IMPACT OF GATED COMMUNITIES ON THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CITIES IN EGYPT

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Abstract

In the late seventies the Egyptian government established new urban communities to provide housing, services and job opportunities in healthier environments. It focused towards achieving comprehensive sustainable development throughout population redistribution and empowering the utilization of physical, human and economic resources of the country. Sustainability is about “how the whole thing holds together” and clearly environment, economy, and collective cohabitation are different aspects of the same urban challenge.

A new pattern of development has been observed in the new cities in Egypt in last decades. Egyptian new cities are changing dramatically. They are faced with huge socio-economic and special challenges, which in turn, necessitates large scale social transformation. Within this context, gated communities are growing rapidly, contributing to urban transformation in a very significant way. The phenomena of gated communities which increased as a result of globalization, have become an important trend for both the real-estate industry and the prospective homebuyer. Such gated communities create exclusive zones for the wealthy to satisfy their desire of enjoying a better quality of life. The Egyptian GCs offer social prestige since the social segregation promoted by the limits of the enclaves isolated the wealthy classes from the problems of the public sphere. The massive growth of GCs developments has been one of the major urban changes in the new cities around Cairo.

The paper addresses the issue of gated communities in the new cities around Cairo as a specific form of the crisis of the privatization of public space and urban order in a stratified society. The research is focusing on the new urban development of El –sheik- Zayed city, as a case study, since GCs are spreading very fast all over the city. Analyzing the pattern of development and its effect on the city planning the spatial discontinuity between the GCs and their vicinities.

Key words: Gated communities, Urban transformation, New cities, Fragmentation of urban space

Introduction

The new urban communities in Egypt were foreseen as the proper solution for over crowded metropolitan areas. By the late seventies the government established new communities to control the urban sprawl of Egyptian cities by directing the urban expansion toward the desert land while preserving the agricultural land. The Egyptian new towns program intended to provide housing, services and job opportunities in healthier environments. For those reasons, the authority of new communities in Egypt formed a long period plan for the construction of a group of new cities around the Greater Cairo Region (GCR). The goal of new towns' popular habitants is to offer good residence for the youth and people who cannot afford a healthy comfortable residence in the capital city, and to attract business men to new industrial zones as well. New settlements serve to provide housing for Cairo residents, opening new investments and urbanization axes fully integrated into the GCR.
The paper offers a brief overview of the new cities adjacent to the GCR. It presents "El–sheik-Zayed city" as one of the satellite cities on the boundary of the Greater Cairo. The city was planned to accommodate diverse socio-economic groups and to attract the labor force from GCR. The master plan has been changed for the benefits of the upper-middle and the exclusives, since it was planned especially for the low and medium income groups. This change has been affected the urban tissue of the city. The research defines the housing levels in the city and presents the concepts of gated communities which have been spreading in El-Sheik-Zayed City in the form of residential projects for the middle, upper-middle and the exclusives.

Developing New Cities Around the GCR

Cairo is surrounded by eight new cities (satellite and settlements), New Cairo and the other new urban settlements to the east, in addition to 6th of October City and its adjacent areas to the west (New Towns include New Cairo, Shorouk, 10th Ramadan, El Obour, Badr, 15th May, 6th October, and El-Sheikh Zayed.). The main aim of the new cities around the GCR is to divert the population growth away from the arable land towards the desert to the east and south-west. The first generation of these towns are perceived as economically independent new towns. The subsequent wave relied on developing new satellites that are closer to the urbanized area. The GCR was to become an agglomeration with satellite towns. The first generation of new towns struggled to attract residents. The second wave on the other hand, started attracting residents after replacing the settlements for low income groups to higher suburban settlements with better services to be developed by the private sector. Such transformation took place in El–sheik-Zayed, New Cairo and part of 6th October city (GOPP, UNDP, 2008). In 2006 the Census recorded only 602,000 people living in the new towns around Cairo, absorbing only 13.8% of the 3 million people added to all Greater Cairo over ten years. At the national level, the population of all Egypt's new towns (20 towns as recorded by the Census in 2006) did not exceed 766,000 persons, or only 1.06% of Egypt's total population. (World Bank, 2008)

Land-use planning is an effective tool in the comprehensive planning of a new town that may support the environment of its whole community. Investment and real estate companies have evolved after receiving permissions to build gated residential communities inside the new cities with different sizes. The mega projects range from 1500 to 6500 acres such as “El Rehab” in new Cairo, “Beverly Hills” in El Sheikh Zayed and “Dream Land” in 6th of October. Smaller projects however, range from 20 to 100 acres. The construction of residential gated communities has become a mass trend that contributes in reshaping the new cities, as a result of the private sector's role in developing such cities. By the mid-1990's gated communities began to sprout up in these cities aiming at the wealthier segment of the population (A.M. Yousry, 2009). These gated communities reflect the progressive trend towards privatization of housing and urban services. The rapid spreading of GCs without previous planning led to unpredictable urban development which affect the new towns' master planning.

Urban Development & Sustainability

Urban development is not only a process to create and formulate a vision for a city as it also involves the analysis of the actual situation and the prospects for economic and social development in addition to its consequences for urban planning. Urban development is both a process and a product to identify ways for creating the conditions for sustainability of a city and its relationship with the region in economic, ecological and social dimensions (Rainer Müller –Jökel, 2003). The term sustainable development goes beyond the boundaries of science, business development and trade as it also includes human development, values and culture. Sustainable community is the ability to make development choices that respect the relationship between the economy, ecology and equity. Economic activity should serve the common good, be self-renewing, and build local assets and self-sufficiency. From the concept of ecology, communities are responsible for protecting and building natural assets. Equity means the opportunity for full participation in all activities, benefits and decision-making of a society. (E. Goell, N. El-Lahham, W. Hussen, S. El-Khishin, S. Soliman, 2009).
By promoting sustainable urban form and function, cities become more healthy and viable for citizens. Efficient urban form helps to protect the locality of ecosystems that cities depend on. In many ways, the advantages of sustainable communities are underlined in the characteristics and definitions of urban sustainability. A good quality of life, natural open spaces, reduced waste, equality, access, lower crime, sense of community, clean air, water quality and environmental diversity are just a few beneficial characteristics of a sustainable city. The most important advantage of a sustainable city is that it follows such a development path that allows for an integral and long-term development without compromising future generations. At the same time this includes intergenerational equality. A sustainable city should deliver its services in such a way as to make them accessible and affordable to all residents regardless of income, age, or ethnic identity. Indeed, the concept of sustainable communities is challenging local authorities, developers and design/project teams to ensure that all new developments and regeneration schemes are designed and built sustainably, creating places where people want to live and work in ways which address environmental issues (BREEAM, 2011).

**Urban Governance & New settlements**

The transformation from government towards the emerging urban governance has been spread globally as a result of the political aftermath of globalization and privatization (W. Bayoumi, 2009). Urban governance refers to a shift in the role of the formal governments and massive redistributions of the former governmental duties among public, private, voluntary and household groups. This process helps to blend and coordinate public and private interests within the national context. Urban governance refers to processes of regulation, coordination and controlling the conflicted interests between the public and private sectors and different governmental bodies.

Therefore one of the most important changes which marks the shift from government towards governance is to empower the residents particularly in specific areas and neighborhoods. Thus it is expected not only the local government to be involved in the decision-making process, but also housing associations, local residents, private developers, market parties and non-governmental organizations. It is a pragmatic policy style, interactive public-private exchange, excluding the local settlers from participating in the decision making process or to engage with the local government. As gated communities are built on privately held land, they can formulate rules and regulations regarding the expected conduct of the members of the community. Now, we can notice and understand the concept of urban governance in Egypt through the new trend of gated communities and how the legal authority have been transferred to persons or organizations. The shift towards private urban operation and management in gated communities is a new trend towards urban governance in Egypt. Such private governance within the boundaries of gated communities weakens the role of the state.

**The Case Study**

The study presents El Sheikh Zayed City, its location, purpose of establishing it, the initial master plan and the city envisage. The paper will recognize the housing levels and the sectors produced, in addition to the investors involved in the development of the city. It presents and analyzes different cases of gated communities within the city in order to recognize the impact of GCs, on the urban tissue of the city.

**El Sheikh Zayed City**

It is one of the new settlements adjacent to the boundary of greater Cairo, established in 1995. The city is located out of the ring road west of Cairo to accommodate the increase in population of greater Cairo and to control the informal expansion on agricultural land. The city is physically attached to 6th October City in a distinguished area, due to its vicinity to the pyramids plateau, and its site is 226m above the sea level. The location of the city is 38km from the center of Cairo, accessible from both
Cairo-Alexandria and Cairo–Fayoum regional desert roads. The city is planned to reach a target population of 675,000 inhabitants (GOPP). According to the 2006 census, the population of the city was 29,422 (CAPMAS,2006).

**The Development of the City's master plan**

The development of the city passes through three phases. Initially the urban mass of the city was comprised of two development areas (6A and 6B) which were planned as one of the ten new settlements around the GCR (settlement no.7). They both formed a huge urban mass with a linear planning pattern. The city provided low income housing, industrial areas, and 2500 acres of the green belt. The first community consists of six districts with an area of about 1550 acres and the second has five districts with 1250 acres. They both planned to accommodate 250 thousand of the increase of GCR's population (figure1 -first phase).

In 1998, a presidential decree issued to combine the two settlements together to be El- Sheikh Zayed City. The urban mass of the city became 9524 acres, with about 72% of its total area for residential use. The green belt decreased to 238 acres and was replaced by residential areas (figure1-second phase).

In 2003, another decree was issued and a tract of land was added to the city's border from the west side to provide an exclusive residential area. The city extended to a total area of about 10.3 thousand acres, with 7500 acres of residential use.(figure1-third phase). The master plan has been changed since the government sold large portions of public land to private sector real estate developers. The figure below shows the three phases of developing the city and the different designated master plan.

![Figure (1) The Three Phases of developing the City's master plan
Source: El Sheikh Zayed City Council, 2011](image-url)
Urban Mass of El Sheikh Zayed City

The city's main urban mass comprised of 17 districts, which was planned to accommodate the low and middle income inhabitants in order to be socially balanced. Some districts are entirely developed, especially those with completed housing projects, and the rest are gradually developing according to the situation of plot subdivisions to be built by the owners. The first district which was the initial mass of the city, now contains five neighborhoods two for the affordable housing, and three for the medium level housing. The private sectors invest in the $2^{nd}$, $4^{th}$, $5^{th}$, $9^{th}$, $14^{th}$, $15^{th}$, $16^{th}$ and the $17^{th}$ districts. The third district has two neighborhoods for low income housing and one for the private investments. The map below portrays the 17 districts and the housing types in each district. It is very clear that the exclusive housing which represents the high level income is the most denominating urban mass. Although, this can demonstrate the transformation that happened in the land uses of the city. Solving the problems of squatters of GCR, and reducing the capital's population density by providing affordable housing is no longer the prime concern of the city.

The Residential Use & the Housing Levels in the City

El Sheikh Zayed City has different levels of housing. The total housing area represents 7510 acres. The figure below shows the different categories of housing, since there are about 5330 acres of luxury residential housing with gardens for the exclusive distinguished level of the society, which represents 53% of residential areas in the city. There are about 1450 acres for the middle and high middle classes, which represent about 25%. The youth housing represents 7%. Which is 240 acres, and 490 acres for the economic housing which represents 15% of the total residential areas of the city.

Figure (2) Districts & Housing Types

Figure (3) The Housing Levels Within the City
Source: New Urban Communities Authority, El Sheikh Zayed City Council, 2011
Urban Development - Features & Characteristics

Contemporary town planning principles generally promote an integrated and connected urban realm. Theories such as sustainable development, healthy communities, new urbanism, and smart growth have all helped to create a consensus around the idea that good communities should feature a mix of uses and people, open & connected streets, pedestrian networks and compact form. Professional organizations, the Congress for the New Urbanism and the Urban Land Institute (ULI) promote such ideas in their publications, workshops, and conferences. Theories pertinent to the planning of cities are clear and reasonably consistent in articulation of the features of good communities (Jill Grant, 2005).

Initially Zayed city was envisioned by the government to provide affordable housing and to reduce the capital's population density. The location of the city attracted developers and individuals to invest in the housing sector. The main economic activities depend upon real estate development in luxury housing, entertainment facilities and services such as clubs, golf courses, private schools, universities and commercial areas. According to estimates by the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development in 2009/2010, the private sector contributed 39000 housing units, and the government contributed 14000 units in the city. Private investment in the housing and real estate sectors has increased continuously in the past two decades. The schedule below shows neighborhoods in each district of the city and the types and levels of housing in each neighborhood. The below schedule also portrays the role of the private sector (as investor companies, individuals) and the role of the government in the residential development of the city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El Sheikh Zayed City</th>
<th>Neighborhoods &amp; The Housing Levels</th>
<th>1st.</th>
<th>2nd.</th>
<th>3rd.</th>
<th>4th.</th>
<th>5th.</th>
<th>6th.</th>
<th>7th.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. district</td>
<td>Medium Housing</td>
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<td>2nd. district</td>
<td>Exclusive Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd. district</td>
<td>Affordable housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>4th. district</td>
<td>Exclusive &amp; Above Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>5th. district</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
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<td>6th. district</td>
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<td>7th. district</td>
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<td>8th. district</td>
<td>Medium Housing</td>
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<td>9th. district</td>
<td>Above medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>10th. district</td>
<td>Above medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>11th. district</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>12th. district</td>
<td>Affordable housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>13th. district</td>
<td>Youth Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>14th. district</td>
<td>Exclusive Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>15th. district</td>
<td>346 acres- Exclusive Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>16th. district</td>
<td>Exclusive Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>17th. district</td>
<td>2500 acres- Exclusive Housing</td>
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The Government Role

The Private Sector & Individuals
Gated Communities

Most commonly, a gated community is considered to be a residential area that is enclosed by walls, fences, or landscaping which, provide a physical barrier to entry. Walling the residential communities is done in order to control private spaces, streets and open areas. According to several studies, the global spread of gated community has been triggered by the experience of the United States of America. About one in six Americans were living in some sort of fortified community, gated and barricaded from the outsiders (Environmental and Planning B, 2002). By 2008 almost 60 million residents were living in GCs in USA (J. Grant, 2008). The UK is fast moving towards the US experience with the number of gated communities growing at an exponential rate (Cletus Moobela, 2003). The phenomena were spread in the central-east and eastern European countries, South Africa and the Middle East. Gated communities have increased dramatically worldwide.

In Egypt, The expansion of gated communities began in the early 1980s along the beaches of the Northwest coast as holiday villages. Gated tourist villages spread along the coast of the Red Sea and the beaches of Sinai. Since the mid-1990's a similar development has been observed in the new cities around Cairo. Private investors have been establishing luxurious gated settlements in the new cities for the elites who wanted to delink themselves from the capital city's problems. Egyptian gated communities are dominant reflections of the progressive trend towards privatization of housing and urban services. GC's have privatized public spaces such as streets, parks, squares and services by allowing only residents to use them. It includes private property and common private property that is collectively used. Egyptian gated communities represent the socio-political result of economic “neo-liberalization”.

Gated Communities within El Sheikh Zayed City

The concept of gated communities is a new urban trend that grows fast in the new towns around Cairo. Living in private enclosed compounds has recently been associated with a distinctive and elite lifestyle. The trend in gated apartment complexes for the middle and upper middle classes has gradually increased and has greatly contributed to the possibility that renters will live behind gates. In the early 2000s, many GCs have been constructed and were spreading very fast all over the city which was a result of selling large plots of state-owned land to the private sector and investors. More than forty luxury gated communities were established within the city with different masses, styles and areas. These compounds are ranging from 20 to 100 acres (such as: Bell Ville, Moon Land, El-Nada, Zayed 2000, and Hadaik el-Mohandeseen), the big plots average from 300 to 2500 acres (such as: El-Raboa, Royal City, Beverly Hills and The West Town).

Active real estate development companies are formed especially for the development of gated communities such as SODIC which is developing Beverly Hills in the 17th. District and DAMAC who are developing West Town next to Cairo-Alexandria Highway. The economic and social aspects affected the urban development of the city, although GCs are not affordable for the average level of the society. The red areas in the figure below represent the gated communities within the city. Clearly, GCs are more than 50% of the residential areas all over the city. As a result, the city has
been split into gated zones representing the GCs segregated from the other urban parts which represent the housing projects that belong to the government and to the individual investors.

Transformation of Space & the Physical Impact

Gated communities are closed-off spaces, representing a transformation of open space to closed space through physical boundaries (Landman Karina, 2007). GCs have physical impact upon the urban built environment, as it physically isolates a specific area from its surrounding and creates zones of restricted access within the urban existence. The fragmentation of the space is a result of the physical isolation. GCs created urban tissues which differs from other housing areas. We can observe the urban inequality within the city, since the physical form produces the social form. The figure below shows the urban fabric of Hadayek el mohandessn compound in the 4th district which shows exclusive housing along with the urban tissue of the economic housing in the first district which is supposed to be one of the two initial urban masses of the city.

The Research will demonstrate and examine four cases of these gated communities within El Sheikh Zayed City. The cases present different projects in their size, urban and architectural features, housing levels, the urban governance, and the security and control access in these enclosed communities.

1-Compound- Hadaik el-Mohandseen

The forth district in El Sheikh Zayed City has six luxury gated communities, Hadaik el-Mohandseen, El-Gazera, Rich Mont, Solymania Gardens, Al-Karma1, & Zayed 2000. Hadaik el-Mohandseen is one of the pioneer projects in the city, established in 2000 and all the development was completed by 2002. It is 100 acres enclave of luxury homes with three secured gates and 24-hour security guards. The master plan has an organic planning, which contains 370 villas, separated townhouses with four different design options, and 99 four floors apartment building. The building ratio do not exceed 20% of the total land, and the density is about 35 persons/acre. The compound has a social club, a mosque, a super market and a clinic. These services are available for the resident only as non-residents are
excluded from such privileges through the creation of physical barriers. The compact form of the master plan produced connected streets and pedestrian networks. Residents enjoy a gated lifestyle, the landscaping, the quietness and the safety zones. Landscaping services are available for both private gardens and the public green open spaces, as well as house maintenance. The project provides extreme privacy and security through a professional management team. The satellite image below shows the active development of the gated communities.

Figure 7- location & master plan

**Design and Urban Features**

There is special regulation for the compound which determines the heights, colors, architecture style and the road hierarchy. The architecture character of all the buildings has a classic post modern design feature which appears on the façade and details. A variety of designs are offered to suit the different needs. Apartment sizes range from 120 to 170m². Clusters of buildings enclose green open spaces interconnected together by pedestrian networks separated from the vehicular roads and parking plots.

Figure 8- The Urban Features

2- **Al- karma residence city**

It is built on 40 acres in the fifth neighborhood of the 16th district. The compound was excluded from the neighborhood which was planned for the youth housing. The compound has linear planning, contains 116 semidetached town houses on row houses concept with 180m² floor area per villa plus 80m² garden and 25m² for the penthouse. The compound also has 70 three floor apartment buildings, the apartment floor area ranges from 130m² to 160m², to attract the middle & upper-middle classes. The owner company developed various compounds in the city with the same name, some have villas only, while others have apartment buildings and townhouses. The area of each ranges from 40 to 60 Acres.

Figure 9- Al- karma residence’ Master Plan & Design Characters
**Rules & Design Features**

The housing compound is not completely developed, the owner company "Badr-el-din Company for Real Estate" offers core, shell or fully finished apartments and townhouses. The inhabitants can finish their villas or apartments on their own however, they should respect the regulation, the façade design and the design characters. The compound has security services, a small super market, a Gym and cleaning services while other facilities are not completed.

3- **The Diplomatic Community**

It is a plot subdivision security village lies in the second district on about 45 acres as a private development, with gridded compacted planning. The project constructions are restricted to 180 separated villas, with a pointed urban tissues. There aren't any services within the compound, the residents use the surrounding public services all around the neighborhood. The diplomatic area has three entrances gated with landscaping that provides a physical barrier. The density is about 20 persons /acre, the plot area verify from 550 to1100 m² (some residents added two plots together).

![Figure 10- Diplomatic Community's master plan, and the Architecture Form](image)

**Characteristics of Spaces and the architecture features**

The project developers set up the infrastructure since the diplomatic co-operatives did the marketing activities of selling the subdivision plots for the diplomats. Contractors began the construction of the villas such they offer many universal model for the inhabitants to choose from. As a result different architecture characters were produced with respect to the colors and heights (usually ground floor, 1st and 25% as a roof area). The building ratio not exceed 40% of the plot area.

4- **Beverly Hills Compound**

It is one of the large scale residential compounds in the city, located in the 17th district. The total land of the project covers about on 2500 acres, developed by SODIC company, targets residents from the middle, upper-middle and the exclusive classes. It is a mixed-use residential and commercial development that provides a new standard in residential living. The master plan included 676 villas and 235 apartment buildings. The development of the project has 5 phases, the first phase developed two neighborhoods on 400 acres, one for villas and the other for apartment buildings. All services and amenities are available such as commercial, educational, transportation, sports, recreational and security facilities (pharmacy, bakery, nursery, international schools, shopping, club house and 24 hours guards). Beverly Hills compound is a city within a city that secludes its residents from the rest of the city while providing privacy in a clean and quiet environment.

Now there are approximately 3,000 condominiums and apartments throughout Beverly Hills compound. The development company has flexible services and management programs responsible
for common area and in-house cleaning, gardening maintenance and security services. They also provide payment systems for renting the housing units.

Figure 11- Beverly Hills' master plan, and architecture features

**Characteristics of Spaces and the Urban Features**

The project consists of a group of neighborhoods, each has a different design, character, urban and housing pattern. There is a hierarchy in the open spaces (private- semi private-and public spaces) which helps to create social networks. Each residential group "clusters of buildings" has its own commercial services. The buildings ratio is about 25% of the total land, and the maximum heights do not exceed four floors. The floor area of the villas varies from 200 to 280m² and the land plots range from 500m² to 900m². The floor areas of the apartments range from 150 to 220m².

**Comparative Analysis**

All the above cases of gated communities provide what the residents are seeking for, the cleaning and comfortable environment, quietness, privacy, parks, green open spaces and social homogeneity. Projects differ in their design, social vision and degree of exclusivity as they all offer a combination of healthy environments, quality lifestyle, greenery, convenience, socially homogeneous communities and prestige. The architecture style is borrowing the post modern western style as they create imagined settlements based on global- local articulations (localized with the middle eastern arches, balconies and the decorative features). The schedule below shows the main characteristics of the four gated communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Hadaik el-Mohandeseen</th>
<th>Al-karma residence</th>
<th>Diplomatic District</th>
<th>Beverly Hills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area (acres)</td>
<td>100 acres</td>
<td>40 acres</td>
<td>45 acres</td>
<td>2500 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of lots</td>
<td>469 m²</td>
<td>186 m²</td>
<td>180 m²</td>
<td>911 m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Secured Gates &amp; Guards</td>
<td>Secured Gates &amp; Private guards</td>
<td>Private guards</td>
<td>Secured Gates &amp; Guards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manage &amp; Maintenance</td>
<td>By Developers</td>
<td>By Owners Union</td>
<td>By Individuals</td>
<td>By Developers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot Size</td>
<td>Villa (m²)</td>
<td>450 m²</td>
<td>260 m²</td>
<td>820 m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Building (m²)</td>
<td>500 m²</td>
<td>420 m²</td>
<td>600: 850 m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built up area</td>
<td>Villa (m²)</td>
<td>150 m² / FL</td>
<td>80 m² G.F. 80 m² 1st. FL.</td>
<td>680 m² (basement, G.F. 1st. F.L &amp; Roof)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Building (m²)</td>
<td>120: 170 m²</td>
<td>320 m²</td>
<td>330 : 450 m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services &amp; Amenities</td>
<td>Club- Shopping Center mosque - clinic</td>
<td>Small shops, mosque</td>
<td>No Services</td>
<td>All services &amp; amenities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

Gated communities have been spread fast in the new towns around the GCR. The paper exposes El Sheikh Zayed as one of the new residential cities, which was established to attract the increase in population of the GCR and to limit the informal expansions on agricultural land. Planning the city was aiming to provide different levels of housing with complete services and infrastructure. The main aim of establishing the city has been changed to shift the urban development responsibility from the public to the private sector. The city's master plan accommodates the massive transfer of the desert public land to private ownership by new legislation. As a result, large tracts of land have been sold to the investors who developed luxury residential communities and entertainment facilities. Zayed changed dramatically from being planed to attract low income groups to accommodate expensive gated communities for the high income groups. The study presents the phases of developing the city's master plan. It provides a brief documentation about the residential areas and the housing levels all over the city, which clarify that the exclusive distinguished level presents 53% of residential areas within the city.

Furthermore, the research paper is prominently concerned about gated communities which are becoming an increasingly distinctive feature in contemporary cities. Based on information gathered pertinent to the number of gated communities and their locations, GCs occupy more than half of the total residential areas within El Sheikh Zayed city. GCs have a positive effect on the built environment as they attract private sector investments that participated in the development and construction of the city. Consequently, GCs encouraged the movement of population and the economic activities within the city. The paper presents four different projects of GCs as a case study, identifying their sites, areas, level of housing, the urban and architecture features, the services and the urban governance. All projects are developed from 2000 to 2008, most are managed, operated and maintained by the same developers or by the elected owners union.

Gated Communities can hardly participate in the solution of our urban and housing problems since most of the GCs are not affordable for the average Egyptians. GCs create zones of restricted access within the urban existence. GCs have often been diagnosed as a form of urban pathology as they are a form of "splintering urbanism. On the other hand, gated communities have also been creating a sense of community spirit between the residents of gated communities. However, isolated pieces can enhance a sense of communities. The high demand of GCs reflects the market forces, since the adjacent residential areas have lack of services, infrastructure, security and in general the convenient life style. We can predict that GCs are going to spread more and more in El Sheikh Zayed city and in the other new cities around the GCR. Hence, planners and professionals should take in their consideration how to achieve the balance between the city and the irregular expansion of GCs. However, professionals should also benefit from the experiences of GCs in raising the efficiency of existing physical environments.

The government do not participate in creating a community with real feeling and identity of city. Also, they do not maintain or develop the existing communities. Invaded by outsiders

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