

## To Activate the Role of Slum Tourism in The Rehabilitation of the Eastern Necropolis, Old Cairo, Egypt

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### Abstract

One of the key issues facing the Egyptian Government is a way to give a development of Slums and boost its livelihood to satisfy the needs of its people. So, in combination with creating a comprehensive framework, this paper takes a philosophy to invest the positive facets of the society in the slums. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Eastern Necropolis tomb-dwellers' and outsiders' attitude regarding the implementation of slum tourism. It examines how the idea of slum tourism can be adapted at the Eastern Necropolis in a sustainable way because of its significance with its rich historical and diverse cultural legacy. The research is based on a case study, after a brief theoretical exploration about slum tourism and the Eastern Necropolis; then a pilot surveys for locals and visitors to obtain insight into the tourism opportunity in the Eastern Necropolis. The study results suggest that tomb-dwellers in the Eastern Necropolis somehow have a constructive disposition towards slum tourism, as demonstrated by effect scores (Mean=3.25). The article discusses two subjects that are almost opposite: tomb-dwellers as a kind of slums and yet as a symbol of historical tourism. It explores how this funerary neighborhood can find a way to connect both at the same time with fascinating outcomes. And then the paper concludes with a summary of the findings and recommendations for action.

### Keywords:

Types of tourism - sustainable tourism - slum tourism - pillars of sustainable development - sustainable slum tourism

### المخلص:

تعد تنمية المناطق غير الرسمية (العشوائية) وتعزيز سبل معيشة بديلة بها لتلبية احتياجات سكانها إحدى القضايا الرئيسية التي تواجه الحكومة المصرية. وبناء على ذلك والى جانب وضع إطار شامل للتنمية، يتبنى هذا البحث فلسفة كيفية استثمار واستغلال الجوانب الإيجابية للمجتمعات غير الرسمية (العشوائية). الغرض من هذه الورقة هو فحص موقف سكان المقابر الشرقية (المملوكية) بالقاهرة التاريخية والسياح الاجانب فيما يتعلق بتفعيل منظومة السياحة العشوائية بها بطريقة مستدامة باعتبارها منطقة غير رسمية (عشوائية) يسكنها الموتى والأحياء معاً، والتعامل معها كمورد متميز اقتصادياً وثقافياً واجتماعياً وروحانياً يجب الحفاظ عليه بكل أنظمتها الاجتماعية والمعمارية والبيئية. يعتمد البحث على دراسة حالة، حيث تمت دراسة وتحديد كل مقومات المنطقة والتي تعبر عن المفردات المتاحة للتنمية في كل ما يخص نوعية الطلب السياحي على هذا النمط. ثم إجراء استطلاعات رأي تجريبية للسكان المحليين والسائحين للحصول على نظرة ثاقبة للفرص السياحية فيها. تشير نتائج الدراسة إلى أن سكان المنطقة لديهم نظرة بناءة نحو السياحة العشوائية (المتوسط = ٣,٢٥). ثم تختتم الورقة بملخص للنتائج وتوصيات العمل. وتكمن القيمة المضافة من البحث في انه يستكشف

كيف يمكن لهذا الحي الجنائزي إيجاد طريقة لربط المنطقة الاثرية والمساكن غير الرسمية (العشوائية) المحيطة بها في نفس الوقت بنتائج رائعة.

### الكلمات الدالة:

انواع السياحة – السياحة المستدامة – السياحة العشوائية – ركائز التنمية المستدامة – السياحة العشوائية المستدامة

- The research means to add to the debate on the Eastern Necropolis by offering a research contribution able to interact and problematic the various transformation hypotheses regarding this area. Partly developed as a consequence of the strategic plan for Cairo (Vision 2050), basically they are hypotheses of re-development and re-qualification, in which different objectives may converge, combine and oppose: real estate development and historical conservation, the development of new activities and the preservation of traditional activities, the improvement of life conditions of inhabitants and their dislocation or replacement.

## Research Question

### Can we change Unplanned Development into Planned Development?

The Research Intends to Bring into The Debate A Perspective “From Inside” The Area, Working Out the Attitudes and Experience of People Living in The Area.

## Research Hypothesis

Following a sustainable slum tourism strategy can change people's behavior to stop further growth of slum areas inside the Eastern Necropolis, which if left un-dealt with will destroy the skyline of Historic Cairo on the eastern side.

## Aims and Objectives

The purpose of this research is to overcome the partial and reductive vision about The Eastern Necropolis as a "plague" of Cairo and make it reconsider as means of extraordinary resource, either cultural or ethno-anthropological. Thus, the deep aim of the research is exploring elements and potential of informal settlements (slum) and evaluate its effectiveness in being integrated in the sustainable slum tourism system, especially in informal areas surrounding the urban heritage areas. Which is represented in each of the main elements of the local economy in slums including, the natural environment, besides urban, social, political, and cultural dimensions and values, that are also in its entirety as a potential tourist attraction.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1."Slum Tourism ": A Double-Edged Weapon

Slum tourism, at the city of the dead in Cairo, is a trend that not only have an impact on the structure and authenticity of heritage sites, but also it creates a whole new concept of informal urban settlements within the historic fabric. This influence and goes against the requirements, measurements, and conservation plans for the well-known monuments in historic Cairo; but indeed, is a great need for activating the rehabilitation policies in these sites. Therefore, this calls for identifying the points of weakness and strengths of this concept that interferes with both the social and the urban aspects in order to create a common vision that sustains the originality of the historic, cultural and urban form, as well as re-ordering the social diversity and rehabilitating the residents of these areas (see figure 1). By mainly highlighting such

urgent and critical issues represented in grave slums, at the historic centres in Cairo as an existing pattern, threatens the hierarchy of the city by unlocking opportunities for economic improvement and participation in decision making at slum tourism activities. This study aims at bringing into the debate a perspective from the inside, highlighting the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of the people living in this funerary area, since it's originally a complex, essential, contradictory and necessary area in Cairo, which could be a major destination for both local and foreign religious and cultural tourists if it improved independently. Before this occurs, more researches should be done to the cemeteries and finding new answers for questions regarding the purpose of any heritage or tourist growth plan: how should we reconcile the necessity of "antiquarian" to maintain the dual funerary-secular state of the cemetery with its social and psychological challenges to families living among the dead?

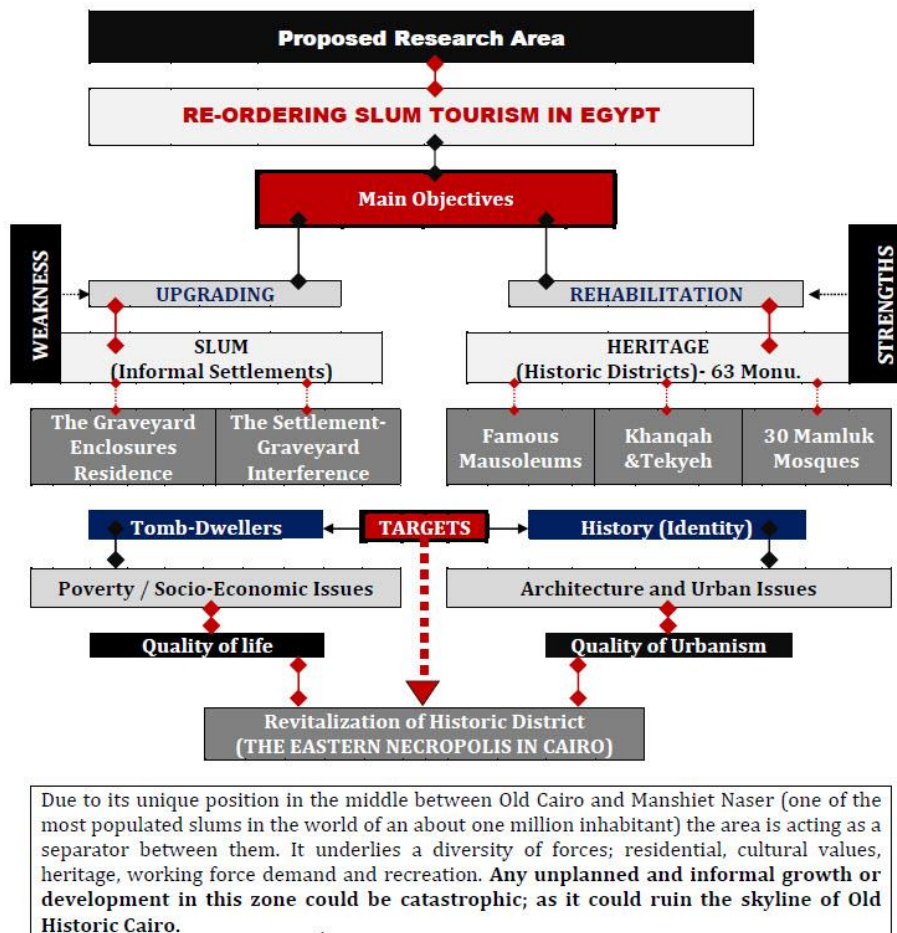


Figure 1 ABSTRACT DIAGRAM On the Scope Of The Study Targets, Source: Author

### 1.2.Slum Tourism: An Overview

Slum tourism is not a new practice. In 1884 after visiting London slums, the concept was introduced with tours of upper classes, politicians, clergymen, academics, social reformers, journalists, scientists and writers in the squalid East End of the city (Koven, 2004) The main word for such excursions was "slumming," which implies "spending time in a lower social class than one's own through interest or for benevolent reasons, as laid down in the Oxford

Dictionary", and then NY. In 1894, a New York Times report stated: "*slumming in this town; a fashionable london mania reaches new-york. slumming parties to be the rage this winter*" by *mrs. langtry as a slummer* (Lee , 2009). The transitions were successful in certain situations (Doratli, 2005), beside conserve their original culture and archeological heritage, increasing the security level in the region and etc. In the ensuing 100 years, official tours in different areas of the world have begun, but only lately have slum tours become strongly coordinated and broadly spread in many cities with informal settlements in South Africa, Brazil, India, and Kenya. (Cardoso, et al., 2003) (Lancaster, 2007) (Freire-Medeiros, 2009) (Rolfes, 2010) (Meschkank, 2011) (Mowforth & Munt, 2016) (Caldieron, 2013). They are mostly managed by private tourism businesses, and NGOs, and along with museums and religious places (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). As we know, slum tourism, as we know it today, is fairly recent and still under-explored, with scholarly literature only beginning to take shape, The first paper on slum tourism in the NY Times was released in March 2008, and over 200 news outlets covered this subject from around the globe. Adding to this, the first conference on this topic took place in Bristol, England, in 2010. The term 'slum tourism' is not the only word for this trend, it is classified as 'reality tourism,' "social tourism" and 'favela tourism' among other terms based on the situation and the promoters, it is also called exploitative and voyeuristic tours (Odede, 2010). It is necessary to be sustainable and ethical when referring to 'slum tourism, (Lansing & De Vries, 2007). Some academics claim that organising foreign tours in non-developed countries and impoverished areas is not just an advancement in the tourism sector, but will also enable the poor in the world to build employment and to attain a more original community and demonstrate civilization, the development of community and creative work formation (Steinbrink, 2012) (OBrien, 2011) (Basu, 2012). So, in other words, Slum tourism is a way to explore urban areas with misery, congestion and crime, that is, encourage Slum tourism as one means of improving undersupplied regions (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012). On the international level, this form of tourism is increasing despite controversies in this matter. Two perspectives on this issue explicitly exist: firstly, most slum tours are carried out by businesses who primarily do not seek financial assistance or capital contribution to the slum regions. Secondly, slum dwellers are complaining that it is humiliating that their life is being shown to tourists and visitors. It can be concluded that there are several levels for slum tourism; first, the socioeconomic dimension; second, the physical dimension of the residence and the community; and third, the safety perceptions or risk perception. Based on the observer, safety expectations can vary; either the occupants of the chosen quarters or those from outside such as future visitors and other inhabitants of the area. Even though the continuous growth of the slums is encouraged and sustained by global forces and it has been successful in terms of sustainability, the extent of slum tourism promoting exchange must be discussed.

## 2. Methods, Data and Analysis:

### 2.1. Research Design

In this part, the researcher presents details about how the data collected for the present analysis were investigated and evaluated. The process used for this review is descriptive analytical approach and case study methodology. The main purpose of the descriptive method is to determine objects and circumstances in their natural situations through an ethnographic

description of a slum tour at the Eastern Necropolis in Cairo, in which the author was an observant participant involved in a tour and discussions with the tour guide and with other tourists. This implies that the data are collected from the primary source through observation. In fact, the study design included an in-depth identification survey and close examination of the history of the cemeteries with other changes in the entire region. Data were also mainly collected through published sources. It contained scholarly materials written by several writers as well as texts and other associated literatures. Generally, there are two separate surveys that have been planned for this study:

- The first was done with a group of ٢٠٠ Cemeteries' inhabitants<sup>1</sup>:

Due to lack of details in the region for this analysis, the initial sample examined thousands of photos including the demographic and sociocultural problems of the community and certain households (Cemeteries). All the items were taken from the literature, that discusses the main economic, social, and cultural impacts of tourism, specifically directed towards slum tourism. Reports have been drawn up in Arabic and sent to the head of the family of each tomb-dwelling (Cemetery) who were told to answer the questions on their own. As for tomb-dwellers' elderly, the researcher has read questions and recorded their responses<sup>2</sup>.

- The second was brief interviews with 15 respondents:

Tourists and citizens employed in the area around the Eastern Necropolis were engaged in the survey. After looking at the portfolio of 20 detailed photos from the area, the volunteers were asked several questions regarding the safety and tourism in the Eastern Necropolis. Also, if they think that this place might be a tourism destination.

### 3. The Study Area

#### 3.1. Definition of The Study Zone

In this research "the Northern Cemetery" will not be called a disadvantage community but an informal settlement since that is a clearer description of this area. The origin of the Northern Cemetery is linked to the city's urban planning from the Mamluk period; therefore, it is known as the Mamluk desert cemetery. It is also called the Eastern Necropolis since it was located to the eastern part of the city walls. In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Eastern Necropolis became a large funerary site for Mamluk sultans, seeking to build their own great funerals, especially from the Burji period, outside the over cropped city south of the Citadel. (El Kadi & Bonnamy, 2007) (Williams, 2018). The Necropolis, which comprises the graves of the common populace in Cairo as well as the lavish mausoleums of many of its historical rulers and leaders, has been developed over many centuries<sup>3</sup>. Over the years, some people have taken to live in the mausoleums and tomb enclosures and converting them into makeshift dwellings (El Kadi & Bonnamy, 2007) (Sims, 2010). At various periods, this demographic increased and decreased based on the circumstances. Nevertheless, this trend often contributes to inflated reports of the amount of people who squat in mausoleums<sup>4</sup> (Sims, 2010). During this period, the Cemetery became a residential area; funerary and independent non-funerary services were integrated into the cemetery, becoming a multifunctional Cemetery with a combination of funerary and secular funerary functions. However, the lack of initial planning makes this settlement considered informal even after significant improvements that have been made. The Eastern Necropolis nowadays is one of Cairo's most famous ancient Islamic cemeteries, as well as the most visited.



When the mass media reported it as a place of corruption and criminals, reinforcing the stereotype of people residing and working there, it created alienation from community, violence, poverty, and lack of education, etc. This research seeks to demonstrate how the protection view of the Eastern Necropolis as a risky area limits its tourist capacity, especially since the settlement has all the elements available to turn it into a tourism area.

### 3.2. Opportunities and Challenges

#### 3.2.1. Location and Border

The Eastern Necropolis is a strip of land approximately 600 meters long by 3.5 km in breadth: 2.1 km<sup>2</sup>. It is 65 meters above sea level and drops from its maximum point in the foothills of the Citadel to the North between the city to the West, Moqattam hills to the East and about 12 meters farther down into Abbasiya. The sloping topography of the land offers stunning views. Nowadays, it is bordered with two significant roads: Salah Salem road westward and Al Ebageah Bridge / Al-Nasr street freeway eastward<sup>5</sup> (See Figure 2).

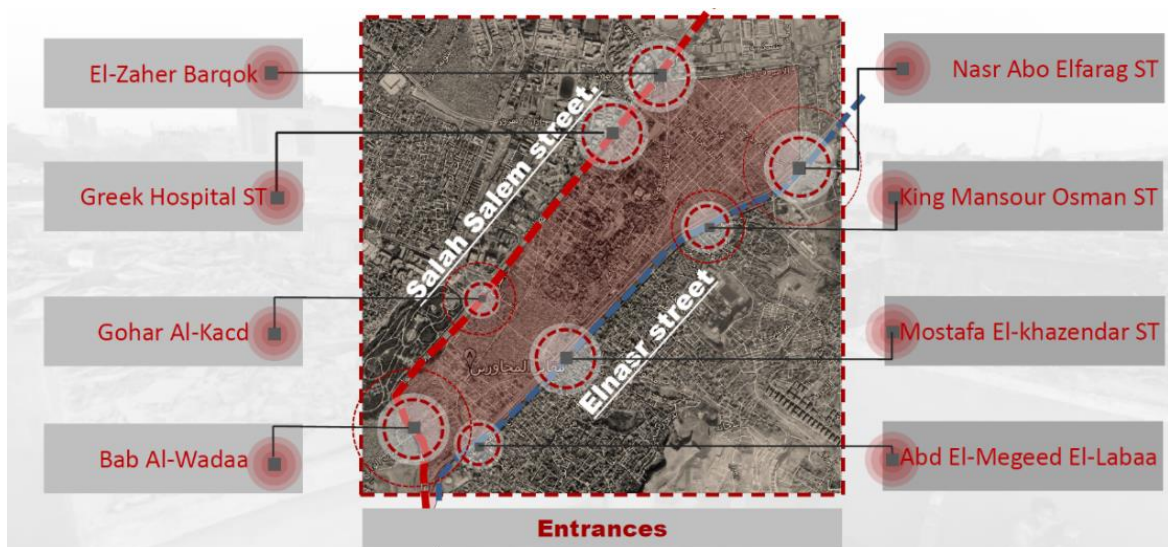


Figure2 Google map, revised by researcher & MET students, reveals the Eastern Necropolis in the centre and flanked on the east side by Salah Salem rd. And behind it is Historic Cairo and El Nasr rd.

The area around Qaitbay Mosque -located at its center- from the north is an urbanized area with multisided flat blocks. The Manshiyet Nasr slum is situated at the east of Al Ebageah bridge in Mokattam hills. That area is distinguished by its nearby to old Cairo's working and trade center (Gamalia, Darb El-Ahmar, Al-Azhar .....), as well as the recreation center (Al-Azhar Park and the Citadel). Al-Darrasa and Al-Azhar Park are on the side of the old city walls to the west of Salah Salem road.

3.2.2. Visual studies (observations)

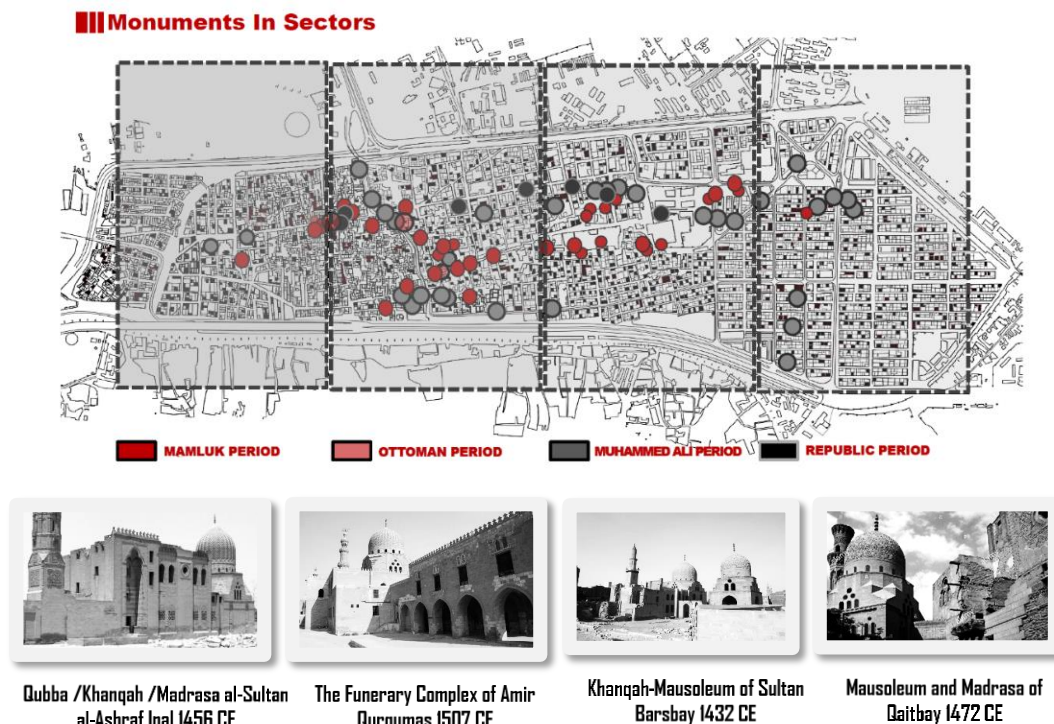
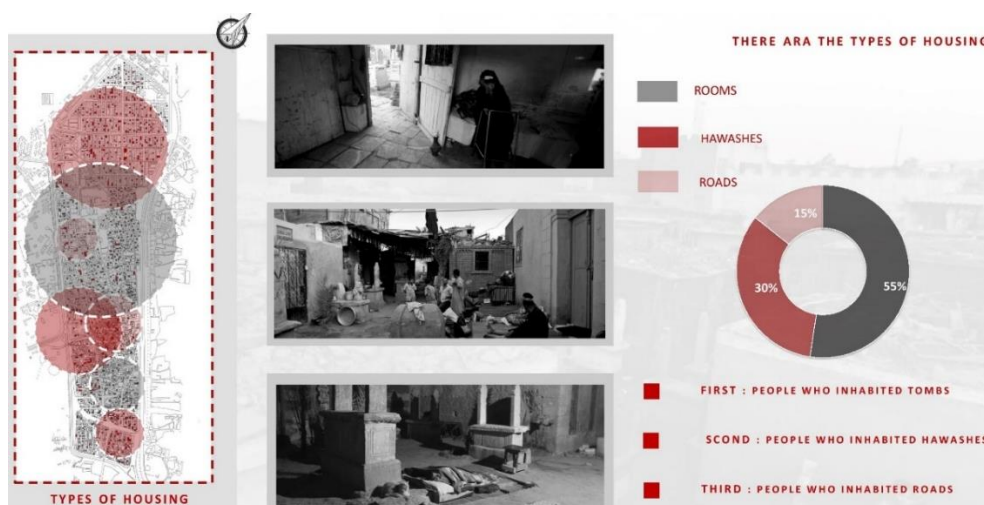


Figure 3 The Buildings (MAMLUK PERIOD) have a historical significance and were once of social from (El Kadi & Bonnamy, 2007) and updated by researcher & MET students

Despite being in one of the most valuable lands of Old Cairo, the Eastern Necropolis shows several indications of an urban decay. In addition, this graveyard is the only one frequented by visitors who are interested in culture and arts. The region has an intrinsic elegance in the spectacular grandeur of its funerary architecture and structures owing to its historical significance, accuracy, outstanding artistry, architectural merit, and scale. Some buildings have a historical significance and were once of social interest such as Qurqumas, Inal, Barquq, Barsbay and Al-Ashraf Qaitbay which is the most remarkable of all, but they don't really play a role in the community as they once were (See Figure 3).



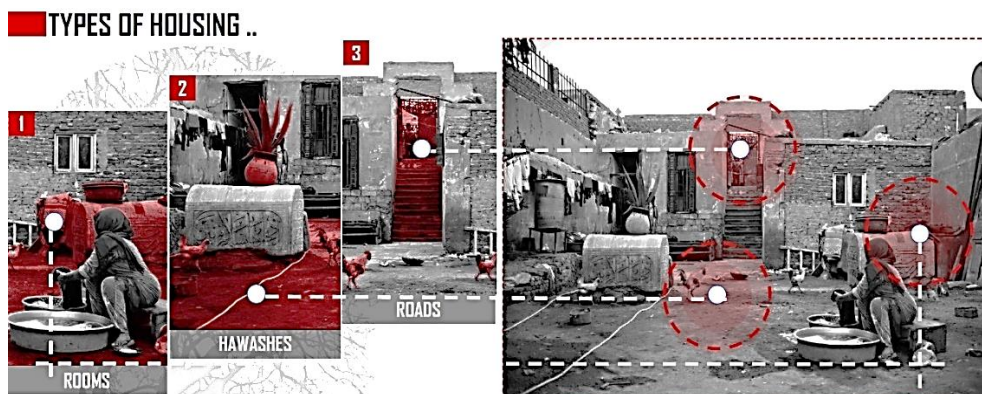


Figure 4 The three types of unregulated construction proliferation around cemeteries, Source: The Author& MET students

Moreover, they are part of a rather compact fabric of historical Hawshs and, their linear framework allows it to be easily interpreted. The Eastern Necropolis can be turned into a historical tourism area with a futuristic outlook if compared to the Southern Cemetery. The funeral district could compliment the old Cairo's historic buildings. The photos of Old Cairo and the Eastern Necropolis look quite different; the beauty and integrity of the rehabilitated old Cairo buildings cannot accurately be compared to the informality of the Eastern Necropolis. According to certain regions, there are three types of unregulated construction proliferation around cemeteries. The first is the dwelling of the graveyard enclosures; the second is the settlement-graveyard interference and the third is the clusters of settlements within the graveyards area (See Figure 4). Furthermore, many buildings are decaying because of complete abandonment and lack of human life. In addition to the diversity of activities and mixed land used inside the Cemeteries that may harm the historic value of the area.

### 3.3. Threats and Risks

#### 3.3.1. Bulldozing of The Necropolis

As Cairo expands, the economic and political powers are targeting the viability of the Eastern Necropolis, aiming at its destruction to be substituted with development projects because of its unique position. Taking into consideration, the neo-liberal politics and laws introduced and implemented by the old and current government will help these attempts to succeed in the end. Especially because it is now an informal area for those who were not compensated or wanted to build homes and live in cemeteries illegally, informed that in 2006 this site became a protected area (Law 119 of 2008). (See Figure 5)



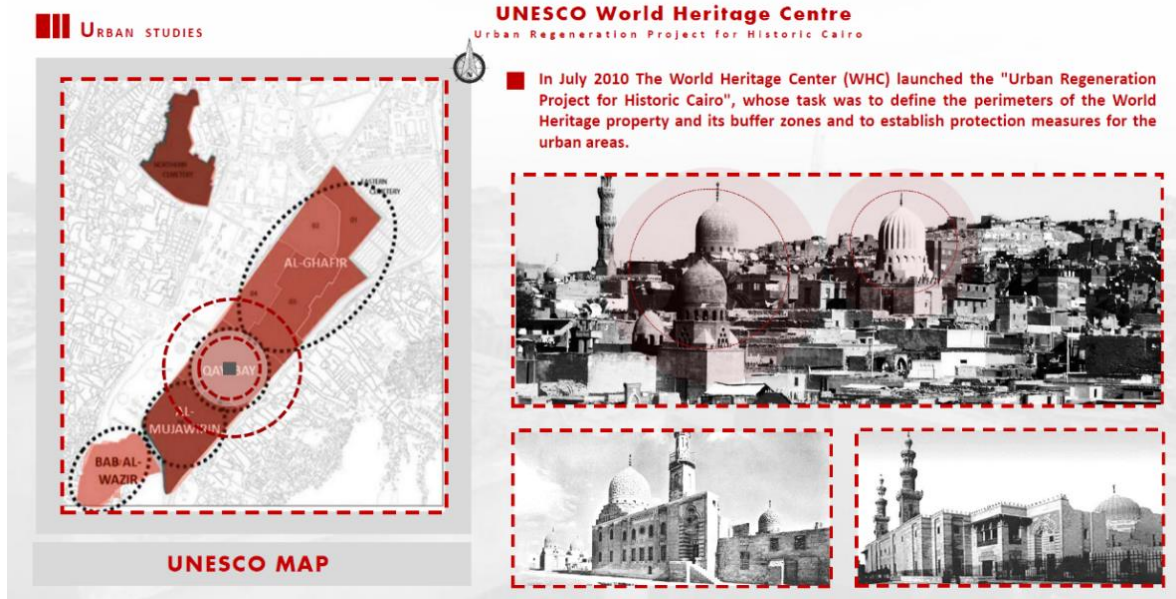


Figure 5 Map of the URHC proposal for world heritage property and buffer zone. Source: Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo, July 2010- June 2012.

- a. A strategic plan for Cairo 2050 was originally proposed (now revived in Egypt 2052) for the complete eradication of the cemetery except for the monuments listed on the list of national heritage (Law 144 of 2006) and for its substitution by touristic ventures such as hotels. Although GOPP withdrew some of its policies and the area proposed to 25%, the challenge is still very significant. (See Figure 6)
- b. In July 2020, Al-Fardos Axis scheme entails the demolition and desecration of hundreds of cemeteries at the northern section of the medieval Mamluk Necropolis in Cairo and disfiguring a region that has preserved its architectural integrity for more than a century, through an expressway that stretches from east to west of site (See Figure 7)<sup>6</sup>.



Figure 6 The 2050 New Strategic Plan for Cairo and it shows the conflict of vision for the Eastern Necropolis. Source: THE NEW STRATEGIC PLAN FOR CAIRO (Cairo 2050) report

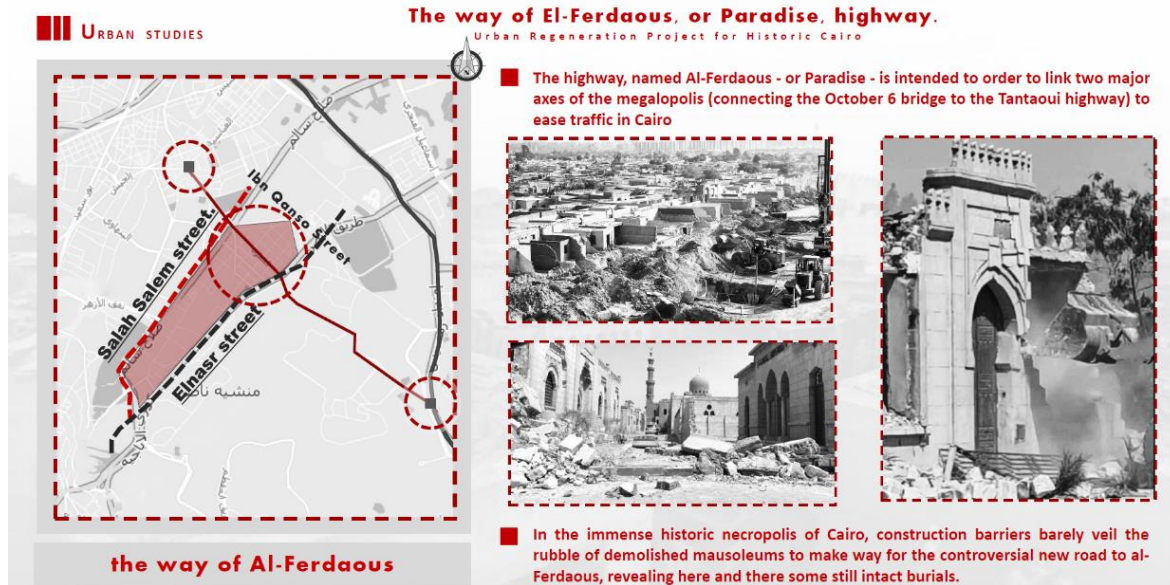


Figure 7 The first phase of an The El Fardous axis in Cairo - Source: Google earth and updated by researcher& MET students

### 3.3.2. Conflict of Policies

Due to the weak management scheme, the inadequate upkeep and protection culminated in the cemetery's structures being squandered, lots of its basic features got lost because of arsons and criminals. Moreover, it has been excluded from government-led conservation projects, like HCDP, and international institutes handled them. Even the ones run by the government as an integral part of 'Historical Cairo' (in the 1993 presidential decree, Eastern Cemeteries and Al-Sayyida Nafisa have been included in the borders, but South Cemetery and Bab Al-Nasr were not).

### 3.3.3. Ideological /Religious Beliefs

#### The disapproval from a religious perspective of the cemetery buildings and activities

Fundamentalist Islam forbids funerary constructions and worshipping at the cemeteries and considers human practices around the cemeteries as a profanation of the deceased. While there has been continued attempts to prohibit the building of dome and to demolish existing domes, which is already reported to have happened in the Ayyubid period, the citizens of Cairo continued to create dome structures, fund and maintain non-funerary religious practices. They also defend commercial spaces inside the cemetery. Fundamentalist Islam additionally frowns on the veneration of mausoleums, on the belief in intercession of righteous saints, mawlid celebrations, and Sufi religious practices. In other words, all controversial secular functions, whether residential or commercial customs that thrived and carried economic life at that cemetery are banned in the Islamic jurisprudence. Although the visit of the deceased is allowed, overnight stays is forbidden especially for women. Many of the Egyptian funerary rites such as the slaughter of animals for alms to the poor, and even reading the Qur'an at cemeteries are frowned upon. In addition, the conventional burial system in the cemeteries of Cairo is not the Islamic burial style. This has contributed to decreasing the prestige of the cemeteries, and the division of public opinion.



### 3.3.4. Negative Societal Perceptions

The reputation of the Eastern Necropolis that it is a shameful spot, and the manifestation of the economic and social challenges, is due to the common claim that our degeneration and deterioration has already been demonstrated in Cairo by the tomb-dwellers. It is defined as cancerous growth in the city and its people are stigmatized as outlaws. There is no sign of this allegation whether it is a historic phenomenon, as it is as a living place with less risk than other illegal settlements. Moreover, its degeneration and subpopulation are merely an indication of Cairo's declination and its overpopulation. The over-dramatization of the media, whether foreign or local, exacerbates this stereotype which reflects the continuous social rejection of names like Cities of the Dead or tomb-dwellers, and the government's misleading designation of some parts of the cemetery as informal settlements.

### 3.3.5. Environmental Deterioration

The triggers of degradation in the area are not as serious as in the city itself because air contamination<sup>7</sup> causes less harm than underground sewerage water, traffic noise or overcrowding. In addition, heavy traffic (along Salah Salim and Autostrad) that penetrates the cemeteries which speeds up the degradation of the tombs due to pollution, visual disconnection, and the threat of widening street in future. Furthermore, the litter, posters and ads that are defacing the buildings are the responsibility of the tomb-dwellers, as well as the abuse of public properties, violation of law, and the ineffective activities which endanger historic structure. Moreover, Inadequate infrastructure, with the rise in the number of occupants contributed to the rise of groundwater rates that endanger the protection of the architectural importance of the monuments and buildings. It also raises the moisture in the soil and thus causes environmental issues for the citizens and the living community. Finally, its comparatively remote position, as stated earlier, allows vandalism and theft unnoticed.

## 3.4. Empirical Results

### 3.4.1. Overall Descriptive

Just a few questions of the surveys were examined for this analysis and some results will include insight about how people felt towards their community. It is an empirical work that needs to be further extended in the future. The aim of this study is to understand the opinion of the tomb-dwellers of this area, the district students visiting Cairo and the neighbourhood people living outside regarding the applicability of the concept of Slum Tourism in this historical area.

In accordance with each assertion calculated on the 5-point-Likert-scale, the respondents were asked to state that they "strongly disagree" (1 point) to "strongly agree" (5 points). A 5-point scale was chosen because it reflected the spectrum of opinions on certain topics and thus essentially distinguish people with the minimal categories. 180 questionnaires were collected, reflecting 90% (out of 200 administered questionnaires). Readability and usability were checked for each returned questionnaire. Thirty-five (35) questionnaires were incomplete on essential points and thus were omitted from the study. Hence, 145 questionnaires for the analysis were used. The results were carried out both by the quantitative (descriptive statistics) and the qualitative analysis.

**3.4.2. Finding: According to Tomb-Dwellers: The Eastern Necropolis Is A Little Insecure.**

Table 1 shows the views on the safety of the historical neighbourhood by 145 householders from the tomb-dwellers in the Eastern Necropolis. The area was deemed to be relatively safe for most residents. Some of them, and particularly the elderly, even overlooked the crime and deviance that are well known in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Necropolis, which until recently was safer than in the other informal areas in Cairo. (The mean score =3.15> the theoretical mean 3.00) suggesting a somewhat positive impression.

**3.4.3. Finding: The Eastern Necropolis, According to Students We Met Is A Temporary Secure Area by Day and Dangerous by Night.**

As previously stated, a total of 30 students enrolled in the Design Studio at Misr Higher Institute of Engineering and Technology, Architecture Department, have done the survey. The three different groups of students were asked about their sense of safety of the neighbourhood in the Eastern Necropolis. The question was: Do you feel safe during your study visit in this neighbourhood? This question was asked 3 times; the first time was before the visit to the area; the second time was after the initial visit and the third time was after the following visit. During the tours, students and instructors went together around the area by day to meet some of the tomb-dwellers and took pictures for a site analysis. Table 1 shows the findings. The perception of safety by students changed particularly after the first visit. Almost half of the students thought the historical neighbourhood was unsafe before their first visit (the mean score =2.43< the theoretical mean 3.00) suggesting a negative impression. However, after the second time the question was posed (the mean score =3.48> the theoretical mean 3.00) suggesting a positive impression. While noting that this was only at daytime and according to criteria, on the contrary, by consensus it was never safe at night.<sup>8</sup>

**3.4.4. Finding: The General Public's Perception of Safety at The Eastern Necropolis Is Subject to Safety Measures.**

To conduct this brief survey, the same percentage of workers from neighbouring stores or citizens of old Cairo and foreigners were chosen. A portfolio of 20 photographs for the Eastern Necropolis taken by the researcher have been presented to the 15 volunteers. First, they were asked if they could identify the neighbourhood name where the photos were taken. Then they were asked whether the area might become a tourism attraction. Table 1 shows the result. When looking at the photos, the answers were that the neighbourhood is unsafe (the mean score =2.25< the theoretical mean 3.00) suggesting a negative impression, besides 68% of those recognized that the photos have been taken at the Eastern Necropolis. Furthermore, who did not know where the photos were shot were mainly foreign tourists and were less than 32% (the mean score =2.44< the theoretical mean 3.00). The reputation of the Eastern Necropolis among outsiders is badly affected.

**3.4.5. Finding: The Eastern Necropolis, according to Its Residents, Has A High Opportunity to Become a Tourism Attraction.**

This is no wonder that the Eastern Necropolis dwellers still see their community from a positive view (the mean score =4.86> the theoretical mean 3.00) resulting in a positive feedback. Moreover, 91% agrees that the Eastern Necropolis has a very strong tourism



opportunity, when asked if they think the Eastern Necropolis could be a tourist destination in Old Cairo (Table 1). They expressed that the location of the neighbourhood is one of its main advantages. Meanwhile, 42% said the funeral neighbourhood's location is one of the main advantages. Besides, around 30% of the neighbours said the Eastern Necropolis is a wonderful place. Notwithstanding the lack of maintenance, informality, poverty and social exclusion, the historical neighbourhood is proud of itself due to its aesthetic value. The original many funerary groups established in the Eastern Necropolis, which are still quite famous throughout this area, provide the framework with a rich intangible patrimony such as the rituals of visiting rites, shrine veneration, stories, mythology, Sufi rites and mawlid festivals. In other words, 28% said that their cultural religious activities are also part of the neighbourhood's tourism potentials.

#### **3.4.6. Finding: The Probability of the Eastern Necropolis to Become A Tourism Destination Based on The Views of The Public.**

After looking at the collection of images of the Eastern Necropolis, the volunteers were asked whether they agreed that the funerary neighbourhood should become a tourism area. The findings of this questionnaire were surprising as 76% of those who could not identify where the photos are, replied that the area is thought to have a very high tourism potential, and 14% thought that the area had high tourism potential (the mean score =4.70 > the theoretical mean 3.00) suggesting a positive feedback. Moreover, no one felt the site had a limited tourism opportunity. However, the findings were entirely different in the case of citizens who could recognise the pictures of the Eastern Necropolis and obviously conscious about the bad reputation of the funerary neighbourhood, while (the mean score =2.92 < the theoretical mean 3.00) indicating that a negative impression closing to being fairly positive. (Table 1)

#### **3.4.7. Finding: The Attitudes Towards Slum Tourism Among the Residents of the Eastern Necropolis.**

There was a total of 8 statements used to identify the perceptions of respondents to slum tourism. The respondents are listed in Table 6 with all their attitudinal comments. All produced statements are higher than the theoretical mean (3.00). In fact, the general mean for the statements was 3.25, suggesting a somewhat positive attitude towards slum tourism by the respondents. Based on the results of the research (Table 1), the lowest mean score (2.99) was from the variable stating that 'the respondent receives social /economical and other overall benefits' whereas the highest mean score was related to the variables on 'whether outsiders profit from the advantages of slum tourism' (Mean=4.01). It was interesting to note that despite the general positive perception of the impacts of slum tourism, which is reasonably high, the residents still agreed that it was the right choice to embrace slum tourism as the Eastern Necropolis is suitable for slum tourism (mean 3.28) and this was actually the same mean scores with no future for the Eastern Necropolis without tourism. Ironically, while the relatively optimistic view of the impact of the fairly slum tourism, the citizens also decided that this was the correct option as the E. Necropolis is suitable for slum tourism (average 3.28) and that was essentially the same mean score with little future for the Eastern Necropolis without tourism. It may mean that the perceptions of residents have not achieved insupportable levels. Therefore, to facilitate their re-integration into the society, the inhabitants still can alter their attitudes and support slum tourism. Also, when they improve

their attitude and behaviours among the residents and towards slum tourism along with some participation and assisting each other.

**Table 1. The Results Of Surveys Questions about (The empirical work)THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS, Source: (Author, 2020)**

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>1. Tomb-Dwellers opinions in THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS about safety</b>							
<b>Is "THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS" safe for your family as well as visitors?</b>							
% Percentage of Householders	3.15	1.03	4	28	25	36	7
<b>2. MET Students opinion about safety in "THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS"</b>							
<b>Do you feel safe during your study visit in this neighborhood?</b>							
% of Students before visiting THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS	2.43	1.02	10	35	25	15	5
% of Students after visiting THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS for the first time	3.08	1.40	20	20	10	35	15
% of Students after visiting THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS for the second time	3.48	1.47	20	10	0	45	25
<b>3. Public opinion about safety of "THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS"</b>							
<b>Do you feel the neighborhood of this photography's is safe?</b>							
% People able to identify that the photos were taken in THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS	2.25	0.77	12	68	10	10	0
% People not aware were the photos were taken (mostly tourists)	2.44	1.05	8	32	20	20	5
<b>4. "THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS" tourism opportunity according to its residents</b>							
<b>Do you think "THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS" could be a tourist destination in Old Cairo?</b>							
% People able to identify that the photos were taken in THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS	4.86	0.54	0	2	2	5	91
<b>5. Tourism opportunity of THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS according to people outside the funerary neighborhood</b>							
<b>Do you think that the above</b>							

**photographs of the neighborhood might become a tourism area?**

% People who know THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS well	2.92	1.44	21	25	16	18	20
% People who do not know THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS well	4.70	0.75	0	3	7	14	76

**6. THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS residents' attitude toward slum tourism**

<b>(8) STATEMENTS</b>							
%Slum tourism is easy to accept	3.12	1.39	14	25	19	19	23
%Slum tourism is ethically permissible	3.01	1.35	16	24	23	17	19
%I support the approval of slum tourism	3.13	1.47	19	21	14	20	26
%The E.N is suitable for slum tourism	3.28	1.41	14	19	18	21	27
%No future for the area without tourism	3.28	1.39	14	19	19	21	26
The advantages of slum tourism go to foreigners.	4.01	1.00	2	9	10	43	35
%local and inbound tourists do interact with tomb-dwellers	3.23	1.40	16	19	17	26	23
%It is expected that I would benefit from slum tourism in social / economical aspects	2.99	1.34	17	22	23	21	17
<b>OVERALL MEAN OF STATEMENT</b>	<b>3.25</b>	<b>1.38</b>					

**4. Discussion**

Unfortunately, the Eastern Necropolis has a negative name among most Cairo residents who have not visited the funerary neighbourhood in general. Despite the tour guides' recommendation for tourists not to enter the area, the Eastern Necropolis tomb-dwellers welcome all visitors, based on the experience of the author and all MET institution participants involved in this study. In recent years, the press coverage and film show that they are no longer dangerous than other inhabitants from any normal working-class community which started to represent a much more positive view, particularly as in 2010-2012, the Eastern Necropolis is part of the Cairo Historical World Heritage Site.

Following the implementation of development projects, dozens of Mamluk tombs were demolished and desecrated in the Eastern Necropolis. Many tombs were erected at the beginning of the first half of the past century by the Egyptian aristocracy and bourgeoisie. In fact, they were not of higher importance in their architectural and building qualities than the funeral legacy. Accordingly contributing to the deterioration of aesthetic images, in addition to the bad condition and structure of the inhabited tombs. Yet certain visitors may still view urban degradation as appealing, especially when the middle-aged Arab travellers referred to this area as "the world wonder". As stated by the Eastern Necropolis residents in the survey, although slum tourism has social and economic advantages, it is still not an excuse for its

existence. Most people disagree that slum tourism benefits them. That is because non-residents of the Eastern Necropolis are the real beneficiaries in the tourism sector (money is given to outside residents; mean = 4.01). They are the main operators of tours in the funerary zone. Taking into consideration that one of the greatest barriers to slum tourism is the poor contact between the tomb-dwellers and the tourists (Local and inbound tourist interact with locals, mean=3.23). Furthermore, what makes this situation even more abominable is that the tour operators insist that tourists do not contact the tomb-dwellers, assuming it eliminates the humiliating and embarrassing behaviour in seeking sympathy and alms. This had a great impact on the overall evaluation about the feasibility of attaining slum tourism in the Eastern Necropolis by tomb-dwellers. As a result, tomb-dwellers are seldom interested in delivering even the simple services such as conducting guided tours. It may be the case that the key factor for this problem is the restricted ability of the tomb-dwellers since few of them operate in the tourism sector or partake in economic practices relevant to tourism. In other tourism areas, dwellers may be encouraged to set up development projects that is tourism-related such as selling souvenirs, to promote their social and economic conditions which can help them to gradually adapt. but in the Eastern Necropolis this has not been the case, as the tomb-dwellers claim that they are not able to establish such projects due to their limited financial resources. The tomb-dwellers of the Eastern Necropolis decided that sustainable slum tourism activities would help both residents and other stakeholders in case of mutual benefit. In other words, the more benefits the community achieves (economically and socially), the more sustainable slum tourism becomes. Therefore, the good will of tomb-dwellers is a major factor in the success of tourism. In addition, it is essential to have their support for its growth and productive activity for its sustainability. They should not eliminate any kind of indecent housing or evacuate tomb-dwellers into the desert since this is not a solution that take social, financial, and cultural costs into account. This is an unrealistic solution. Ultimately, the apathy or mistrust of the host would be passed on to the outsider visitor, leading to their refusal to visit places where they feel unwelcome. In order to overcome such impediments, the study proposes the participation and engagement of the tomb-dwellers in the slum tourism schemes specifically recognizing those who are able to participate in slum tourism initiatives, and motivating dwellers to take up jobs in tourism programs that are already taking place.

## 5. Conclusion

Slumming is an arguable type of tourism. On one hand, it may be deemed superfluous and a socioeconomic manipulation of a sad fact in some cases. On the other hand, tourism can lead to beneficial results in informal settlements when formulated on grounds of moral and sustainable values. Especially that the adverse views regarding the growth of slum tourism have never reached the stage that the dwellers would condemn it, as many of them still feel that slum tourism is a positive idea. The case is not getting many visitors to see the misery, poverty and social injustice for few minutes and take pictures. However, the issue is how to adjust the community to tourism requirements, generating new opportunities and businesses in the funerary area. Besides, exploiting the potential of the archaeological, historical, cultural, and religious tourism in the region posed by the funeral complexes. In this study, the potential idea for tourism and understanding the safety perception are opened, not just from the academic perspectives, but also from the experience of the stakeholders. Many informal



communities might have a significant potential for tourism because they are ethically pleasing; have good cultural traditions; and in certain instances, might be part of the tourism industry if the site is adequate. Due to the obvious ill reputation, this idea is daunting in some places as informal housing is not always secure.

Unfortunately, although in some cities where informal areas may be safe, they are considered unsafe and risky by outsiders. Many tourists suppose that any slum, which is an unfounded concept in developed countries, is unsafe. Hopefully, the Eastern Necropolis would be conserved and managed sustainably as an intrinsic part of the old city, as well as being marketed as a radical feature of the tourist attraction's archaeological districts. Handling tours humanely and effectively is a must in order to turn slum tourism to be profitable so that its profits accrue to the society. Moreover, advertising must be introduced in a positive manner in order to maintain sustainability through engaging the public and the media; encouraging objective scientific research; discouraging dramatic names such as City of the Dead and boosting tourism. This should not only be done for the historical sites but also the memorial, ceremonial, and religious places. Finally, enhancing protection in order to combat crime, in addition to speaking to cemetery people, so that they can see themselves better.

## 6. Recommendations

Accordingly, a set of following recommendations have been established in the context of the operationalization of the components of targeted slum tourism system:

### 6.1. Recommendations to maximizing the tourist destination of slums:

- a) Continuous search for the competitive advantage of slum areas that can be integrated into the slum tourism system and sustaining that can be difficult to find in different tourism destinations.
- b) The necessity of coordination and collaboration among governmental and private actors in relation of tourism activity to maximize slum tourism industry and merging this activity under a common umbrella responsible for defining targeted vision in the field of slum tourism.
- c) Rehabilitation of targeted slum destinations for tourism investment with the need to increase government support, to provide support at the level of (Rehabilitation of the natural and physical environment, Providing Infrastructure, Transportation, Services, Social media and the web) in fulfilling the objectives of tourist attraction for various categories of tourists to cover their basic daily requirements and needs.
- d) Providing security and safety in slum areas in Egypt as a necessity to revitalize all the diversified tourist programs, and particularly slum tourism.
- e) Adopt a comprehensive policy approach to encourage investors to invest in the field of slum tourism through (Draw up clear plans and Specific projects to invest in slum areas and pursue more flexible and expeditious policies and procedures). In addition, facilitate national Tourism' legislation on targeted slum areas for integration into this system)

### 6.2. Recommendations to maximizing the role of the residents as a host community:

- a) Increased community awareness of the local residents on the importance of slum Tourism and its economic value, the benefits of its Practice on the population, and its capabilities of

increase the employment opportunities to improving their production, income and quality of life.

b) Promoted awareness of the residents on the importance of their active participation in targeted tourist system as a fundamental pillar of the implementation. For example, conduct of practices and activities relating to slum tourism activities; seeking to display and explain the wealth of place culture that are in high demand by tourists.

c) Continued action to train, and capacity-building of the local residents in several areas, including hospitality skills in significantly numbers, communication skills and the use of a foreign language for everyday interaction with tourists, and skills training in traditional handicraft for understanding place identity... etc.

### 6.3.Recommendations for tourists to attract them to the slum tourism areas:

a) The need to examine the requirements of the local, regional, and global targeted tourism markets and recognizing potential tourist demand.

b) The need to dedicate attention to slum tourism attractions potentials continuously, to consider and meet the wishes of tourists who novelty-seeking, and hedonistic.

c) Following the international recent developments of slum tourism through a strengthened coordinator system that continuously working to collect compilation of data and information from within the slum area (as a highly rated tourism destination) and the surrounding environment to learn the new slum tourism investments on the global map.

Finally, Improve the methods of promoting propaganda, and campaigning about slum areas in Egypt through the use of modern communication technology, in addition to organized a major public advertising and media campaign covering television, radio, electronic screens and press bulletins with broad participation by official agencies and cultural centres aimed of attracting local and global tourism markets.

## 7. Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my colleagues and my students in the Department of architecture from Misr higher institute for engineering and technology (MET), Mansoura, Egypt. To participate in the completion of the survey mission.

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<sup>1</sup> The author carried out the surveys between September 2019 and February 2020 with the aid of 30 MET architecture students and instructors of Architectural Design Courses in Misr higher Institute for Engineering and Technology, Mansoura, Egypt. They were interested in the culture of the Eastern Necropolis" community and they also participated in the survey.

<sup>2</sup> (owing to the lack of reading glasses and literacy).

<sup>3</sup> This involved workers who were related to cemeteries (e.g. burial-men, grave guard), the Sufis and religious scholars who studied at the religious centers, which were founded for the sake of the sultans and other wealthy patrons, as well as ordinary inhabitants of small towns and settlements throughout the area.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the Northern Cemetery nowadays is located within Cairo Governorate's Manshiyat Naser Qism. The total population is estimated to be 266,527 in the area, but this includes a wide area of heavily populated settlements and neighborhoods beyond Northern Cemetery (Anon., 2020).

<sup>5</sup> Salah Salem road construction has had an enormous effect on the cemeteries. To build a road, the government of Naser has built a public housing project and the land had been taken away. While noting that; the area is cut off from any mass transit, but its key roads are asphalted and motorized.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the residents, National Organizations, Historians, Archeologists and Urban Planners have voiced an objection to the demolition of the Eastern Necropolis to the district's bulldozing because it is still uncertain whether this initiative is to protect the funeral area. Also, any change in the neighborhood has to include the opinions and decisions of its inhabitants.

<sup>7</sup> Urban fabric compactness decreases air speed.

<sup>8</sup> Study visit is temporarily safe by day because of the presence of turabi (gravediggers) and tomb keepers with them because walking among the tombs is unsafe without the people who know the area well.