CAIRO: THE PREDICAMENT OF A FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS

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Abstract

Cairo is a sprawling megacity that has a strikingly fragmented socio-spatial pattern, manifested in a dichotomy of spatial concentrations of urban poverty in informal areas on one hand, and high-level income groups in upscale gated Communities on the other. The paper inspects the diverse facets of this socio-spatial division, in an attempt to outline general policies that can curtail unconstructive influences of urban fragmentation, by enhancing positive aspects and diminishing negative impacts of both gated communities and informal areas. Proposed policy intervention would prohibit further future division, and foster adjusting measures to amalgamate Cairo on principles of cohesion, integration and balance of its socio-spatial structure; a goal emphasized by the Egyptian 25 January 2011 revolution which envisions a makeover towards a more equitable society.

الملخص

يتناول البحث مدينة القاهرة التى تشهد تغيير داخلى متسارع فى تقسيمات مناطقها السكنية، والتى تتسم بثنائية متناقضة من مناطق إسكان الفقراء (الإسكان غير الرسمي) التى تتسم بالتدهور الشديد، ومناطق إسكان الأغنياء (التجمعات السكنية المسورة)، اللتان انتشرتا فى الحقبات الأخيرة. وتتمركز جدلية البحث فى أن عدم الترابط فى النسيج العمرانى والاجتماعى للقاهرة يتسبب فيه إفراز هذين النمطين المتناقضين.

ويستطلع البحث مظاهر هذا التقسيم ، وما يرتبط به من تفاقم ظواهر العزل المكانى والاجتماعى، فى محاولة للإجابة على تساؤلين رئيسيين هما: هل هذه المناطق تمثل جزر منعزلة تؤدى إلى مدينة مفتتة عمرانيا واجتماعيا وثقافيا واقتصاديا؟ وما هى السياسات التى يجب اتخاذها لاستعادة الهيكل العمرانى والاجتماعى المتداخل والمتناغم للقاهرة لتحقيق مدينة أكثر شمولا و تكاملا، من خلال تعظيم الأبعاد الإيجابية وتقليص التأثيرات السلبية لكل من التجمعات المسورة المتميزة ومناطق الإسكان غير الرسمى؟

1 INTRODUCTION

The spatial form of cities is interrelated with economic, social, political, and cultural systems of society. Cities have always been divided along lines of culture, function and status. Boundaries between these divisions, reflected in social or physical walls are increasing, resulting in "a fragmented pattern of separate clusters of residential space; protective citadels and enclaves on the one side, and constraining ghettos on the other" (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, p.3).

Cairo, a megacity in a continuous and rapid process of internal change, has experienced significant changes in its spatial divisions as it doubled its surface area in less than ten years. A new extensive city has come to graft itself onto one of the world's densest agglomerations, leading to a division of urban development patterns (Vignal and Denis 2006, p.99). This division in Cairo's urban pattern is presently reflected in a duality of spatial concentrations typifying urban poverty masses in contrast to high-level class groups. It inflicts various manifestations of physical and social divide and segregation, as it comprises a *luxury city* (suburban gated communities) versus a *city of informals* (peripheral informal housing areas) (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, p.12). Kruijt (2008, p.327) points out that this leads to dichotomies: formality and informality, inclusion and exclusion, legality and illegality. However, there is a gradually emerging 'grey zone' between inclusion, formality, legality, on the one hand and exclusion, informality and illegality on the other.
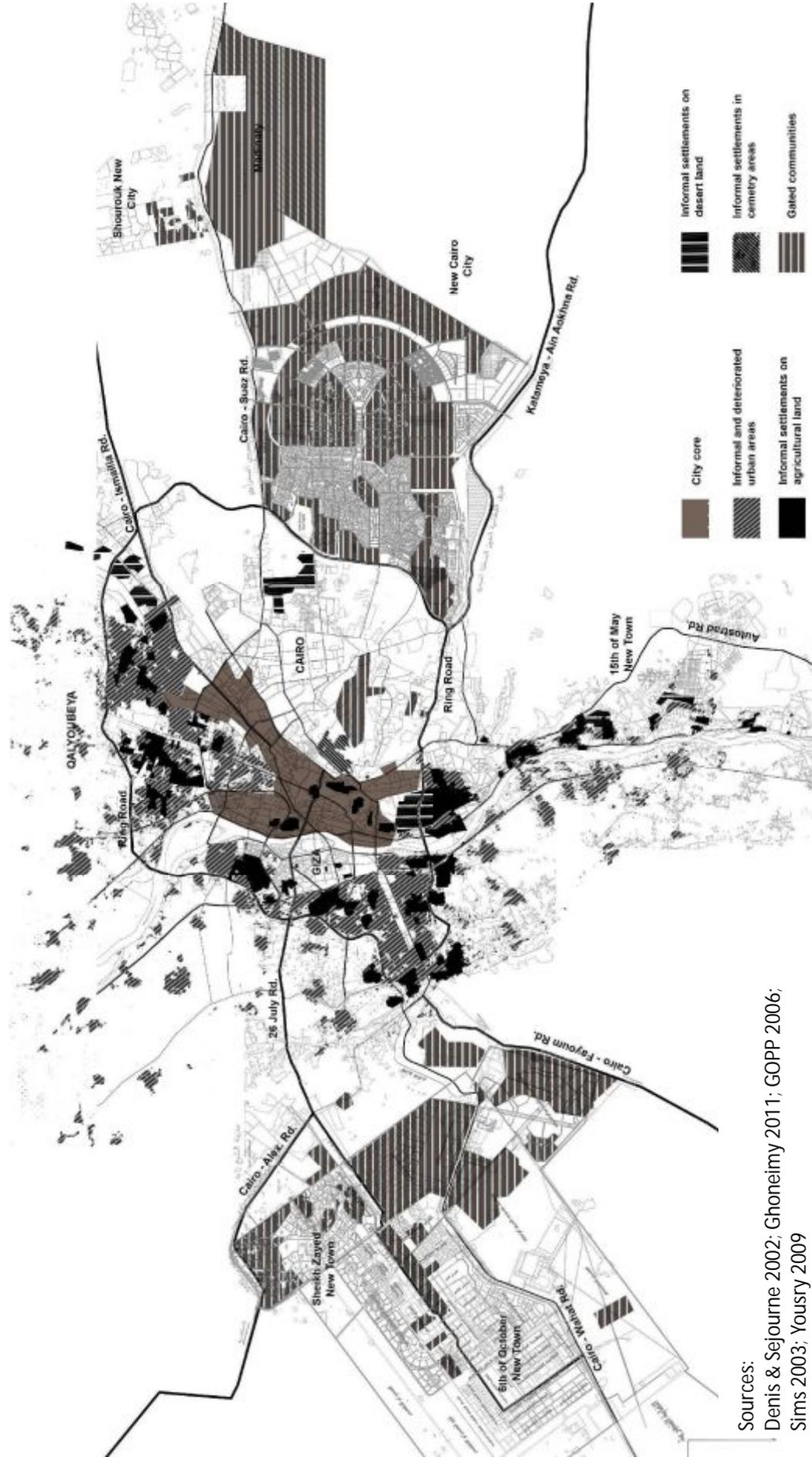
This paper scrutinizes the apparent fragmentation of the urban fabric of Cairo, and the associated growth of socio-spatial exclusion. It addresses two basic queries. Are Cairo's spatial cleavages economically, socially, and culturally apart, and reflect a quartered city? What policies can counteract socio-spatial divisions and foster a socially and spatially inclusive city?

The paper argues that informal areas and gated communities are two major elements in the complex patchwork of the fragmented city, resulting mainly because of ineffective, inappropriate and inadequate public planning regulations and policies. It assesses the socio-spatial contradictions between them, and in regard to the original city fabric. And finally it puts forward a number of general policy recommendations that could counter current trends, by restructuring and integrating the city to curtail unconstructive influences of urban fragmentation, and prohibit further future division.

2 CAIRO'S VIGOROUS SOCIO-SPATIAL FABRIC: A SYNOPSIS

Greater Cairo is a sprawling chaotic metropolis that has undergone a wave of *planned* low-density suburban expansion, in addition to the spread of *unplanned* informal areas at its peripheries. According to Denis and Sejourne (2002), it has a striking urban settlement pattern made up of a central core, and a first and a second periphery (Figure 1).

Figure (1) Socio-Spatial Morphology of Cairo Metropolis

Shorouk New City

Madinaty

New Cairo City

Cairo - Suez Rd.

Katameya - Ain Sokhna Rd.

Cairo - Ismailia Rd.

CAIRO

QALYOUBEYA

Ring Road

Ring Road

GIZA

15th of May New Town

Autostrad Rd.

26 July Rd.

Cairo - Fayoum Rd.

Cairo - Alex. Rd.

Cairo - Wahat Rd.

Sheikh Zayed New Town

6th of October New Town

City core

Informal and deteriorated urban areas

Informal settlements on agricultural land

Informal settlements on desert land

Informal settlements in cemetery areas

Gated communities

Sources:
Denis & Sejourne 2002; Ghoneimy 2011; GOPP 2006;
Sims 2003; Yousry 2009

The central core and the first periphery form the Greater Cairo Metropolitan Region with three towns: Cairo, which expanded on the west Nile bank from its historical core; Giza on the east Nile bank, which grew in the fifties; and the now large city of Shubrah el-Kheima in the north.

The sprawl of the city during the last two decades was shaped significantly by the development of an underground metro railway network, the construction of an intra-urban freeway ring road, the emergence of new suburbs and communities for upscale social groups, and the failure of public housing provision to keep pace with the rapidly escalating demand of underprivileged groups. Despite this extensive growth, however, the basic structure of metropolitan Cairo continues to reflect the patterns of its original development, manifested by corridors of more intense activity as well as mixed land use associated with major arterial roads and suburban rail lines radiating from the city centre.

The mosaic like metropolis embodies accumulative urban development over the past few centuries, and accommodates a population which has increased by more than six times in the past 60 years, to reach nearly 16 million inhabitants, representing about 22% and 43% of Egypt's total and urban population respectively (GOPP 2008, CAPMAS 2008). Its impetuous growth of around 2% in the past half-century has been accompanied by a mounting inequality and polarization, and the gaps between the 'plugged-ins' and the marginalized have soared (Smets and Salman 2008, p.1309).

Since the 1970s, and the progressive liberalization of the economy, Cairo witnessed dramatic changes including an informal expansion of residential areas around the city on surrounding prohibited agricultural or state-owned desert land (Harre-Rogers 2006, p.2). Neither successive governmental master plans starting as early in 1953, nor the series of laws and decrees throughout the last fifty years could stop the booming of informal peripheral expansion. In contrast, high-end residential gated communities have also mushroomed at the suburban new areas east (New Cairo) and west (Sheikh Zayed and 6th of October) the city in the last twenty years.

Informal settlements, together with outskirt upscale gated communities, played an active role in the privatization of urban development, sustained by a lack of public housing and a sharp increase in land prices. Both can be deemed accountable for the complex and distorted morphology, and the escalating fragmentation in the city's spatial and social structures into large activity areas, reconstituted into more or less coherent wholes, and the acute differentiation among those areas revealing deep social disparities (Raymond 2000, & Denis and Sejourne 2002). Figure (1) shows these areas that comprise the historic core, deteriorated urban pockets encapsulated within better-off neighborhoods, middle class areas, informal settlements on former agricultural land and on former governmental desert land, squatters in cemetery areas, and upscale neighborhoods including residential suburbs as well as outskirt gated communities. The next sections of the paper focus on informal areas and gated communities, which, as shown on Figure (1), constitute the major segments in the megalopolis.

3 INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Cairo owes most of its physical and demographic growth to the development of informal settlements, a major means for the poor and impoverished low- income families to access housing. While estimates of the size of the population of informal housing areas are disputed, it is argued that in 2006, they inhabited more than 65 % of the population of the metropolis (Sabry 2009; Sejourne 2009, p.17).

Informal areas in Greater Cairo are mainly manifested by those established on former agricultural and desert land. Sims (2003) asserts that "most dominant types of deteriorated or under-served urban slums in Greater Cairo are informal areas of both types" (p.9). The first type comprises small agricultural areas on the fringes of "formal" Cairo which have been overtaken by urban expansion. It embraces over half the population and almost half the total residential area of the city. The second type is informal private residential buildings constructed on peripheral vacant desert state-owned land. In both types, development processes were all completely informal, as all processes of land acquisition and transactions, building construction, and local economic activities - all were completely or partially illegitimate or illegal.The process of urban informalization can be traced since the mid 1960s, when Cairo witnessed the emergence of a peripheral form of urbanization (Piffero 2009, p.21). This was led by private actors and developed outside of, and without regard for, state building laws. It became the solution to the housing needs of the city's lower classes. "The 1970s was a period of a substantial increase of rural-urban influx and an annual growth rate of about 4.4%, and informal expansion was mostly on agricultural land in the western (Boulaq al-Dakrour, Waraq al-Hadr, Waraq al-Arab, and Munira) and northern (Shubra al-Kheima and Matariya) parts of the city" (Sejourne 2009, p.17). This period also marked the beginning of "the phenomenon of squatting on state-owned land, mostly in the eastern part of the capital, in places such as Manshiet Nasser and Kum Ghurab" (Harre-Rogers 2006, p.2).

Peripheral informal expansion in Cairo sped up in the 1970s and 1980s, as the remittances from the Gulf oil countries allowed low and middle-income families to invest in housing. It is estimated that between the 1970s and the 1990s approximately 80% of the new housing units in Greater Cairo were built informally (Piffero 2009, p.21). Informal processes accelerated notably in spite of "a series of laws and decrees (1978 -1996) that reinforced the illegality of construction on agricultural land, the slowing down of the demographic growth from 2.8% per year (1976-1986), to 1.9% per year (1986-1996), and the decline in rural migration" (Bayat and Denis, 2000). Between 1986 and 1996, the demographic growth rate of informal settlements reached 3.4% per year compared to 0.3% for legal areas, and informal construction growth was estimated to be 3.2% per year, compared to 1.1% in formal districts (Denis and Sejourne 2002). Some new informal districts appeared, while others (like Dar al-Salaam, Imbaba, Zawyat al-Harma, Baragil, Saftal-Laban) continued to grow rapidly. Informal areas on desert land like Manshiet Nasser and Ezbat al-Haggana also continued to grow heavily (Denis and Sejourne 2002).

At the end of the 1990s informal areas represented approximately 53% of the built residential surface of Greater Cairo and hosted 62% of its inhabitants (Piffero 2009, p.21). The late 1990s witnessed a booming of informal settlements due to a lack of alternatives available to lower-income families. By then, 81 informal areas were identified, of which 63 of both types were deemed upgradable, and 18 smaller pockets were slated for demolition and the resettlement of the inhabitants (Harre-Rogers 2006, p.3).

Because of their unplanned and 'random' construction, from which they derive their name in Egyptian Arabic, 'ashwa'iyyat, meaning 'disordered' or 'irregular', these areas suffer from problems of accessibility, narrow streets, absence of vacant land and open spaces, insufficient infrastructure and services, and very high residential densities. The average population density is 640 per km^2, twice the density of the old city core, and reaches 1500 inhabitants per km^2 in a few areas (Denis and Sejourne 2002). They are not simply exclusive poverty belts, but often the home of many middle-class urbanites, professionals and civil servants. Apart from some inner pockets and some of the more remote, recently urbanized fringes, the overall quality of construction in informal areas is reasonably good, especially where it has been consolidated. (Sims 2003)

Informal areas in Cairo represent a fragmented urban space. Their illegal status vis-à-vis planning and building regulations, in addition to the absence of basic services and adequate infrastructure, increase their marginality in the city, and set their residents, commonly perceived as outsiders, apart from the rest of its urban context.

4 GATED COMMUNITIES

Since the 1990s, neo-liberal economic policies and the resulting shift of emphasis from public to private spatial development, have contributed to the emergence of private enclosed, demarcated gated communities in Cairo (Adham 2005, Denis 2006). Among three main types of those restricted entry communities defined by Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004, p.915), namely lifestyle communities that attract those for whom common activities and interests prompt home choice, security zones which reflect the fears of neighborhoods in troubled cities, and prestige communities that appeal to those for whom status and privacy are paramount concerns, most gated communities in Cairo belong to the third category. Their inhabitants seek to keep their distance from the sight of poverty permeating some localities.

Gated communities are particularly located on the city's desert fringes in New Cairo City to the east, and Sixth of October and Sheikh Zayed new towns to the west Figure (1). During the early 2000s, nearly 320 real estate companies planned the construction of 600,000 villas and luxury apartments in those private cities (Fahmi and Sutton 2008, p.285). To date gated communities have boomed to reach more than 300 projects comprising an "archipelago of micro-cities within the new desert towns" (Yousry 2009)

The emergence of gated communities has several consequences on urban spatial and socioeconomic structures. Due to their totally privatized organization, they form new extraterritorial spaces beyond public management and control. They consequently render the boundaries between public and private space increasingly irreconcilable, create physical barriers to access, and privatize civic responsibilities like protection and communal services such as street maintenance, recreation and entertainment (Coy 2006, p.122).

Social repercussions of gated communities are debatable; though some claim that gated communities represent a private choice which lacks wider social impacts, critical literature mostly relies on the idea that gated communities are closely related to urban social segregation. Many scholars and practitioners claim gated communities as one of the visible forms of discriminatory and segregationist tendencies that lead to a loss of social diversity in neighborhoods, thus reinforcing tendencies toward social segregation. They highlight the proposition that those who voluntarily exclude themselves from the others also create excluded outsiders, and that it is not only the gating but also exclusiveness that creates a border. This can develop an antagonistic insiders-outsiders tension or a 'them and us' tendency, both amongst residents of gated communities and of surrounding neighborhoods. It can also reduce the number of public spaces that all can share, and thus the contacts that people from different socioeconomic groups might otherwise have with each other. Hence, gated communities can be a contributing cause of loss of civic life, of reducing or threatening citizen involvement, and disrupting the social contracts that cities and towns are built upon. Hence gates and barricades that separate people from one another reduce people's potential to understand one another and commit to any common or collective purpose. Some claim that in the long run, the spread of gated communities would lead to a spatial organization of autonomous enclaves (Guzey 2003, pp.1-7).

In conclusion, it is often argued that gated communities have become a symbol of urban fragmentation and increased social segregation (Altnok and Cengiz 2008, p.5). They are one of the two major elements in the complex patchwork of the fragmented Cairo city which underline the ever-sharper distinction between the rich and the poor (Coy 2006, p.122; Fahmi and Sutton 2008, p.285).

5 THE PARADOX OF A FRAGMENTED SOCIO-SPATIAL PATCHWORK

The existing socio- spatial differentiation of Cairo is reinforced by ongoing economic and social transformations. As the city grows, it fragments both in socio-spatial and institutional terms and becomes "multiple cities", which reflect social diversification and increasing complexity (Lacabana and Cariol 2003, p.73).

Laissez-faire policies towards the increasing socio-spatial disparities due to ongoing processes of market controlled urban transformation, the manipulation of private investment for the urbanization and housing provision process, and the consequent expansion of informal areas, are reflected in a deeply spatially and socially

fragmented city. The two main aspects of Cairo's socio-spatial paradox can be detailed as follows.

5.1 Spatial fragmentation of urban fabric

Cairo's urban fabric is becoming "clusters of urban areas"; an augmented divide leading to potential conflict between increasingly marginalized informal areas and booming lush gated communities, as well as between formal deteriorated central and inner-city areas and peripheral luxurious suburbs. Affiliated problem areas to this disjunction comprise the discordance of urban land use and physical properties of space, spatial atomization, the general lack of integration of the city, the increasing separation of functions like housing, business, recreation and shopping, and duality with regard to the distribution of basic services. According to Altnok and Cengiz (2008, p.4), this segregation is more like a randomly patched texture where different pieces are brought together due to practical necessities, rather than a harmonious patchwork of a diversity of forms and patterns that constitute a meaningful whole.

5.2 Socio-economic community disintegration

Contemporary Cairo is identified by an increased segregation between the upper and lower ends of the social structure. Its spatial fragmentation produces a spatially induced social exclusion, a socio-economic duality where pockets of poverty and of wealth become more and more alienated, both symbolically and in terms of their physical and social characteristics. This dichotomy describes the overall structural character of this urban patchwork.

Looking at Cairo's social fabric, Harre-Rogers (2006, pp.8-12) demonstrates that the main sign of both social and spatial segregation is the great divide between the historic centre of the city and its surrounding areas on the one hand, and the peripheral areas on the other. He reveals a new trend of spatial marginality of the poor which represents a threat to the richness of the city's social fabric. This is reflected in an overwhelming feeling of socio-economic fragmentation of the poor among middle and low-income groups especially inhabitants of marginalized informal areas.

6 TOWARDS UNITING THE DIVIDED MEGALOPOLIS

The Egyptian 25 January 2011 revolution envisions a makeover towards a more equitable society, and augments the prospects of a redeemed role of public authorities in reinstating adjusting and controlling urban policies. In addition to the consensus on the uprising slogan calling for social justice, Egyptians have experienced, through the unfolding events of the revolution, their ability to induce change and the importance of social solidarity (IDSC 2011). These concurrent inclinations could definitely contribute to the control of urban fragmentation

challenges, and the identification of solutions to urban disparities and conflicts, and hence to the transformation of Cairo into an undivided city with a balanced socio-spatial structure.

An 'undivided city' is one of the basic objectives of development strategies in many countries of the world. This section of the paper is an attempt to outline urban policy initiatives aiming to induce a much more desired state for Cairo, based on principles of socio-spatial cohesion, integration and balance. These policies are targeted to enhancing positive aspects and to diminishing negative impacts of gated communities and informal areas alike.

Pragmatic planning approaches which address the economic, social and political drivers of spatial division should be adopted in order to foster reintegration procedures against the drawbacks of fragmentation triggering processes. According to Durand-Lasserve and Clerc (1996, p.41), these should be based upon the intervention of public authorities by pursuing proactive policies to control land and housing markets, and to provide a favorable economic, political, legal and financial context, and a strong institutional base for urban policy. They should find a method of intervention which ensures the development of synergy between formal and informal land and housing delivery systems, taking into account the diversity of social needs. Although they cannot fully control land markets, their intervention is essential to appropriate development.

Todes (2008, p.55) highlights the displacement of haphazard growth by systematic planning, and more rigorous application of development control to restrain sprawl and gross peripheralization, by strict implementation of comprehensive land use zoning regulations and integrated development plans. Le Gales (2002, p.24) assures that this should take into account the difficulties of integration produced by different social actors including deprived groups, upper classes refusing integration, and destabilized middle-classes. Control of urban development and land use should reduce urban expansion and sprawl in fringes, and attain center-periphery equilibrium.

Realization of 'good' urban governance could be attained by establishing a management and governance system based on social dialogue and a re-enforcement of non-governmental structures capable of overcoming social and spatial division. This should involve participatory decision-making, co-production and co-management in which all stakeholders, such as the state, local governments, economic and social actors, community-based organizations and the media, take part. Power balance between them should be tackled, to be able to sustain a necessary level of civic participation. Useful tools include the adoption of participatory strategies of enablement and empowerment of the civil society to play a more active role in the augmentation of problem consciousness of the current socio-spatial disintegration problems, and consequently reaching some sort of harmonization in dealing with conflicting interests.

Squires et al. (2005, p.60) stress the importance of creating a mixed population by implementing a spatial diffusion policy aiming at an even distribution of population at both city and neighborhood levels. This could be fulfilled through housing policy; development of more expensive dwellings in deprived areas, especially in areas that already show signs of improvement, in order to attract or prevent the exodus of middle and high-income households. As important is the urban renewal of middle-class residential areas to restore some missing urban quality ingredients such as the sense of community, safety, and a controlled, less polluted environment. The rehabilitation of public spaces, especially in inner-city areas, is also crucial to integrate polarized segments of society into interrelated and common activities that would help dwindle social divergence and enhance the advantages of living in a viable and livable city. Furthermore, improving living conditions of deteriorated inner-city areas can be induced throughout area-based compensation policies that emphasize the betterment of community livelihood attributes such as employment, education, safety, healthcare as well as social and recreation amenities. Both 'pro-place' policies that focus on improving neighborhoods, and 'pro- people' policies that emphasize individual development, are essential for reducing the concentration of poverty and segregation.

It is equally important to adopt policies targeting to encompass gated communities into the city fabric on one hand, and slowing down the trend towards their amplification on the other. Grant & Mittelsteadt (2004, p.926) assure that gated communities have a higher occurrence in nations with laissez-faire customs than in those with a strong tradition of local land-use planning or highly centralized planning authority. Hence, the previously stated policies of good governance for land development and landuse control are paramount .In addition, it is believed that interventions embarking upon the problems of both deprived informal areas as well as downgraded urban slums, would contribute to decelerate the expansion of gated communities, since an integrated harmonious spatial and social fabric will encourage people to live *within*, rather than *hide behind walls*. This would be predictably credible in the context of Cairo, where gating of residential areas has had less to do with security than with a desire to express an elite lifestyle away from the city's chaotic and polluted environment. This would also alleviate the tension and help eradicating the socio-spatial barriers between adjoining distressed informal areas and gated communities, especially those with minor enclosure. Hence, if segregation vicinities are to be arenas for effective urban policies, they should aim at taking out these barriers and the connotations of social exclusion associated with informal areas and gated communities alike (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007)

As for informal areas, it is argued that they should not to be regarded anymore as places of marginality and social disorder. In an increasing number of countries, integration of informal areas appears to be the first step towards a new form of managing urban fragmentation. Adopted policies aim at encompassing informal areas into the city fabric on one hand, and enhancing measures for preventing their evolvement on the other. In addition to the previously stated general policies, intervention of public authorities must address all the dimensions of informality, in order to achieve the progressive integration of informal areas in the city. They

should be a combination of ad-hoc and corrective procedures. This could be fulfilled through coordinated involvement on several urban system elements such as land and housing planning processes, legislative procedures, provision of infrastructure and services, and funding and financing mechanisms. Durand-Lasserve and Clerc (1996, p.10) highlight regularization of informal areas as an essential step that implies first of all, a confrontation to major obstacles including legal, political or financial obstacles (long, complex, deterring procedures and unsuitable legal standards), or the divergence or conflict among actors involved in the projects, or resistance to change in state administrations sustained by non-transparent and complex procedures.

Another essential policy is providing security of homes, jobs and tenure to the populations concerned through more flexible legal formulae (Boudreaux 2008, Sheehan 2003). When regularization proves impossible (for planning, public health, or environmental reasons), then security of tenure means that households concerned must be given fair compensation or relocated to another place with comparable advantages. Tenure regularization has obvious advantages as it encourages households to improve their housing conditions, helps to mobilize their contribution to the management and maintenance of their settlement environment, and facilitates the provision of urban services in the settlement. Since redefinition of norms and standards is a prerequisite for the implementation of regularization policies, there is a necessity for formulating minimal standards and major guidelines for urban infrastructure and services and urban layouts (Durand-Lasserve and Clerc, p.11). Other useful policies include housing provision and servicing for low- and middle-income groups by initiating major low-cost housing projects in appropriately located land. Also, mobilization of resources and innovative financing systems and promotion of private and public sector investment in regularization efforts in underprivileged areas by creating incentives, especially financial ones. These efforts would include the diversification of the local economy to create sufficient employment opportunities for the growing population, bringing questions of accessibility to and from informal areas to the fore and establishing competent public transport systems.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The main argument of this paper is based on the premises that both informal settlements and gated communities dynamically contribute to the fragmentation of the socio-spatial structure of Cairo. It is undisputable that both these community forms have evolved in response to genuine socioeconomic needs and housing demand. Informal settlements are still continuing to flourish because of lingering deficiencies in public low-income housing policies; gated communities are burgeoning to satisfy escalating demand for quieter, safer, and prestigious neighborhoods. Both neighborhood entities exemplify affirmative social characteristics such as collective solidarity, sense of community and belongingness that are often missing elsewhere in the city's formal and non-gated communities. Although this paper has concentrated on negative attributes to assert its main

argument, it is evident that both deprived informal settlements and privileged gated communities need to be further studied on social and physical grounds for better comprehending and diagnosing, and subsequently for enhancing and refining policies and strategic interventions for each.

As shown on Figure (1) and discussed above in this paper, it is evident that informal settlements, along with gated communities are two main contrasting components of the spatial form and social structure of Cairo metropolis. Future research is required to evaluate this assertion and prove its validity and reliability. Extensive descriptive and analytical studies can qualitatively and quantitatively identify the nature and magnitude of social polarization, segregation, and exclusion, as well as spatial disparities of the urban fabric.

Rational planning approaches and initiatives encountering socio-spatial fragmentation introduced in this paper are by no means novel or hypothetical. Rather, they are a few that the authors have selected and revisited among numerous policies and strategies introduced and discussed throughout literature and experience of Third World countries. As such, selected initiatives represent some general, yet principle policies, rather than a comprehensive policy framework for strategic intervention. This framework is indeed needed and calls for further research detailing not only policies that should be adopted, but also mechanisms and public/private actor roles for implementation.

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