the number of people undergoing vocational and administrative training are expected. In the medium term, the quality of schooling (measured through higher retention rates) and the expansion in the range of vocational and administrative training subjects would indicate positive change.

**Access to Clean Drinking Water and Sanitation:**

Results in this sector are relatively easy to verify by recording the increase in the number of taps available per person, but also the time people would have to wait or the quantities of water they would have access to. A measurable increase in the quality of the water that is made available would be of equal importance.

**Solid Waste Disposal:**

Collection, partial recycling and disposal of solid waste is to a large extent an issue that requires organisational efforts at local levels. Yet, much like health, education and drinking water provision, it cannot be turned into a sustainable activity without additional funding. As a critical part of social services to the community, certain levels of subsidies will always be required. The measured quantities of waste would be expected to increase rapidly from the start of the intervention during the first clean-up operation, but then decrease and finally stabilise close to
a certain level that approaches the definition of an acceptable healthy local environment. Indicators for improvements in solid waste management would be the absolute quantities of waste removed (measured as tons of waste along a pre-determined curve) as well as the relative quantities of waste removed (i.e. the increases or decreases per inhabitant/household in the area).

Other important indicators include the level of engagement of local groups with solid waste disposal and the increase in the number of people who are separating solid waste at source. The presence of realistic contingency plans for emergency situations made by such local organisations would also be an important indicator for the readiness of the neighbourhood to address the problem of solid waste disposal at all times. The outputs in terms of the quantity and value of recycled components is another interesting indicator, although much would depend on the average “quality” of the garbage that is offered. As a result of awareness campaigns, a measurable decrease in quantities of solid waste collected over time during periodic regular cleaning campaigns can be expected.

**Employment:**

The indicators related to the employment sector would principally focus on the number of jobs created through self-employment with the assistance of the project, the number of jobs created/taken up through job placement in which HCP or its local representative had a major role, and the number of jobs created through promotion of small and medium enterprises. In addition to this, there would be the number of jobs related to vocational training and craft development in which HCP has been instrumental as well as those which are indirectly attributable to the project. The ratio of the number of people interviewed against the people employed (whether self-employed or placed in an existing position) would, over time, have to decrease as a result of the experience that staff has gained in differentiating between “hopeful” and “hopeless” cases. Only motivated people with potential on the job market would be selected for further training.

**Housing:**

Where HCP is involved in housing improvement, e.g. Zanzibar and Cairo, increases in the available space per person would be an important indicator. In the case of Zanzibar a standard minimum ten square meters per person was used, which included public space within the building. For Cairo, no such standard has been put in place, as decreases in the
number of occupants or increases in space are often difficult to assess. However, the end results are usually not radically different from the Zanzibar experience. Important indicators also include a reduction in the number of real and potential safety and health hazards, the number of houses that have access to proper sewerage as well as any increases in the number of toilets and washing facilities per person or per household. In addition to this, one would expect to see increases in the number of houses having access to utilities (gas, water and/or electricity).

Public Open Spaces:

The easiest way to measure improvements in this sector is the increase in the availability of or access to open space per person. Gender disaggregated data would help to support claims whether or not such open space can be enjoyed by men and women in equal measure. Multi-functional use of open space would be another important measurable indicator. Decreasing levels of solid waste at existing public open spaces would...
be an important indicator of increased care and appropriation (and hence better use) by the public. Beautification of open space could be measured through increases in numbers of trees and shrubs planted in existing open spaces. The distribution and the size of new green plots is another important indicator for beautification and improvement of the neighbourhood. Continued use of open space for its originally intended purpose is only possible if a rating system for maintenance, safety and accessibility is established.

Micro-Credit:

Whole sets of useful internal indicators can be extracted from programmes for multi-use micro-credit, productive credit for income-generating activities and consumptive credit such as housing loans -- provided the programmes are properly managed and relevant data are collected on a continuous base. They can be particularly useful in determining whether facilities are run as a sound enterprise and whether certain types of consumptive credit can still be repaid. Most
importantly from a developmental point of view are the social benefits that are generated by micro-credit: the measurable increases in income and growth of business volume, as well as the number of new small and medium enterprises and the number of jobs related to these. Useful indicators include increases in the number of borrowers from lower income groups and increases in the number of female borrowers, particularly if this measurement initially started at comparatively low levels. Of equal importance is the use of credit for improving livelihoods (retail and service enterprises, small workshops/cottage industries, working capital, etc.) and increases in the number of people coming out of debt as well as increases in household incomes.

To be effective in meeting demands, a diversified loan portfolio would therefore have to include borrowers from many walks of life. On the supply side, it is of interest to see whether newly created bank products take into account local demands, e.g., extended low-cost housing finance or insurance and leasing). In stable, long-established neighbourhoods, incrementing group loans would be of interest.

**INDICATORS FOR EFFECTIVENESS**

Indicators that look at effectiveness should provide information concerning how well the initial results addressed the problems as they were first identified. In order to determine whether the strategy was correct, indicators should consider all factors that influence or have influenced the achievements – including unforeseen external factors. Moreover, indicators should also take into account management capacity and look at target group satisfaction. Lastly, the three cross-cutting themes, i.e., (i) gender and development, (ii) environment and (iii) organisational and institutional development of civil society organisations should be taken into account. Further analysis of result indicators as well as the interconnection with these cross-cutting themes provide much deeper insight into how well the intervention has addressed the problems. Effectiveness indicators are, above all, about the delivery process.

Two examples of linking results with cross-cutting issues may serve to illustrate this. Initial results of solid waste disposal, linked to progress made at organisational and institutional level, allows an assessment to be made of the instruments that are used for collecting solid waste, their durability and the outlook for their future. This provides a much better appreciation of the long-term effect of solid-waste disposal and of the continuity of the activity as a service or business than would be obtained if only quantities of garbage would be measured. Likewise, by looking at gender disaggregated indicators for administrative training
at the “results level” and linking these with gender as a cross-cutting theme, assessment will not be limited to a rise in literacy levels, but rather include changing attitudes of both men and women toward education and employment for women.

While it is possible to show levels of correlation between different indicators and the main cross-cutting themes, it is easier to do this with a relatively “static” themes like gender and the environment. The bigger challenge is measuring the progress of local civil society development. To this end, a maturity index for local organisations, which evaluates and ranks their developmental status in terms of institutional efficiency, was pioneered. Sequential progress reports are then put in a timeframe, much like taking a series of snapshots of a moving target. Final successful evaluation by specialised organisations such as Pakistan Centre of Philanthropy (PCP) would even provide civil society organisations with recognised quality certificates.

Assessing the Delivery Process:

This terminology concerns the gains and losses made during implementation. Specific questionnaires are used that follow up the implementation process, taking into account a level of personal interpretation from individuals of the target group. It requires systematic collection and processing of anecdotal information through clustering of opinions in discrete groups.

Target Group Satisfaction:

Involving the target group is critical to providing a main set of qualitative indicators, which might include: improved accessibility to basic social services, higher levels of income, better quality of housing, more equitable distribution of project benefits within the neighbourhood, raised levels of security within the neighbourhood, reduced levels of environmental hazards, stronger social contacts within the neighbourhood and a reduced level of violence, including domestic violence.

Substantial increases in the prices of real estate might not necessarily be considered beneficial, as this may benefit only a small group of house owners. The down side of price increases of real estate is that it may lead to forced expulsions of tenants or to a general process of gentrification, which then can create an entirely different local social fabric. If a major shift of population within the neighbourhood is detected and considered negative, the entire outcome of the intervention may be reviewed in a far less positive light.

In Mopti, traditional pottery is being sold at the local markets. Craftsmen complete the plastering of one of the minarets on the Great Mosque of Mopti.
Quality of the Project Management:

Through self examination, the question will have to be raised whether HCP’s project management has adequately addressed unforeseen or unwanted issues that could – or already have – affected the outcome of the intervention negatively. In addition, the issue of project efficiency will have to be addressed, as well as whether more progress could have been made with fewer additional inputs.

Mobilisation of Intellectual Capital from inside the Target Group:

During project implementation, attempts are made to mobilise university graduates and higher educated groups from within the project area. Employing local people with higher education levels and collaborating closely with local organisations usually results in the establishment of a stronger sense of local ownership of the project and its concepts.
Absorption of Innovation:

Indicators for such receptivity would be, for instance, improvements to the physical environment due to positive changes in attitude, e.g., waste collection, or spontaneous improvements in the quality of housing and buildings adjacent to the areas covered by HCP credit and grants. There may also be increases in the number of people requesting loans through established protocols.

Mobility and Improved Communication of Residents:

There are various ways of assessing mobility and improved communication within and outside the neighbourhood. To measure this as an outcome, one could look at improved employment levels as a result of higher mobility, higher levels of participation at local events or a measurable reduction in threats, which would lead to higher mobility, particularly of women. Since the number of assets related to communication (nowadays often reduced to ownership of mobile phones)
is already fairly high in many urban areas, this would not necessarily add more insight on the improvement of communications. Increases in the number of people attending meetings at local levels, on the other hand, would be a far more significant indicator of engagement with the local community.

**Target Group Contribution to the Intervention:**

Contributions by the project beneficiaries provide prime indications on the level of local acceptance of rehabilitation initiatives. In addition, they also offer a “grass-roots” reading of anticipated changes and benefits. Important are people’s own contributions to the development and maintenance of minimal standards for quality of housing as well as environmental improvements and maintenance. Creating or facilitating space for public gatherings is of equal importance. A noticeable increase in volunteerism and willingness to participate in local initiatives, as has been witnessed in Cairo, is of paramount importance as are increases in financial contributions to health improvement. Growing financial

*The central spine of the new Azhar Park in Cairo which has helped turn around the battered image of the old city. The park has been adopted by all social strata of the population as a focal point for leisure, relaxation and public gathering.*
participation in housing improvement (beyond previously estimated levels) can be seen as an important indicator for measuring the desire of people to remain in the area, even as the standards of living rise faster than their income levels.

Appreciation for the Value of Research and Development:

Preparedness of the local population to participate in data collection is essential. Even better for the project is to record increases in the number of people who respond positively to monitoring, research and evaluation surveys, or increases in the number of people who contribute ideas for improved living conditions.

Power Shifts among Residents:

There were a number of examples of socially dangerous or risky areas in places where HCP started interventions. By and large, however, most of these areas did become accessible to the wider public as income levels went up. A reduction in the number of muggings, threats, extortions and influence of street gangs as well as increased willingness to report cases of violence or threats are the principal indicators.

INDICATORS FOR IMPACT

The term impact refers back to the overall objectives. It tries to answer the question whether the intervention has truly contributed to long-term change and to the durability of this change. All questions arising from this are typically qualitative in nature. There are no true indicators for measuring impact. Rather, the qualitative and quantitative indicators used for measuring results and effectiveness are now combined in addressing the overall question of whether the objectives have been achieved in relation to time. At this stage it may be possible to claim there has been an impact if one considers whether:

- overall objectives were achieved through the intended strategy and full credit for the impact can be given to the intervention’s activities;
- lasting changes in attitudes and mentality were obtained as a result of interventions on cross-cutting issues such as gender and development, environment, organisational and institutional development of civil society organisations;
- the intervention had the capacity to respond to unexpected external factors by either incorporating them in the programme or by adequately responding to them;
• unwanted changes brought by the intervention have been identified and isolated;
• possible long-term effects of the intervention have been identified or described.

LINKING PROGRESS INDICATORS TO THE SIX CORE DOMAINS OF ASSETS CREATION

The original questions concerning the progress that is expected with regard to the six domains of asset creation mentioned in Chapter 2 can be addressed in a fairly straightforward manner. For analytical purposes, all the domains used for project definition, together with associated indicators for progress – including assumptions for successful implementation – are brought into a conventional logical framework. Since separate logical frameworks are prepared for each domain of asset creation, it is possible to specify the results, the effectiveness and the impact of HCP’s projects in relation to social and cultural aspects, improvements to the physical and natural environment, amelioration of economic well-being, as well as to a rise in beneficiaries’ representational status and influence.

Involving residents in planning discussions concerning infrastructure improvements in the Old City of Kabul.
**Achievements**

By Jane Handal and Jurjen van der Tas

Having described the framework and the methodology underlying AKHCP’s integrated urban rehabilitation programmes, a preliminary review of achievements of the past few years is proposed in the following paragraphs. This review draws from project work implemented in various geographic areas and does not claim to be balanced or complete, since it relates to achievements of work that are still in progress. Since the way of setting up and implementing the various projects allows for incremental, “organic” growth and inbuilt feed-back loops, it is clear that, in terms of achievements, the process of delivery is just as important as the final product.

More than any other intervention, the Cairo project, where this comprehensive approach has been in tested since the year 2000, has now reached a level of maturity that allows HCP to show relevant achievements. It demonstrates, in particular, that growth and development are subject to research, planning, organisation and the cultivation of relationships on the one hand, and to maintaining values like gender equity, a clean and stable environment and financial sustainability on the other.

The instruments that have been developed for assessing improvements in the quality of life can help to answer the question how relevant achievements actually are. But in order to fully appreciate qualitative improvements, one has to take into account location-specific aspects, such as aesthetic improvements in housing and public open space, reclaiming dignity and personal recognition (as happens through adult education and improved health), reduction of fear and physical violence (through improved psychological health and education), and so on. To measure such issues, progress is constantly being monitored by seeking supportive evidence through new data collection. Comparisons are made between various target groups through independent evaluations, through Focus Group meetings and through personal interviews with beneficiaries. In the last case, compelling anecdotal evidence is collected, verified, categorised and clustered.

Achievements made in terms of housing conditions, family income levels and changes in household expenditure, health, education and employment are considered of special interest. Following the earlier described methodology, the achievements are measured at the levels of direct results, effectiveness and impact, whereby the overall outcome is related to one or more of the six domains of asset creation.
HOUSING REHABILITATION AND OPEN SPACE DEVELOPMENT

Housing Rehabilitation Programme

The Housing Rehabilitation Programmes initiated in Kabul, Herat, Zanzibar and Cairo are central components of HCP’s Integrated Area Development Projects and provide combined physical and socio-economic benefits. They aim at improving the living conditions of residents in a way that responds to their most urgent needs in terms of safety, hygiene and comfort, while at the same time consolidating and maintaining the existing urban fabric. They also contribute towards enhancing the technical capacity of professionals and craftsmen – and thus are directly linked to Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET). Besides providing small grants and micro-credits to its participants (mostly tenants), the Housing Rehabilitation Programme offers the necessary technical assistance, as well as legal and administrative support.

In Kabul and Herat around 400 individuals have so far directly benefited from housing rehabilitation. In Cairo nearly one 100 families were involved between 2005 and 2007. Rehabilitated houses in Cairo provide on average 16 square metres of living space per person, which is well above the ten-square-metre limit that was used for the intervention in Zanzibar. Most participants assert that their living conditions have improved considerably. Their rehabilitated houses are positively impacting on their social image and status and enhancing their sense of pride and belonging, thus directly contributing to the creation of social and cultural assets. The importance of the creation of physical assets like a house was also noted during an independent evaluation of the Darb al-Ahmar Revitalisation Project, where the evaluators state: “When questioned about changes in the area resulting from the Project, most beneficiaries...
and staff said that the house renovations were the most significant. One employer said the area had changed from: ‘Araafa sarat seraille’ (‘from rubbish dump to seraglio’) and an NGO director said ‘people are now proud to live in Bab Shoughlan’. Older people are particularly happy with the mosque renovations. People say that there are more tourists coming to the area as a result of the restorations”.

Open Space Improvement

The enhancement of public open spaces, although a physical aspect of the intervention, contributes to the improvement of living standards, creates relief in high urban densities, provides residents with attractive spaces for leisure and social interaction and thereby fosters a new sense of place and collective identity.

In Kabul’s Old City, a significant area at the heart of the Asheqan-wa-Arefán district has been designated for rehabilitation and development. In addition to this, open drains have been covered in all main streets and

The new Azhar Park – 33 hectares of reclaimed public green space in the heart of the historic metropolis.
appropriate paving has been put in place. A similar programme was
started in 2007 in the Komoguel district of Mopti (Mali). The recy-
cling of plastic bags, which in the case of Mali are used as a major
component in the manufacturing of the bricks for street paving, has
also helped to rid the environment of almost 60 tons of discarded
polythene bags during the first year of project implementation. And
in densely populated Darb al-Ahmar, all existing open space within
the project’s action areas has been put to use. Thanks to the creation
of al-Azhar Park, which comprises the only “natural” asset in the
Cairo programme, a sizeable area of green space for greater Darb
al-Ahmar’s 200,000 residents became available. Occasionally, va-
cant lots are added as open space after cleaning and re-modelling.
In all cases, the programme started from the premise that, in order
for the historic residential area to become more habitable, public
space upgrading is as important as increasing people’s income and
improving their houses. In Afghanistan, Mali and Egypt, the open
space programme has been successfully in enhancing people’s social
and cultural assets.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Initiatives in this field are seminal for the well-being of the residents
in marginalised historic areas. Through the re-use of ruined or vacant
historic buildings they can be tied to physical upgrading. In certain
cases, their benefits may well radiate beyond the limits of a specific
Area Development Project.

Health

In Cairo, the main objective of the Health Programme (now super-
vised by AKF) is to ensure that existing health services reach the
most vulnerable members of the community. The programme also
raises health awareness, whereby it focuses on children from early
childhood up to 15 years of age, on women of reproductive age and
on the elderly. Internally, the Health Programme has direct links
with other social units of the Cairo project, such as the library and
the Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres, as well as the
economic unit for housing and access to credit. All of them engage
with members of the community and either pass on health messages
or encourage people to make use of services provided by the project,
such as health insurance or medical check-ups.

Externally, the Health Programme has created partnerships with key
government institutions (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health
and hospitals), other development agencies and health care profession-
als. In all its undertakings, it promotes careful, culturally appropriate and
disciplined application of contextually sensitive practices and financing
mechanisms that contribute to sustaining service delivery.

The expansion of the Cairo Health Programme in 2006 is an example
of how internal (organic) growth is promoted within a framework of
thorough planning. For a number of years, only limited numbers of
patients had been visiting the programme’s clinic, causing the project
management to consider closing the facility altogether. A request from
community members to maintain the clinic, however, led staff in 2005 to
propose a complete overhaul of the on-going Health Programme in order
to better serve the community. Combined with a change in location of
the clinic within Darb al-Ahmar, this led to a dramatic four-fold increase
of the number of patients that are now being served by the programme
and to further rationalisation of the outreach programmes.

Regular health check-ups are an
integral part of improving health
conditions (Darb al-Ahmar).
The positive impact of the Health Programme, as perceived by beneficiaries and partners, has not only been recorded by the project’s staff, but has also been confirmed through independent evaluation by external experts. It was found that the referral system and partnerships with peer institutions and other civil society organisations helped to increase the credibility of the programme, as it provides safe and quality health services at affordable cost. The programme has also been contributing in a major way to improvements in the psychological health of women by addressing issues such as violence at home and discouraging female genital mutilation (FGM). Volunteers from the community have joined the programme, thus ensuring better dissemination and greater acceptance of health-related messages.

Among the major outreach programmes for the community are the following initiatives: the Women Working Together Programme (which addresses malnutrition among children, FGM and domestic violence), the Brides and Grooms To-Be Programme (addressing physical and sexual health, child raising and family finance), the Listening and Counselling Programme (dealing with physical and psychological needs on individual basis), the Programme for Working Children (providing working children with outings, medical check-ups, safer working environments and enrolment into literacy classes. The Health Programme also has an outreach programme for the benefit of the elderly, which draws on volunteers and leaders from the local community. Health issues, psychological assistance and strengthening of social relationships between community groups stand at the centre of this programme.

In terms of overall achievements and impact, independent verification made so far in Cairo suggests that not only have numerical targets of the Cairo programme been met or exceeded, but there has also been considerable progress in terms of strengthening social and cultural assets of the community. Moreover, important progress has been made concerning representation and influence by mobilising volunteers and creating a system of referrals, through which government and private services have been mobilised in favour of the most vulnerable, in a way hitherto unseen.

**Education**

Various educational components have been conceived in order to complement HCP’s strategy of combining physical rehabilitation with socio-economic development. While primary or secondary education is left to the governmental schools, Early Childhood Development has become an integral part of HCP’s project activities in close collaboration...
with the Aga Khan Foundation. Other important educational activities include vocational and administrative training, literacy classes for working children and adults, cultural education and access to literature through libraries. They are generally carried out in collaboration with local or national governmental and non-governmental institutions.

From the very outset of HCP activities, the low literacy rates in the Darb al-Ahmar area appeared to be a main obstacle to achieve progress in terms of health and education, and the psychological well-being of local residents. As a result, adult literacy classes were started in collaboration with a few local NGOs. By the end of June 2007, more than 400 students had enrolled through the programme – most of them during the previous two years, with a substantial female majority. For many participants, the literacy classes have given relief from boredom and overcome social isolation. In terms of the success achieved, it appears that the “pass rate” of the adult literacy students (89%) is significantly higher than the national average for Egypt. Two of the NGOs involved in the programme won a prize from the National Organisation for the Eradication of Illiteracy.

The library for children and adolescents in the Darb Al-Ahmar Community Centre, was initially intended as a means to enhance existing education efforts and to provide young people with an adequate supply of relevant literature to further their development. Ever since it opened its doors, however, the library has become a rallying point for
the exchange of ideas. It has been instrumental in starting up some educational activities that initially had not been foreseen. Currently at its maximum capacity, 1200 library membership cards have been issued to young people from the area who regularly borrow books or who stay in the library for reading purposes. The library also provides supervised educational activities, including on-line research through the Internet. It has been given a special mandate to focus on young school students who are at risk of dropping out from regular government primary education programmes.

The ECD programme in Darb al-Ahmar is conducted in partnership with AKF, local NGOs, the Ministry of Education and the Montessori Centre. At any time some 750 children are in the care of the programme, which is being implemented in partnership with four local NGOs.

More than any other educational activity, the cultural programme in Darb al-Ahmar provides a vivid example of how young people have emerged from obscurity and are now able to engage themselves in

Number of Pupils in the Early childhood and Development Programme (ECD)

The carpentry workshop set up in Darb al-Ahmar became financially self-sustainable in 2007.
structured, innovative and creative modes of expression that contribute to local culture and allow them to keep their sense of pride and belonging. This programme also makes use of the centre of performing arts in Darb al-Ahmar. Events, shows and festivals are now a regular feature in the area, with on average 300 people attending each event.

Technical Vocational and Educational Training (TVET) is another educational component, and one that can be found in almost all HCP interventions. The reason for this is that physical rehabilitation of monuments requires knowledge and the involvement of able craftsmen. More often than not, however, such craftsmen are not locally available and need to be trained on the job. As a result, nearly all intervention programmes include crafts training, in particular construction-related crafts such as masonry, carpentry and fine woodwork, plumbing and electrical engineering. Trainees who re-enter the local workforce after HCP construction work has been completed, need to be adequately equipped with locally applicable skills and recognised certificates. In order to achieve this, HCP has become involved in various agreements with governmental and non-governmental training institutions that review the curricula and provide the necessary recognised diplomas and certificates.

TVET, however, is not limited to the construction-related crafts only. Training in administration has proven particularly attractive to women who seek to improve their skills and to move upwards in the labour market. Local crafts development through training in quality improvement is another element that is part of the TVET approach. Over a six-year period, a great variety of courses has been provided in Cairo to beneficiaries. These include driving skills, carpentry, fine woodwork, English language, security matters, project planning, computer use and repair, public relations, accountancy, electrical engineering, work as a cashier, mobile telephone repair, purchasing skills, dried flower arrangement and marketing, graphic design, patchwork, plumbing, manufacturing of bags, shoes, candles and soap, secretarial skills, tailoring and business development services.

The outcomes of the different educational project components are manifold. In the case of Cairo, literacy levels are increasing, perhaps not yet in dramatic numbers but certainly as part of a trend in which multiplier effects have emerged. More important, perhaps, is the rise of assertiveness and self-esteem of the beneficiaries. The 2007 midterm evaluation of the Darb al-Ahmar programme states: “Literacy training has empowered participants. Women have started coming to classes cleaner and better dressed. One woman said she ‘could now..."
Many participants (including men) cried when given their certificates. Many of the educational problems identified in the [2003] baseline survey are still a feature of the area. However, it is clear that for the people participating in the activities through learning and play, life has changed for the better in a short period of time”.

The notion that the beneficiaries of training and education activities conducted by HCP in Cairo have experienced improvements in their quality of life is supported by statistic and behavioural evidence. 78% of the administration training graduates, for example, found employment within three months of graduation and brought home substantial increases to the family income. External evaluators found that many children (including working children), “rather than being stuck at home, playing in dirty and hazardous alleys or being employed in workshops, are now participating in constructive and enjoyable extra-curricular activities”.

Craftsmen and trainees from Darb al-Ahmar working on the cleaning of the delicate stucco reliefs of the Khayrbek minaret in Darb-al Ahmar.
In terms of human assets creation, a level of impact has been achieved through a noticeable increase in the sense of pride and confidence among residents in the community. Management of local businesses has also improved and expansion of knowledge for business development has led to increased interest from people to start up businesses. Accordingly, a positive impact with regard to creation of economic assets and well-being has been visible at the family level through additional incomes generated by newly employed family members. At the level of asset building for representation and influence, better understanding of legal and social rights has been fostered. Mobilising governmental institutions in order to emphasise the quality of teaching and learning in the schools has become easier.

Lastly, there is compelling evidence that social and cultural assets have been enhanced through a better sense of belonging by community members and a new sense of pride in being associated with the neighbourhood. Women’s social participation in family decisions and in community life has been enhanced through education. Dissemination of knowledge to family members, in particular coming from young beneficiaries of the education programme, has also become noticeable.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment and income generation are both goals and activities. HCP has been actively involved in seeking employment for community members in Cairo. This has partly grown out of a perceived responsibility to assist those who were initially trained by the programme, but whose direct employment was no longer needed after construction had been completed. The employment activities are also a response to the high levels of unemployment and the need to increase family incomes. In this respect, the unit functions as a labour intelligence unit that can help direct the vocational training programme to adjust its courses to market demands for particular skills. In addition to this, it acts as a broker for job applicants who have undergone basic training provided by the programme. As a result of this multi-pronged approach, numerous positions were filled in Cairo within the first six years of project implementation: 4036 job referrals were made and 1817 people were employed through direct job placement, through the efforts of the unit.

The overall impact of the employment activities in the creation of assets related to economic well-being is predominantly visible in terms of the high level (85%) of people who found employment that matched their skills or expectations. In terms of financial assets, there is ample evidence that those directly benefiting from the programme as trainees
have seen substantial increases in family income after finding new employment. Former trainees interviewed by external evaluators in 2007 mentioned increases in income ranging from 25% to 150% above previous incomes. An average increase in monthly income of 79% for former trainees was reported by the Monitoring Reporting and Evaluation unit of the Darb al-Ahmar project.

**INCREASES IN FAMILY INCOME LEVELS AND CHANGES IN HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE**

Family income levels in Darb al-Ahmar in 2003 were estimated to be between 400 and 450 Egyptian Pounds, with 420 as the mean value. The 2006 estimates of family incomes of those benefiting from the programme (i.e. through credit, education, health, employment services, housing or a combination of these) is 500 to 600 Pounds, with a mean value of around 550, but with a wider spread. This suggests that three years of service delivery has given the direct beneficiaries an average increase of 20% to 45% to their family income. Correcting for inflation and with two more years to go, this may indicate that a major objective of the Cairo project - to increase income levels of the poorest households by 50% over the lifetime of the second phase – may indeed be met.

More reliable data on household expenditure suggest that in 2007 a lower portion of family income was being spent on food (a drop of 12% compared to 2003), that savings had nearly doubled, that rents had slightly gone up as a percentage of overall expenditure (due to improvements made to houses) and that at least eight percent of income
was being spent on health and education. The drop in expenditure on food items is particularly indicative of higher income levels: by increasing their economic assets, many families that are being serviced by the project are now gradually being pulled out of extreme poverty and basic subsistence.

**MICRO-CREDIT FOR INCOME – GENERATING ACTIVITIES**

Support and development of entrepreneurship is foremost an activity of the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance (AKAM). Close collaboration between AKAM and HCP, in particular in places such as Cairo, has led to many examples of one agency supplementing activities provided by the other. Where AKAM-provided credit allows entrepreneurs to expand their activities, HCP’s target group has benefited from new employment opportunities. Likewise, craftsmen trained by HCP have, as newly trained professionals and would-be entrepreneurs, been given financial support for starting up their businesses through credit provided by AKAM. During the three years from mid-2004 to August 2007, AKAM provided more than 6,500 loans to local residents, of which 47% were given to women. The average value of a loan was 2,780 Egyptian Pounds (USD 480) and the average repayment period was ten to twelve months. Loans were provided predominantly for trading and commerce, manufacturing, services and transport. Nearly half of these loans were extended to first-time credit takers. More importantly, perhaps, is the notion that the bulk of households benefiting from these loans (68%), fall into the income category of between USD 0.5 – 2 per day.

*Local artisans benefit from business training courses and micro-credits to build small enterprises.*

Household Expenditures in Darb Al-Ahmar
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Photographs by Stefano Bianca, Gary Otte, ..... Richters, .....Todas, Jean Luc-Ray, Robin Reed, Anna Soave, ..... to be competed
The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) is a group of private, non-denominational, international development agencies created by His Highness the Aga Khan, the 49th hereditary Imam of the Shia Ismaili Muslims. It is a contemporary endeavour of the Ismaili Imamat to realise the social conscience of Islam through institutional action. The Network is grounded in Islam’s ethics of inclusiveness, compassion, sharing, self-reliance, respect for health and life, the cultivation of a sound and enlightened mind, and humanity’s collective responsibility for a sustainable physical, social and cultural environment. The agencies address problems experienced by all citizens, irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender or religion. Together they collaborate in working towards a common goal – to build programmes and institutions that improve the welfare and prospects of people in countries of the developing world, particularly in Asia and Africa.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) plays a vital role in AKDN’s integrated approach of building the broad spectrum of human development - economic, social and cultural - into a comprehensive strategy. The Trust promotes debate about the built environment; proposes exemplars and solutions for contemporary design problems; engages in urban revitalisation of historic sites and social improvement of communities, thus impacting their quality of life; and, through education and cultural initiatives in the realm of music and the arts, aims to position properly the greatness of the cultures of the Muslim world in the global cultural heritage. The Trust seeks to leverage the unique transformative power of culture to improve socio-economic conditions prevailing in many Muslim populations through its various programmes:

- The Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme implements conservation and urban revitalisation and area development projects in culturally significant sites of the Islamic world.

- The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, presented every three years, not only rewards individual architects for exemplary contemporary work but also singles out projects that propose innovative and replicable solutions to problems of social development.

- The Aga Khan Music Initiative in Central Asia is concerned with the revitalisation of traditional music by supporting efforts of Central Asian musicians and communities to sustain, develop and transmit onward musical traditions that are a vital part of their cultural heritage.

- Museum Projects are dedicated to the presentation of Muslim arts and culture – in their historic, cultural and geographical diversity – as a way of contributing to knowledge and understanding.

The Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme (AKHCP) implements conservation, revitalisation and area development projects in historically significant sites of the Islamic world. Its projects seek to mobilise local potential and resources in order to ensure their eventual self-sustainability through operational income, human resource development and institutional management capabilities. Going beyond mere restoration of monuments, the Programme engages in activities related to adaptive re-use, contextual urban planning, improvement of housing, infrastructure and public spaces. Its projects attempt to discover and to mobilise untapped local potential and resources in order to ensure the eventual self-sustainability of AKHCP initiatives in terms of operational income, human resources and institutional management capabilities. Through this integrated approach, the Programme seeks to demonstrate that strengthening cultural identity can go hand in hand with socio-economic progress. AKHCP has completed projects in Mostar, Samarkand and Zanzibar, and is currently active in Aleppo and other sites in Syria, Cairo, Delhi, Herat and Kabul, sites in Mali and in Northern Pakistan (Hunza and Baltistan).
INTEGRATED AREA DEVELOPMENT
AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR REVITALISING HISTORIC CITIES

By Jurjen van der Tas and Stefano Bianca

HCP’s Integrated Area Development Concept has emerged over time as an expansion of earlier, more isolated conservation and adaptive re-use projects, since the need for embedding individual interventions in larger urban sub-systems became clear as the Programme grew in scope. The new integrated concept, therefore, aims at interconnecting a series of individual projects within a wider urban context and at improving the living conditions of residents simultaneously with physical upgrading. Socio-economic development initiatives are thereby correlated to clearly defined spatial boundaries and linked with matching urban rehabilitation, conservation and adaptive re-use projects, in order to achieve focused action and to maximise the results obtainable for the local communities that occupy and “own” the corresponding physical setting.

In terms of thematic content, Integrated Area Development Projects (IADP) need to be as comprehensive as possible in order to come to grips with the complexity of the life processes and the built environment of local communities that they are meant to address and influence. For this purpose, they need to rely on a variety of disciplines, including urban planning, conservation, applied social sciences, economic development, health and education and local capacity-building. Interrelating the approaches and procedures of these various disciplines is essential in order to make project activities converge and to take advantage of mutual catalytic effects. Housing improvement, adaptive re-use of historic buildings for social purposes and contextual upgrading of community spaces are among the most rewarding projects in terms of connecting different objectives.

In terms of spatial extension, Integrated Area Development Projects need to be kept concise, in order to allow for focused and concentrated action and to reach relatively quickly a critical mass that becomes evidence of positive change. They have to be conceived in terms of well-defined spatial and social units in order to be practical and manageable. Target beneficiaries have to be defined from the beginning to allow for evaluation of progress. The scale of the area should allow for easy mobilisation of residents and facilitate active personal participation of individuals and collective interest groups. Future growth can be conceived of as a replication of the process in new spatial units to be brought into play with neighbouring community groups, rather than as an extension of the boundaries of the first project.

Numerous surveys were undertaken within the Darb al-Ahmar community, to establish socially relevant development programmes.

Left page: Architects and social workers discussing the Strategic Development Plan for Darb al-Ahmar.

Previous pages (4/5): The Integrated Area Development Programme in Cairo’s Darb al- Ahmar district – HCP’s pilot project in terms of coordinated multi-disciplinary initiatives and consistent incremental growth.
While being comprehensive in approach and providing in-depth revitalisation within the boundaries, IADPs cannot claim to be the sole forces of change. Their activities are often subject to overriding external factors, such as government policies and planning projects, economic macro-trends, private investment trends, etc., by which the area will be influenced during the project duration. The evaluation of improvements attributable to the IADP must, therefore, be done with care, considering these parallel forces and activities. Meanwhile, cooperation with government agencies and support by coordinated government action is essential to ensure the success of HCP interventions. To this effect, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture normally engages in formal Public-Private Partnership agreements with the respective authorities. Such agreements have been concluded in Cairo, Lahore and Delhi, and are under preparation in Kabul, Aleppo and Zanzibar. Once the positive change induced by such partnerships becomes more visible, local private sector investments may also be attracted to participate in such joint ventures, particularly if AKTC can offer planning assistance to identify, shape and frame potential projects.
Apart from governmental support, the most critical factor for the success of an Integrated Area Development Project is the close cooperation, from its inception, with the local communities and their representatives, members and beneficiaries. In the initial phase, through assessment of local needs, opportunities and implementation procedures needs to be made to accurately represent the realities in the field. In the implementation phase, management must be devised in such a way as to maximise the involvement and empowerment of local community members. Having stressed the importance of local participation, back-up from governmental partners is equally essential in terms of coordinating urban planning policies and pacing collateral investments, particularly in the field of infrastructure and public facilities.

Physical interventions follow a tighter schedule and invariably reach completion ahead of socio-economic activities, since the latter are slow in starting up and require more time to attain acceptable levels of maturity, depending on the sectors addressed and the levels of engagement reached. However, the discrepancy in implementation sequence

Conservation projects provide training and employment opportunities.

Restoration of an 18th-century house near to the Khayrbek mosque, to serve as a new health centre.
is lessened by the fact that construction projects have a functional use (or re-use) component which falls into the socio-economic domain. Since all rehabilitated monuments require an operational scheme for their future use, AKTC often continues to supervise the management of buildings and parks after project completion. This can be achieved through active involvement of the Trust’s local Service Companies for a considerable period of time, or through support for and monitoring of community-based organisations that are using completed monuments for local development initiatives.

In planning Integrated Area Development Projects, great care has to be taken not to make the recipient community dependent on external aid. Therefore, building up local institutions and NGOs which, after initial training, can continue and expand the work by their own means is of utmost importance. Moreover, income must be generated from within the project in order to support the continued involvement of local project staff, other than volunteers. Potential sources of income could be, for instance, certain project performances provided to the community, which should not be seen as a free gift, but as remunerated services, however modestly priced. Furthermore, income from re-used historic buildings can be made accessible to local institutions, once they have become mature and reliable. A further source of funding may come from skimming off (in the form of “taxes” or other models of participation) the added value of commercial enterprises or redeveloped housing plots – an asset which has been produced through collective rehabilitation efforts and should rightly benefit the local community. Government-owned or donor-supplied property may also be made available, either for direct free use, or for sale, with the proceeds flowing into the local development initiative. In certain cases, forming local development corporations to handle such initiatives is a convenient solution.

The Programme’s most developed Integrated Area Development Project so far is located in the historic city of Cairo (see map on pages 4/5). Here, in the Darb al-Ahmar district, the concept of Area Development was allowed to grow and mature organically, as a logical extension of the construction of the al-Azhar Park and the restoration of the Ayyubid Wall. These projects led to new initiatives dealing with the improvement of housing and public space and the development of better socio-economic delivery mechanisms, thus ensuring people better access to services. Although in this particular case, due to the fusion of Darb al-Ahmar with the adjacent historic districts, the target constituency for socio-economic initiatives may be less narrowly defined than for physical interventions, this has not precluded an overlap with the focal areas of physical intervention.
As a result of lessons learned from the different HCP initiatives (and particularly the Darb al-Ahmar project), the opportunities for future Area Development Projects are currently investigated with the following criteria in mind:

- **The relevance of a given site from a historical and cultural perspective:**
  Excellent site quality will justify optimal use of limited financial and technical means that the programme has at its disposal. Relevance of the site would also have to be considered with regard to the long-term sustainability of the completed project that often depends on tourism or commercial exploitation;

- **The possibility of materialising upfront a formalised Public-Private Partnership, with the respective government agencies:**
  Such partnerships will not only guarantee collateral investments and long-term engagement from government agencies with regard
to completed projects, they will also provide HCP with the necessary legal and administrative support to carry out its interventions;

- **The availability of a framework for social impact evaluation:**
  In principle, HCP would only start its engagement in physical and socio-economic rehabilitation after careful assessment of the intervention area through baseline surveys, in order to establish clear reference parameters (see chapter 3 in this brochure);

- **The applicability of common poverty criteria to a sizeable target group within the area:**
  Too small a target group within a given community would hardly bear any relevance in terms of overall impact and replicability of the initiatives. The costs per beneficiary might also become unacceptably high;

- **A realistic timeframe for intervention:**
  On the understanding that socio-economic change takes longer to mature than physical change of the built environment, interven-

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*Area Development Project in the Zanzibar Old Stone Town (below). It includes housing improvement (above), landscaping of the seafront and restoration and adaptive re-use of historic public buildings.*
tions typically have a duration that can vary from just a few years to fifteen years or more;

- **A properly adjusted entry and exit strategy, involving local institutions as future caretakers:**
  All local institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, will have to be involved from the outset. Intensive capacity-building efforts will have to be carried out during the intervention in order to ensure that the implementing capacities of local institutions are sufficiently well developed to be able to continue activities after the eventual withdrawal of HCP;

- **A viable concept for post-construction and maintenance of completed physical interventions:**
  Where the local community is involved, productive use and maintenance of completed buildings and open spaces are from the outset linked to socio-economic development. Proposals for post-construction activities will vary from project to project but long-term sustainability will inevitably be based on an operational plan, sufficient funding and income including guarantees for maintenance.