The background image shows a dense urban landscape in Morocco. In the foreground, there are numerous multi-story buildings with colorful facades in shades of red, orange, yellow, and blue. Some buildings have flat roofs with laundry hanging out to dry. In the background, a large, dark, hilly mountain rises against a clear blue sky. Several large white wind turbines are visible on the ridge of the mountain. The overall scene suggests a blend of traditional urban architecture and modern renewable energy infrastructure.

GOVERNING MOROCCAN CITIES

A FIELD TRIP REPORT

MASTER
GOVERNING THE LARGE METROPOLIS

PHOTO (FRONT): NOEMIE FOMPEYRINE, JANUARY 2014
PHOTO (BACK): NOEMIE FOMPEYRINE, JANUARY 2014

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URBAN ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN CASABLANCA AND TANGIER

A FOREWORD BY THE EDITORIAL TEAM

One week is a very short time in which to comprehend the complexity of the Moroccan urban landscapes of Casablanca and Tangier. And yet, there is no equivalent to spending time wandering the streets of these cities in order to do, just this. In front of the majestic Church of the Sacred Heart in central Casablanca kids are playing football. Can we join? The language barrier disappears when one can kick a ball, and so the match starts. The players range from the fittest local boys to the most talented of us, the slow ones and the specialists, moving together with the same goal. Their strategies and interests differ but they operate within the framework of common rules. When the ball goes out of bounds, the sidelines are renegotiated. One falls and the player behind him jumps over. Did he touch the ball? Who gets to take the penalty-kick? Micro-conflicts result in compromises based on the experience of the oldest players. Some newcomers join the game when their teammates are out of breath. And when our patient guide whistles the end of the game, we all shake hands.

In January 2014, the students from the Masters program at Sciences Po, Paris, 'Governing the Large Metropolis' had the opportunity to experience first-hand, the urban transformation taking place in two of Morocco's main cities; Casablanca and Tangier. The interdisciplinary GLM Master program aims to prepare graduates for work on public policy issues in a variety of large metropolises. During the trip, we collected first-hand information from governmental agencies, private developers and local communities. This report is the result of our site visits and seminars with a number of local actors, presented in a series of essays that aim to share our first impressions and findings from the field. We set out to limit excessive transnational generalisations blurring the reality of the specific Moroccan case. However, this report hopes to emphasise the overall dialectic between large and official development projects, and the parallel efforts rooted in civil society. Hence, the general structure of the report is based on a comparative approach between the government's agenda and the response coming from non-official stakeholders, as

observed during our visit. Through this, we hope to situate each project within its societal context, to gain a more nuanced understanding of the distribution of power, in a relatively centralised political structure.

Essays are paired together to combine an analytical perspective and impressionistic viewpoint. The opening section of the report introduces the question of power relations in Morocco and gives a brief overview of the urban history of Casablanca and Tangier. The first section focuses on the programs and debates surrounding the question of the *bidonvilles*. The second, examines access to urban facilities in both cities, while the third brings together cultural and counter-culture projects in Casablanca. The fourth section explores the perspective of economic growth in light of growing of industrial activity, trade and tourism in both Casablanca and Tangier. The concluding section, zooms out, and considers the growing metropole through two cases; Tangier-Med Port, the new city of Ch'rafate and the construction of the High Speed Line between the two cities. We are very grateful for the time and assistance provided by all the people we met. The perspectives highlighted in this report require complementary investigation and further visits and discussion. Yet, by reading about our experience, we hope urban practitioners and novices alike, interested in the urban development of large cities across the world, will be able to gain a broader view of Morocco's urban landscape today. ■



LOCALISATION OF THE FIELD TRIP

MAP: MARTIN ABBOTT

EDITORIAL TEAM

Martin Abbott - Editor / Graphic Designer

Diane Barbé - Editor / Graphic Designer

Silvia Campo Villamizar - Editor

Lara Dell'Arco Pinzan - Editor

Katia Fenyves - Editor

Yunjung Hwang - Editor

Chaitanya Kanuri - Editor

Marianne Madoré - Editor

WHO GOVERNS MOROCCAN CITIES?

VICTORIAL VITAL, TIFFANY TANG

In 2011, Morocco adopted a new Constitution which aimed to transform the country's regime into a State of Law. What are the implications in terms of urban development and planning?

Morocco's transition to a consolidated, democratic State of Law is a matter intrinsically linked to the political machinery of the country, and in particular to the figure of the King. While recent uprisings across the Arab world and the Middle East have generated substantial constitutional modifications, in Morocco the King remains the most important decision-maker in terms of urban development. As such, the growth of the major cities in the nation—such as Casablanca and Tangier, the location of our visits—has been shaped by the King's own ideas, which influence the cities' overall urban transformation.

Division of powers, administrative decision-making and political parties

Unlike Queen Elizabeth II in England, the King holds a unique position in the Moroccan 'Constitutional Monarchy'. Mohammad VI, King since 1999, proposed the constitutional changes that went to a vote on July 1st, 2011. In accordance with the provisions contained in the new Constitution, Morocco is a constitutional monarchy and King

Mohammed VI is the head of state with a bicameral legislature and a multiparty system with universal suffrage. The executive power corresponds to the executive government and statutory authority, and is composed of the Prime Minister, ministers and the Secretaries of State. The Moroccan Parliament consists of two houses: the House of Representatives and the House of Counsellors. The House of Representatives is elected by universal, free, direct and secret suffrage to all citizens registered in the census. The House of Counsellors members are elected for a six-year term by indirect universal suffrage, depending on an equitable distribution of Article 63 of the constitution. The Parliament is presided over by the King.

In Morocco, the judiciary is independent and regulated by an organic law. The highest governing body of judges is the Superior Council of Magistrates, which is chaired by the king and is composed of the presidents of courts, plus five members appointed by the king. In regards to its administrative division, Morocco is divided into 16 regions: Chaouia-Ourdigha, Doukkala-Abda, Fes-Boulmane, Gharb-Chrarda-Beni Hssen, Greater Casablanca, Guelmim-Es Smara, Laayoune-Boujdour-Sakia El Hamra, Marrakech-Tensift-El Haouz, Meknes-Tafilalet, Oriental, Oued Eddahab-Lagouira, Rabat-Sale-Zemmour-Zaer, Souss-Massa-Draa, Tadla-Azilal, Tangier-Tetouan, Taza-Al Hoceima-Taounate.

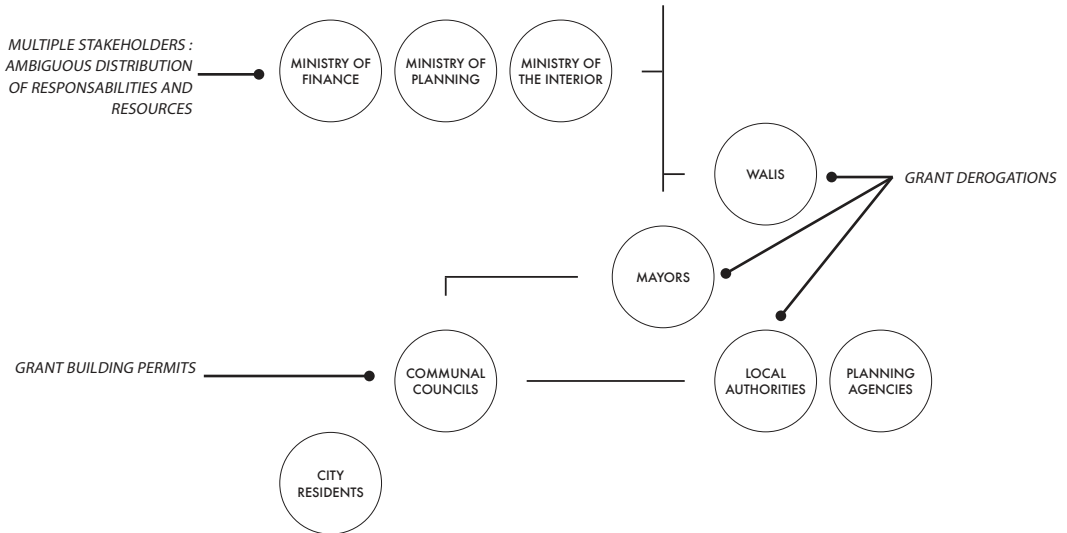
Each of these regions is governed by a Wali, who is appointed by the King directly.

POWER STRUCTURES IN MOROCCO

DIAGRAM: MARIANNE MADORÉ



KING MOHAMMED VI



Even though Morocco is now a constitutional monarchy, the new provisions fall short of demands for a real constitutional system. For example, the Prime Minister is still appointed by the King, chosen from members of the elected party holding the parliamentary majority. In a change from the past, the Prime Minister is charged with the appointment of Government Ministers, however the King must again approve these choices. In terms of urban governance, the highly centralised decision-making process is rooted deeply in the new Communal Charter adopted in 2002. “Almost all of the major decisions affecting urbanism during the last decades were made at the Palace”. The Wilaya, who is dependent on the Minister of the Interior, has become more powerful in reinforcing the central power. “The president of

the Local Council (the Mayor) becomes not only the executive authority of the Municipality, but receives, by law, from his majesty the King a dahir that provides him with his majesty’s highest recommendation”. In this light, the new 2002 Charter undoubtedly adds to the legitimacy of the royal seal in local authority.

Regional administration: the role of the Wali

Walis are regional Governors appointed by the King. These figures are intended to be politically neutral, as executive members of the public administration. This depoliticized position is often reinforced in the media. However, for over twenty years, the Moroccan law has failed to define the status and power of the Walis. Their missions are flexible and vary according to the King. During the last decade, the Walis have often spoken

on behalf of cities and assumed the role of decision-maker on all matters of urban administration and policy. Until now, the pragmatic distinction between *Walis* and Mayors remains the biggest conflict of authority and jurisdiction at the urban level.

Royal power

According to the 2011 constitution, the King of Morocco is the head of state. He is the chief of the Armed Forces, appoints the head of government, holds the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and may dissolve the chambers of parliament, with the approval of the Constitutional Court and the Parliament. The new constitution publicly aimed at reducing the functions of the King to an executive role, thus creating a so-called “constitutional monarchy” regime. Yet the power of the King remains undeniably predominant in the country. His decisions relating to urban development have guided most of the cities’ development.

In the case of Tangier, the city was granted a renewed role as a showcase of natural beauty and coastal leisure for the European neighbors. While it was somewhat

left out of the growth of the 1990s, King Mohammed VI announced it was time to take advantage of Tangier’s strategic position of the Gibraltar strait. Large investments have thus been injected into potential touristic areas. Moreover, the region has also benefitted from an increased regional integration and strong industrial dynamism, with the creation of a new port, new industrial zones, new cities and the improvement of regional railroads.

Due to the King’s affection for Casablanca, evident in his first visit in 1999, the city was designated as the ‘powerhouse for economic development’ and since then, its urban development has been economically oriented with a clear target to turn it into an international financial hub.

Urban planning in Morocco is intrinsically linked with the King’s determination of certain trajectories of development for each city. This aspect of governance was observed throughout our field trip in Casablanca and Tangier, and translates the predominance of the monarch in strategic decision-making, both at the national scale and in territorial aspects.

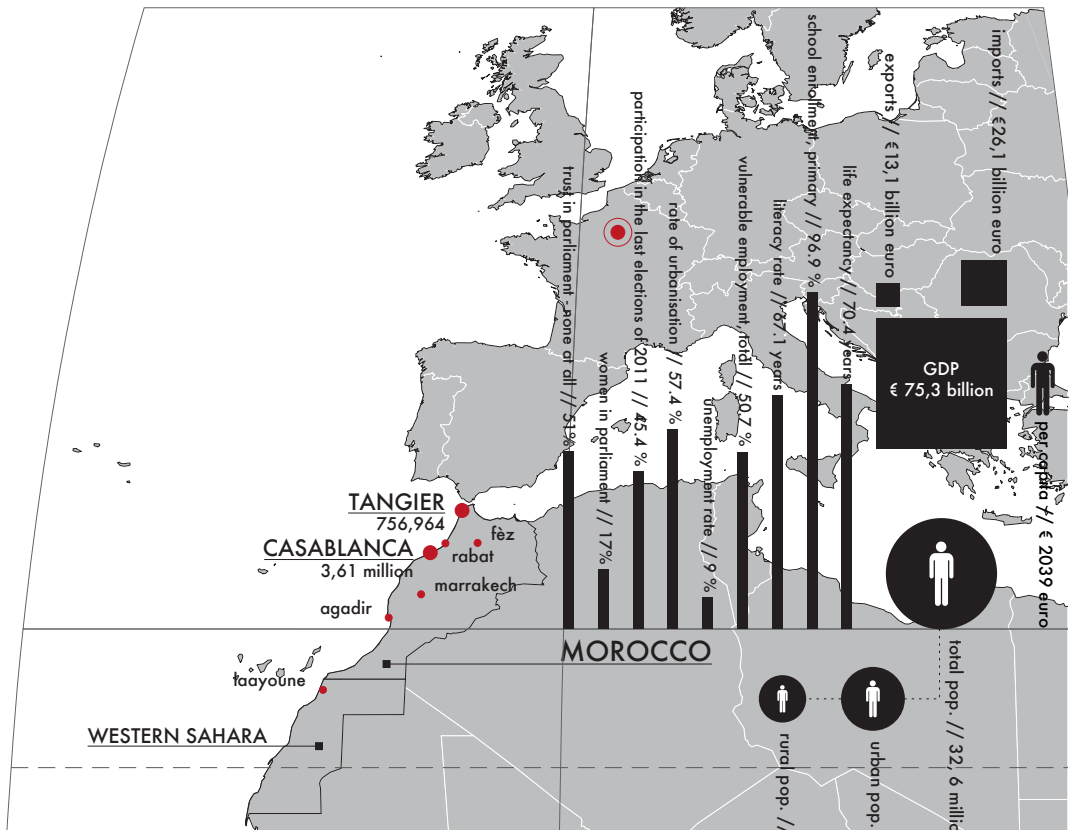
«Casablanca was the first city I visited in 1999, immediately after my accession to the throne of my revered ancestors. And it is from Casablanca that I issued the new concept of authority. Ever since that time, I have been keen to go on inspection visits to its various districts and to take stock of the situation in the city. I have also been monitoring the different programs and projects aimed at resolving its problems. Given the special status of Casablanca as a powerhouse for economic development, there is a keen desire to turn it into an international financial hub.»

— HM King Mohammed VI, First Session of the Third Legislative Year of the Ninth Legislature, October 12, 2013 – Agence Marocaine de Presse

CASABLANCA AND TANGIER: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CITY IMAGE

ANGELE CAUCHOIS, JEREMY LEREAU

Casablanca is known for its rapidly expanding economy and is promoted as the face of Morocco, while Tangier is becoming, day-by-day, a touristic pearl. How has economic and political change affected these cities, and what are their prospects for the future?



MAIN SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MOROCCO

MAP: MARTIN ABBOTT



Thriving economic activity: the train station of Casa-Port, one of the country's busiest multimodal hubs.

Casablanca retains little from its distant past. If the whiteness of the Old Medina walls gave rise to the city's name, Dar el Beida in Arabic, rapid urban development during the 20th century has ensured considerable change. After the Treaty of Fez in 1912 establishing a French Protectorate of Morocco, the first Resident General Hubert Lyautey decided to make Casablanca the chief port and economic capital of Morocco. In 1914, he appointed Henri Prost as "Directeur du service spécial d'architecture et des plans des villes" and together, they shaped the modern city of Casablanca, leaving the old Medina untouched while the new city centre thrived with modern new constructions. In the end, the European quarters were spatially segregated from the indigenous population. Prost, influenced by German and American approaches to city making, experimented with a new science in Casablanca: urbanism. Whereby, the city became a symbol of modernity, blending new forms of architecture, both functionalist and art deco.

The modern atmosphere and economic opportunities attracted a high influx of immigrants from Europe and rural Morocco. Casablanca's population was multiplied by 65 from 1907 to 1970, and the area of the city was multiplied by 100. Under constant demographic pressure, the labor market was saturated and resulted in the development of several bidonvilles (slums) on the fringes of the city.

« One of the major features that characterises Casablanca is its ever-growing native population. It is perhaps the only Muslim town in the whole of North Africa where this type of development has occurred... As a consequence, grim suburbs and squalid slums have sprung up, unfortunately squeezed right in between the European quarters. »

— Henri Prost, architect and urbanist (1919)

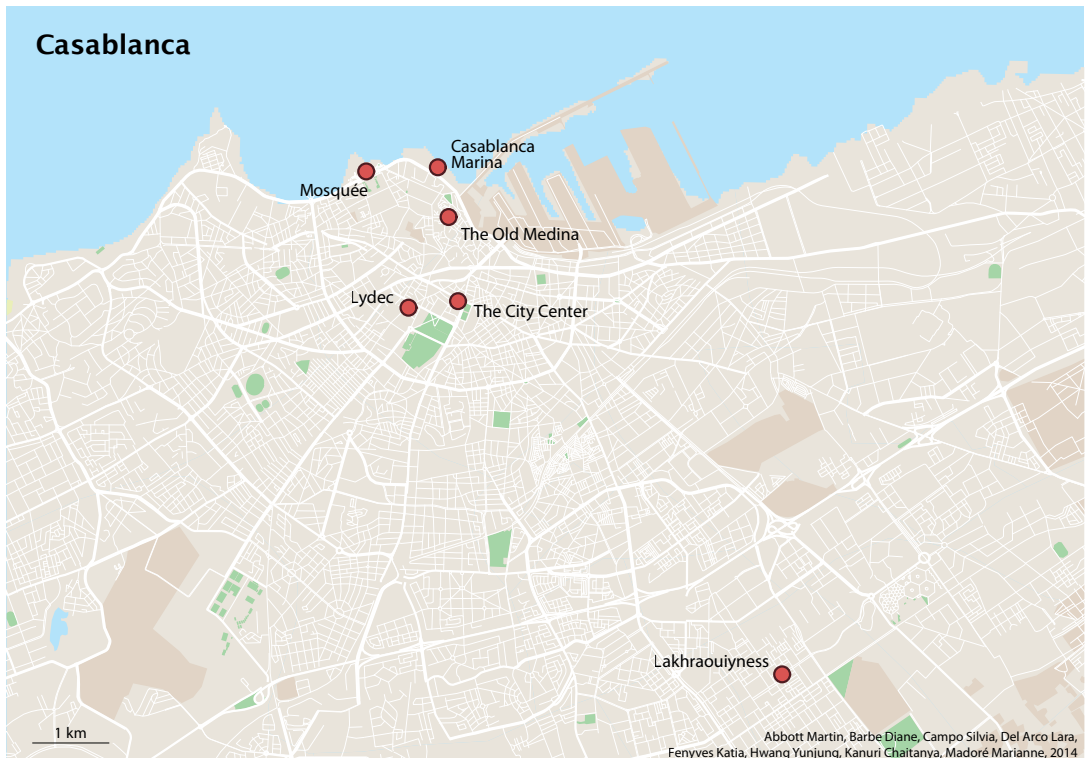
The second urban plan (1952) led by Michel Ecochard aimed to integrate the slums into the city's urban plan. However, speculation increased substantially the value of land, forcing the housing units planned for the relocation of slum dwellers to be built far from the city centre. Leaving unexploited land in between to speculators. The third urban plan was conducted by the Urban Planning Department of Casablanca and the architect Pinseau, this period characterised by rising social pressures and political turmoil led to an urbanism of emergency, and focused on developing new neighbourhoods such as Hay Hassani. As part

of the national program “Ville sans Bidonvilles”, the Urban Planning Department of Casablanca aims to retrofit existing slums in the city's outskirts, to reintegrate them into the city.

Contributing 25 % of the national GDP, the region of Grand Casablanca is still growing, and reached 4 millions inhabitants in 2012. A diverse, yet segregated population, has given to a form of heterogeneous urban development that is still evident in the city today. Casablanca in many ways, presents an atypical image of Morocco, influenced by the modern global economy and underdeveloped rural areas.

LOCALIZATION OF VISITED AREAS

MAP: SILVIA CAMPO





In the old medina, the quality of life and traditional architecture have attracted the wealthy and underline Tangier's touristic potential thanks to a well-preserved historic patrimony.

The city of Tangier is located at the western entrance of the Strait of Gibraltar, where the Atlantic Ocean meets the Mediterranean Sea. A location that has aroused the interest of, almost, all its neighbours throughout history. Successive Roman, Arab, Spanish and French colonisers have presided over the city. Equally, it has been occupied by the Portuguese and was bombed by the British. All of these conquerors left their mark on the city's urban landscape.

No-where is this more visible than in the Medina, Tangier's historic city centre. The Medina is an important place of social diversity, and home to an important Jewish community (of which only sixty members remain today) well integrated in the Muslim city. After colonisation, the Medina also welcomed Christian and Spanish settlers, and the city benefited from the interaction among these three community members.

The medina is clearly delineated by a high perimeter wall and massive doors. Similar to Casablanca's Medina, the streets are narrow, never parallel, let alone perpendicular. Visitors glimpse imposing historical buildings at almost every corner, whether they are the tombs of Islamic saints or the 1684 Portuguese "contreforts". In the past, the peculiar atmosphere of the Medina's streets has attracted numerous artists, such as Matisse, to name but one. Nowadays, foreigners come in droves, but their motivation to do so is a far cry from that of Matisse.

Following our guide in the twisting streets of the Medina, we ran into one of his old acquaintances. The old man was not the least bit moved by our presence and immediately started to complain to our guide, who is also president of a cultural association fighting for the preservation of old Tangier. Apparently, a French entrepreneur had bought an old house to

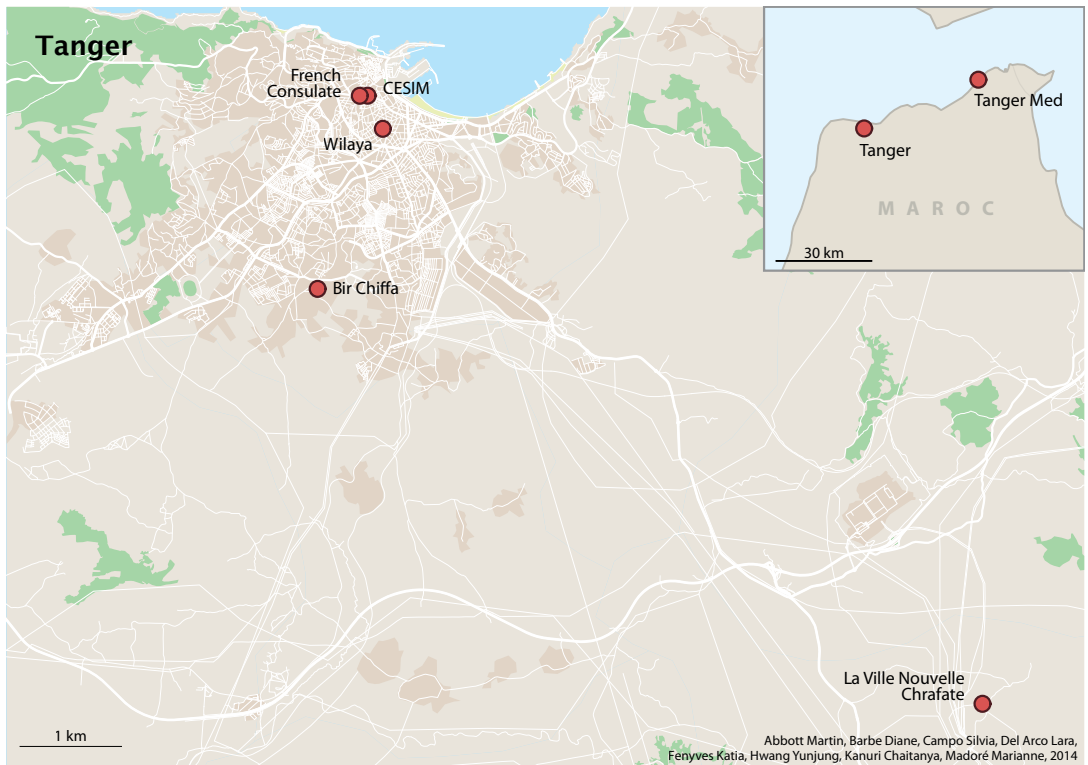
open a café for tourists, and its presence was of great concern to local inhabitants. Both tourism and foreign investment, are indeed, reshaping the Medina; we could observe a concrete Mosque being reconstructed and public lighting and daily waste collection services have revitalised the neighbourhood since independence. Tourism, although not as developed as in Marrakech or Fez, has already left its mark on the Tangier Medina. Small postcard shops and English-speaking signs are visible in many of the Medina's narrow streets. To what extent these forces will shape the Medina's future is an open question. ■

«Covered streets like corridors with doors opening into rooms on each side, hidden terraces high above the sea, streets consisting only of steps, dark impasses, small squares built on sloping terrain so that they looked like ballet sets designed in false perspective, with alleys leading off in several directions; as well as the classical dream equipment of tunnels, ramparts, ruins, dungeons and cliffs.»

—Paul Bowles, beat generation writer on his experience in the city of Tangier, in *Without Stopping* (1972)

LOCALIZATION OF VISITED AREAS

MAP: SILVIA CAMPO



GOVERNING THE INFORMAL



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

In the majority of Morocco's large cities (Tangier pictured above), an important part of the population remains excluded from economic growth, a situation denoted in the urban landscapes.

PLANNING AS A SOCIAL INSTRUMENT: THE VILLE SANS BIDONVILLES PROGRAM IN MOROCCO

CHLOE MALAVOLTI, ALEXIA MOREAU, DICKEL SCHWEITZER

The Villes sans Bidonvilles program was launched in 2004 on World Habitat Day. Designed to clear Moroccan cities of slums, it covers some 84 cities in Morocco including Casablanca and Tangier, and derives from a number of other public policy initiatives directed at the slums, otherwise known as 'non-regulated habitats' in Morocco. Understanding the program and its outcomes in Casablanca requires us to understand the specific context of its emergence and the political implications of the various actors involved in its design and implementation. Further, the innovative character of the Villes sans Bidonvilles program is to be analysed with respect to its long-term results. It seeks to answer the question: could the program be replicated elsewhere in Morocco?

On the 16th of May 2003, Casablanca was hit by a deadly terrorist attack that killed 45 people. The bombing shocked the country and there were considerable economic and social consequences. As shown in the book 'The Stars of Sidi Moumen' by Mahi Binebine, the terrorists were poor and from the slum of Sidi Moumen in the north-eastern suburbs of Casablanca. Based on this observation, public authorities understood how urban poverty and the exclusionary character of the city could negatively

affect the entire metropolis. The risks of this poverty were deemed to be high because of the large proportion of slum dwellers: in 2005, 120,000 households, a fifth of the metropolitan population of Casablanca, lived in slums. The situation had emerged during the rapid urbanization of Moroccan cities from the 1960s onwards, whereby the very poor became concentrated in informal settlements.

As explained by Olivier Toutain, a French urbanist working in Morocco for more than thirty years, the Villes sans Bidonvilles program follows on from a series of previous urban planning and social concerns. Several attempts to implement policies of restructuring on site (i.e. of restoration of the old structures) occurred in the 1980s, and again in 2001, with the National Action Program for the elimination of Sub-Standard Housing. However, implementation of the policies was extremely complicated and following the Casablanca attacks, this strategy was abandoned in favour of the Villes sans Bidonvilles program.

Villes sans Bidonvilles allows the city to promote the whole country as a pioneer in the field of social policies. Morocco has received many international awards and is considered the second-best country in terms of slum reduction, according to UN Habitat. For the period of 2000-2010, UN estimates show that slums were reduced by 45.8%.

An innovative program

Currently, the objective of the Wilaya (province) of Casablanca is to eliminate all the city's slums by 2015, and to prevent the proliferation of new ones.

In this respect, the Villes sans Bidonvilles program in Casablanca comprises three main policies. The first one focuses on the increased mobilisation of public land to enable rehousing, namely 'recasement' or resettlement, in which slum inhabitants are displaced to new houses built on allocated public land. Based on individual trajectories, slum populations resort to housing in auto-construction, which means that houses are built according to personal financial means. This process has represented the major form of habitat production in Morocco for a decade. According to Olivier Toutain's evaluation study of the social impact of the program for the GRET (Research and Technological Exchange Group), the resettlement has proven extremely efficient, diminishing the existing slums by almost 70% - there are currently 50 000 households in slums - and put an end to the slum of Karian Central (literally central quarry), among others. The second policy of the program is based on the creation of the Fogarim (Guarantee fund for housing loans in favour of low or irregular-income populations). This is a type of financial credit assigned

for irregular or low-income populations for them to be able to afford housing, a scheme which has benefited more than 65,000 households. The third policy aims at enhancing the adhesion of the populations to the Villes sans Bidonvilles program. This policy relies on intermediary organisations that educate slum dwellers and help them throughout the various steps of the resettlement process. The resettlement is mainly based on the 'tiers-associé' model. In this innovative system, a large accommodation (80m², four floors) is built by a private investor. In order to benefit from public land available on social criteria, the investor leaves two of the floors for two households, who have previously bought the plot with the investor's money. The latter then sells or rents the two unoccupied floors, enabling him to create real estate value. This public-private partnership was adopted by 70% of the households.

Perspectives in Casablanca

Despite the encouraging figures, the real efficiency of the program can be questioned. Olivier Toutain affirmed that the recipients of the program prefer their new homes in the New Zone of Urbanization because they benefit from a higher social status there. However, as the GRET's evaluation study suggests, the question of habitat - i.e. global life

Close to the sensitive neighborhood of Lahraouynes, the authorities have undertaken the construction of large buildings for social housing in order to relocate the residents.



PHOTO: MARGOT THIERRY

conditions- has been somewhat neglected. In many cases, services such as schools and health facilities were built. However, due to a human resources crisis in Morocco, the infrastructures lack skilled employees to maintain them. According to Olivier Toutain, this lack of post-operational accompaniment may turn the rehoused dwellers' areas into a problematic part of the city similar to the suburbs of France, aging badly and leading to social fragmentation. In other words, housing is a necessary but insufficient condition to reduce social discrepancies. Apart from the economic asset of a good quality of re-location, the social dimension is often put aside despite the psychological difficulty for some families to leave their neighbourhood. This shows that the process of providing new homes and infrastructures is more complex than construction alone. Hence, we notice a gap between what authorities plan for the future and the current, urgent needs of populations who still have the impression of being more deprived than other inhabitants. Except for these important social aspects, the success of the Villes Sans Bidonvilles program is undeniable in the scale of its rehousing initiative. As Olivier Toutain puts it, Morocco represented an international "urban laboratory" as the country experimented with many innovative solutions to the expanding problem of slums.

For instance, the practice of tiers associés enhances the commitment from various actors on the subject of reduction of slums. However, this rehousing model is not exportable everywhere. For example, the tiers associés solution is limited in Morocco to the city of Casablanca, as in order to convince private investors to be tiers associés, the land and real estate prices have to be attractive enough to enable the possibility of making the venture profitable for private actors. This would be impossible in other cities where the land is far cheaper than in the largest city of Morocco. This use of valuable land in Casablanca contributes to the

attractive making of Grand Casablanca (but not to social mixing). Evaluating the interest of exporting this tiers-associés model abroad remains difficult on the short run. As stressed by Toutain, we still need to wait to measure the effective success of the program. For example, we still do not know how the tiers associés are going to deal with the floors they own. Are they going to live in them, sell them or rent them? If they put them for lease, will the initiative enable social mixity? To what extent are they going to influence the housing market? The coming years will tell us more about these points.

In conclusion, one must wonder if this rehousing program has truly improved the lives of slum dwellers. VSBV appears as a large-scale policy to clear the city of slums, rather than to reduce urban poverty at large and other associated problems. As Olivier Toutain suggests, it is necessary to address both housing and access to services, as they generate create a form of exclusion. The design and implementation of the program has been so rapid that there is a risk of technocratic implementation, neglecting consultation and monitoring processes. However, we should keep in mind that the program was originally launched to contain the risk of terrorism and riots in informal areas, rather than to offer better social conditions to the marginalized. It has become a priority of the central State since the King's speech of 11 October 2013, at the opening of the new parliamentary season: "Casablanca est la ville des disparités sociales les plus criantes, où se cotoient les catégories riches et les classes pauvres. C'est la ville des grattes ciels et des bidonvilles". The King also denounced a problem of inefficiency of urban governance in Casablanca with the dual mandates frequency. Given the King's importance in guiding policy and action, Casablanca's authorities have to give a new socially oriented forward thrust to slums reduction to respect the royal line.

SECURITY AND REPUTATION: THE IMAGE OF SLUMS

ADELE CHARBONNEAU, ANOUCK DUBOIS

In Morocco, security in the bidonvilles is a sensitive issue. As such, the government's concern can be traced back to the 2003 bomb attacks in Casablanca, which brought to international attention the death of 45 people. This event was catalytic in the government's acknowledgement of the urban poor, marking the beginning of a focus on addressing the problem of the bidonvilles through improved social policy and urban development initiatives.

In Morocco, the image of slums is linked to security issues and this social construction was perceivable in the academic literature on Morocco, from Arab writers as well as Western scholars. During the trip, the behaviour of the various actors we met demonstrated that the issue of slums has become a very sensitive diplomatic issue. For instance, authorities hesitated for a long time before allowing our group of fifty French students to visit the site of Laharaouines. The numerous negotiations witnessed between the different actors also testified to the sensitivity of the neighbourhood. Indeed, as the security of tourists became increasingly important after the 2003 bombings, the protection of tourists in itself is understandable from a political and economic point of view, as they are both the shapers of Casablanca's international image and principal targets

of slums riots and terrorist attacks. While we were initially surprised to find that Tourist Police offices were a regular feature of the city, on further reflection, we found it an understandable initiative in the goal of projecting a safe image of the city to tourists.

The relationship between slum dwellers and the police, from what we could grasp, is charged and tense, as observed in the way the police was pushing back curious children and forbidding us from interacting with the local population. The effect of this behaviour was important to note, as the impossibility to interact with the locals reinforced, to a certain degree, the impression of dangerousness in an area that was inaccessible to tourists, and accessed only under strong surveillance. The bane of such stereotypes was thankfully broken when we were invited to drink tea and eat some bread with inhabitants of the neighbourhood, which gave us an opportunity to interact more informally with the population, reducing the distance between 'us and them', if only for a few minutes..

In the interests of preserving Casablanca's international image and of protecting tourists, it is the inhabitants of the bidonvilles who seem to be suffering from strong policing strategies. To conclude, it is interest to note that being protected by the police in this instance made us feel more ill at ease than reassured, with the unpleasant feeling of being out of place, and conscious of disrespect in the act of "inspecting" a bidonville without saying a word to its inhabitants. ■



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

"Coming as I do from a country in which slums permeate the urban geography, the visit to Laharaouines was unexceptionable, although the neighbourhood seemed to me more like a resettlement colony, with none of the density I am used to in slums. The chaos too, was missing- but perhaps that was due to the very visible presence of the uniformed police that we were accompanied by on our expedition. But the poverty was in evidence, and while it may have disconcerted some of my peers, I was unfazed. I am used to cohabiting with poverty. Back home, I see it whenever I step outside- on the pavement, at the traffic signals, on construction sites- occupying virtually any vacant strip of that most precious commodity- urban land.

Which is why the oddest aspect of our visit lay in the fact that we had to leave the city to find the slums. Slums, to me, have always been a direct consequence of the capitalist nature of cities; simple urban economics, really, in which labour is plenty and land scarce. No slum dweller would willingly locate themselves on the periphery of the city, with no discernible means of transport to their workplace in the city-centre and therefore, cut themselves off from their livelihood. Especially in light of our further exploration of the city, in which we were clearly able to see that Casablanca did not lack for land, with large tracts of prime land near the Corniche lying unused in the name of halted development. It is in this spatial manifestation of slum geography that the interventionist nature of the state as regards urban development can be most clearly seen- a physical testament to the widely-praised slum-clearing programme, Villes sans Bidonvilles."

– Chaitanya Kanuri



PHOTO: MARGOT THIERRY

Major infrastructure works, such as the creation of a water treatment facility, have been delegated to the company LYDEC under a public-private partnership.

SERVICE PROVISION THROUGH PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS: THE CASE OF LYDEC IN CASABLANCA

ROBIN CROZIER, MARINA GENTLE, MARIE GUYOT, MONSERRAT ALCAZAR

Morocco's economic hub is going through a rapid financial restructuring, and investment in electricity access and water provision have been identified as key priorities. This article aims to understand how popular demands are delivered by the providers of these basic services, by examining at the distribution of water and electricity by the LYDEC.

Created in 1995 and operational since 1997, the Lyonnaise des Eaux de Casablanca (LYDEC) is a branch of the French utility company Suez Environment the main role of which is to provide electricity and to manage water delivery and sanitation in Casablanca and its surroundings. Until 1997, a Moroccan public company, Régie Autonome de Distribution (RAD), was responsible for water, electricity and sanitation services in Casablanca. With a population of 4.5 million inhabitants growing at an annual rate of 2 to 3%, Casablanca's existing schemes became unable to respond to the demands. It is estimated that thirty percent of the population suffered from poor living conditions. Prior to 1997, water in the slums was supplied through street fountains, public standpipes and wells; tanks were used for sanitation. Through a public-private partnership with the Moroccan government, LYDEC provides

the city with both capital and expertise, with the company committing up to Dh 612 million over thirty years (with two-thirds to be mobilized during the first decade). LYDEC's own contribution to the investment financing for "drinking water" services is 12.2%. Regarding the whole delegation contract, the total delegate's contribution is DH 6,326 million, or 21% of the DH 30,000 million investments in the delegation contract. LYDEC's mission includes water distribution, sewage management and evacuation of rainwater (sanitation projects accounted for 44% of the investments of the company, water for 31% and electricity for 25%). Water evacuation and water distribution entail great challenges as urbanization leads to ground impermeability of the soils, which prevents the natural runoff and absorption of rainwaters. In order to achieve its mission, LYDEC has to meet the demand for drinking water through the purchase and distribution of fluids, ensure quality standards and service continuity, and follow the treatment criteria for sewage and rainwater in the scope of delegated management. LYDEC is also in charge of the operation and maintenance of the related infrastructural networks. The company has to define, plan and implement investment on public infrastructure in order to ensure its renewal and extend the scope of delegate management.

LYDEC's business model: challenges brought about by metropolization

The financial support for LYDEC's large investments depends on two main streams of funding. On the one hand, one third of LYDEC's funds is mobilized by the payment of monthly bills by urban dwellers; the remaining two third rely on 'para-tariffing' methods such as the involvement of private developers who contribute to the financing of infrastructures upon the construction of new buildings. The business plan is defined by the need for greater investment, and for a relatively stable source of financing. As a result of the tense political context of the Arab Spring, it has become irrational to increase the burden placed on citizens to collect funds, thereby putting more pressure on LYDEC's business model. Furthermore, the two missions of the LYDEC – water and electricity provision – do not evolve similarly, which challenges the business plan. Water provision and sanitation do not

produce subsequent benefits compared to energy, yet the former is more costly than the latter. In 2012, water and sanitation accounted for 75% of the investments of LYDEC but together constituted merely 27% of the gains (2012 annual report). While benefits from water missions pay electricity provision in most countries such as France, electricity pays for water in Morocco. In line with the current metropolization trends in Casablanca, the area for water and sanitation demand is growing faster than that for electricity. This tradeoff means that LYDEC must increasingly invest in water infrastructures and provision while only collecting the same amount of money from electricity. The business model has thus turned into a financing issue that challenges the delegated management contract. Indeed, the requisite funding in drinkable water is three times higher than that indicated in the contract, and for sanitation, five times higher. Most of Casablanca's recent urbanization has



PHOTO: MARGOT THIERRY

disproportionately been in the periphery: the centre of the city lost population while the outskirts became more densely populated. This poses some technical challenges as these parts have different topographies, thereby making the supply of water and removal of waste, to and from those areas, much more expensive. The process of urbanization has also followed a rather fragmented and uneven pattern. Considering that urbanization do not take place gradually and evenly from the centre towards the periphery, connections to the existing water infrastructure network are made in haste, when facing urgent demands. This leads to a lesser quality of service, and higher overall costs. Another challenge the region is likely to face by 2030 is a shortage of water supply, but this does not fall within LYDEC's range of responsibilities as LYDEC is not accountable for water supply, but for distribution. The four water supply channels that ensure the water provision of the Casablanca region are all owned and managed by local companies, namely the SEOR and the ONEP. In the long term, water resources are thus expected to become insufficient as demand increases, which will only add to the woes of the citizens of Casablanca.

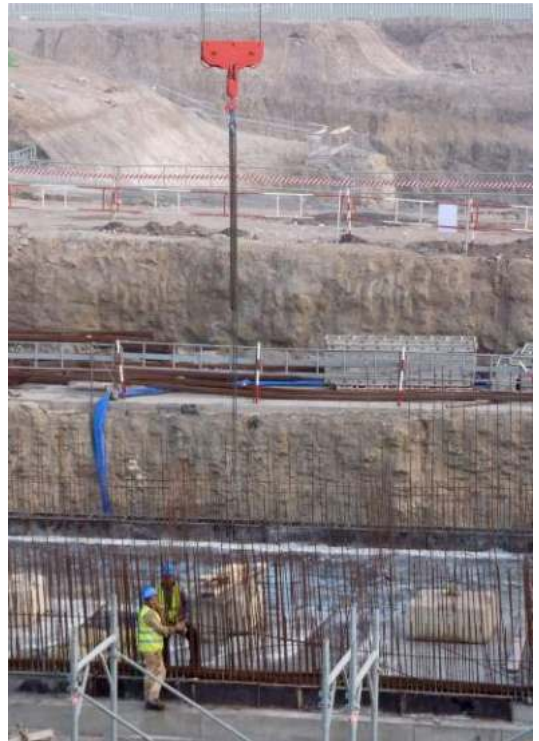


PHOTO: MARGOT THIERRY

The station under construction will deliver pre-treatment for the water of the Southern half of Casablanca.

The observed role of LYDEC in providing essential public services can be seen as a testimony to the growing importance of private actors in Morocco's contemporary metropolization processes, and echoes similar patterns of private companies organizing, managing and exploiting service delivery in developing countries. While public-private partnerships are indeed an important and resourceful way of delivering services to the public by bringing in expertise and capital to water management, especially in Casablanca, it must not be forgotten that this model is also in the interest of private companies, in keeping with their logic

of market development. Being in charge of water and electricity provision over a 30-year period allows the LYDEC to durably root its influence in the region and, by extent, its role and place in Morocco's institutional landscape, opening up further business possibilities in the country. Meanwhile, such projects allow Suez Environment to diversify its activities outside of France and thus to overcome the lack of opportunities and competition in France. The LYDEC, therefore, is an example of shared governance that brings together public and corporate interests around Casablanca's urban future. ■

NEIGHBORHOOD IN TRANSITION: THE INCLUSION OF BIR CHIFA IN TANGIER'S URBAN LANDSCAPE

AMELIE BENSIMON, JUAN CAICEDO

Situated in the southern part of the city, BirChifa was once a peripheral neighbourhood of Tangier. Nowadays, inhabitants of this region become strategic actors for political and economic developments in the city. In this context, it is interesting to observe how their interests have been politically represented.

Bir Chifa is a young neighbourhood that emerged from informality, with more than one third of the houses built less than ten years ago and more than half its population having settled there since then. This popular district grew simultaneously with the rural exodus that began in the 1970s. Its inhabitants are originally former peasants from the inner-country, attracted by the promise of the city. With a population of around 200 000 inhabitants, Bir Chifa is now one of the densest areas of the city. Due to the proximity of Tangier with Spain, Bir Chifa was for many years a departure point for migrants to Europe. However, the growing attractiveness of Tangier and the increasing national and international resources allocated to the city have partially inverted this trend. Today, Bir Chifa has become an attractive destination for immigrants. This growing demographic pressure is visible today on the streets of Bir Chifa, with people of all ages constantly in circulation and new constructions mushrooming at a rapid pace.

Building capacities on the field

Bir Chifa has grown at the margins of urban planning. Despite being the result of informal settlements, the district is an integral part of the city. While it cannot be defined as a slum, Bir Chifa remains one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the metropolitan area of Tangier, characterized by environmental, infrastructural and social difficulties. In the absence of a comprehensive policy of social inclusion, local actors' organizations become essential in the provision of services expected from the Welfare State. Promoting the social inclusion of the urban poor is precisely the mission of the Chifae Association. Created in 1998, Chifae focuses its activities on neighbourhood improvement. Behind this term lie several possible strategies that have been experimented with in less developed countries. Chifae Association chose to invest more on human capital than on the built environment itself (though the association had intervened on the urban fabrics by covering the conduits of rain waters). To this end, the association offers a large range of activities focusing on training and education: job training in vocations such as rag trades, gardening or computer graphics, digital workshops, prevention against school drop-outs, career guidance, literacy campaigns and social journalism. Chifae has been successful in taking advantage of the potential work force of the

neighbourhood with more than six thousand people working in industries nearby. Another achievement of Chifae Association relies on the strengthening of familial solidarity, with programs dedicated to women and children.

All in all, Chifae intervenes at the very base of human development, and claims that social inclusion is not limited to support and awareness campaigns but has to be understood as a global strategy to prevent the vulnerable from being further marginalized. In a sense, the role of this local association is to achieve the right to the city for less advantaged citizens by overcoming the physical and social barriers that exclude them from the rest of Tangier, as well as provide access to urban infrastructures, in a neighbourhood in which

television is sometimes the only link with the exterior. However, while progress has been made in social and economic development, work remains in extending this scope to the community at large. Integrating the population into a political community by creating a sense of belonging to a neighbourhood, to a city and, by extension to the Moroccan nation is the second step in neighbourhood improvement. This task remains difficult in Bir Chifa, where there is a lack of interest in both the surroundings and the State. Thus, the case of Bir Chifa leads us to think about the relationship between the State and civil society. Can a local association fill the gap between institutions and the urban poor? What are the issues at stake?

The central streets vibrate with small shops and informal economic exchanges; associations like Chifae aim at diversifying these activities and integrating them at multiple levels of urban life.



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET



INFORMAL URBANIZATION: OLD AND NEW

In the 21st century, the urban expansion of large cities like Tangier occurs in large settlements on the outskirts of the city (picture on the right). The new urban fabric is created in these peripheric areas, which will progressively evolve into consolidated neighborhoods with strong communal ties and dense urbanism resembling the traditional medinas (left).

PHOTOS: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

Towards a full representation of the residents?

If we understand the political process in which a government does not have a monopoly as a service provider but is open to collaboration with local stakeholders, community development programs appear to be a natural arena for innovation by non-profit organizations such as Bir Chifa. It is indeed necessary to tackle the political reality of what a government is willing to do and to take into consideration the longstanding top-down organization that characterizes Moroccan administration. The reason often mentioned is that non-profit organizations have better access to the population: they act as an intermediary layer to evaluate social need and sustain services when the State structure is unable to do so. Endowed with technical competence and close relations with the population of Bir Chifa, the Chifae Association is seen as a “reliable” interlocutor by the State engaged

in transferring its responsibilities to civil society. Thus, association members were represented within the consulting commission set up by the Wilaya when discussing the Great Tangier master plan. However, the question is whether this transfer is conducted by participative democratic forces which seek to introduce an effective sharing of decision-making powers, or whether the local association is being instrumentalized in a neoliberal fashion in order to provide services formerly considered the duties of the state. For Chifae, this role in supplementing the State is being emphasized because the association is faced with a real opportunity to produce positive results for the population of Bir Chifa. Because the State, through the Wilaya, sees the association as a privileged interlocutor, one can easily jump to the conclusion that they are “representatives” of civil society, in the sense that they give voice to the interests of Bir Chifa

inhabitants. However, the Bir Chifa inhabitants still do not perceive themselves as constitutive of a community of citizens involved in the game of political bargaining and this “representativeness” does not proceed from an explicit articulation between the association and the bearers of these interests. Deriving from Evelina Dagnino, in her work on the NGOs in Brazil, we can say that Chifae gained a relative political autonomy leading to “a situation in which the association is responsible to the international agencies that finance it and to the state which subsidizes it but not to the civil society whose representatives it claims to be.” Does the association ultimately reflect the interests of its financiers? To sustain this argument, one could argue for example that the support received by Spanish associations reveals the interests of the Spanish State in reducing the immigration by improving the living conditions of Morocco. But the extent of this « secret agenda » remains to be developed. What is true however is that Chifae Association has a role in

implementing the State policy “Initiative nationale de développement humain” (INDH), which partly finances the association. The building of citizenry is a long process that needs its trendsetters and social builders to develop.

The Chifae Association provides us with interesting insights on the objects and outcomes of neighborhood improvement strategies led by local actors. The students have been impressed by both the ambition and the achievements of the association in developing human capital in Bir Chifa. Its work triggered a discussion on the functions of civil society and its relationship with the State. Does the role of Chifae reveal the dispersion of social decision over local actors and undermine city governance? Or is it an effective alternative to the failures of social inclusion policy overall? Another set of questions relies on the integration of local initiatives in national policy and of poor neighborhoods in city governance. How can we imagine the role of Bir Chifa in a great Metropolitan project? ■

“Passing through the winding streets between rough buildings, one can discover several activities happening in the neighbourhood: shop keepers standing in front of their stores to lure customers inside or simply watch the passers-by, street hawkers selling moroccan food, kids running around playing games, local residents socializing with each other. These observations could be from any other thriving area of a Moroccan city, where the residential and the commercial intertwine in the low-rise buildings. Yet Birchifa is a neighborhood with a particular statute, since it was built with no permits and residents rarely hold the formal titles to the land they live on. This simple difference has far-reaching consequences for the people of Birchifa.

Then, the association Chifae seems to provide what we would expect the welfare state to do: education, sanitation, security. The assistance is directed to the most disadvantaged but also had some economic goals, like helping adults increase their skills through formation. It felt like we were able to understand better the internal struggles of the neighborhood precisely because we were put in contact with the most competent “institution” of the place, the one that has a real legibility over the place and its residents: Birchifa.”

– Tiffany Tang and Diane Barbé

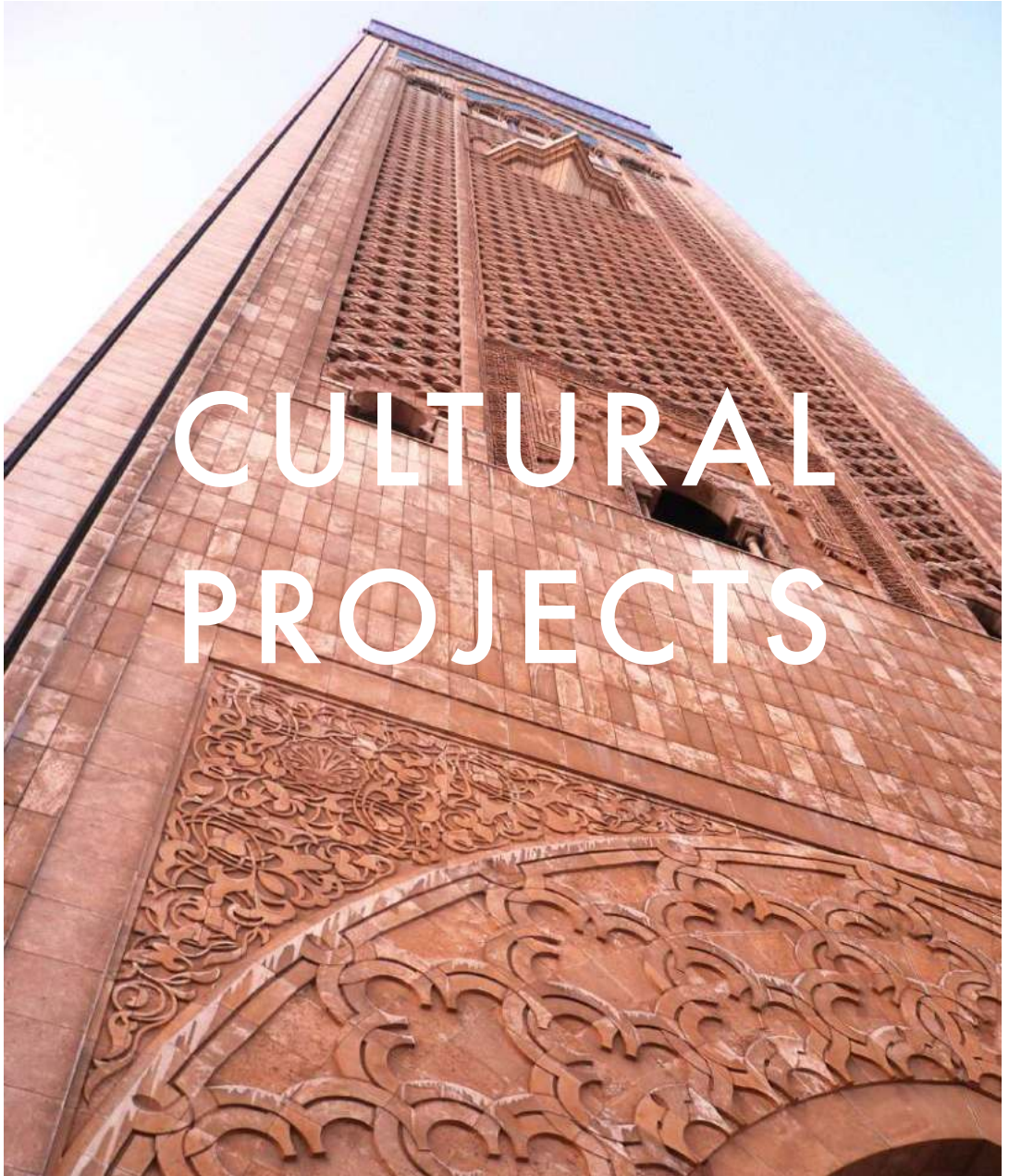


PHOTO: AMELIE BENSIMON

Major cultural projects are often the stamp of the royal power on a city, creating a reputable icon on the international scene. The Hassan II Mosque is a strong statement in that way, and it was supposed to be the pillar of an inclusive urban and cultural complex.

THE MEGAPROJECT OF HASSAN II MOSQUE AND AVENUE ROYALE: URBAN RESISTANCE

CLAIRE ALANOIX, MILENA DE MENGIN, MASSICA RABAHI

The Hassan II mosque and the Avenue Royale are two mega projects emblematic of the major spatial transformations occurring in Casablanca since the 1980's. The status of the projects is simultaneously a representation of the distinct cultural and symbolic values projected by the state, and of the ability of the citizens to act upon the prevailing top-down decision-making processes.

The 1980s are a milestone in the urban history of Casablanca. The first years of the decade indeed marked a transformative renewal of Casablanca city centre with the development of large-scale projects, notably the Great Mosque Hassan II and the Avenue Royale. In the aftermath of the 1981 riots, the Moroccan state felt the need to intervene and pacify the economic capital of the kingdom through an investment in the spatial development of the city centre. This strategy was materialized in the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain (or SDRAU, 1984), of which the Avenue Royale was a significant pillar, the others being- the development of Casablanca's coast, the Marina and the Cliff road. At the same time, but conceived differently, the Hassan II mosque project was not part of an institutional plan, and yet it emanated from the state as an initiative of HRH Hassan II. Interestingly enough, both projects were designed in a continuum, as the Avenue Royale was meant to link the Royal Mosque with the Place

des Nations Unies, a grand boulevard with a length of 1.5km and a width of about 60 meters. Both projects were staggeringly costly. The Avenue Royale was to be fully financed by the central state, through a state agency created for the management of the project, the Sonadac. In contrast, the Hassan II mosque was financed with private international funds, as well as domestic funding. Both the Avenue Royale and the Hassan II mosque projects originally carried strong symbolic values and relied on a specific vision of urban beautification. The Avenue Royale aimed to recreate a "Champs-Élysées" like atmosphere in the very heart of the city center. The Avenue was meant to be the central axis of a site which endeavors to host diverse cultural infrastructures, namely the "Palais des Congrès" and a theater that were to coexist with economic activities such as office towers and retail stores. The project aimed to create a space for real estate speculation to happen, to attract private investments.

However, the project was never realized. Conversely, the erection of the Hassan II mosque was completed by as early as August 1993. Nowadays, the remarkable architectural site is one of the most beautiful places to visit when in Casablanca. Being in front of the Atlantic, the edifice is currently known as the mosque on water, not only in reference to its magnificent view, but also as an allusion to the Qur'an establishing that

“The throne of God is in the water”. However, the mosque was not designed solely for the practice of religion, but as a cultural complex. It hosts a cultural centre, a museum of Islamic Arts and a library. In the same sense, it is a national symbol representing the modern, Islamic and economically active Moroccan state. In other words, behind the ambition for “beautification”, the Hassan II mosque carries a strong political statement- a symbol asserting that the ascendant force of the Moroccan royal kingdom.



PHOTO: AMELIE BENSIMON

While the mosque stands majestically on the seafront as planned, the Avenue Royale project, as a vector of national honour and international significance, remains an unachieved vision 20 years later. The main mission of the Sonadac was to displace 11,500 households and relocate them in the new city of Nassim, in the southeast periphery of Casablanca. Today, those approximate 20,000 families are still living in their original neighbourhoods in an overcrowded, dilapidated environment. Every winter, in the decrepit neighbourhood of Arsat Bensellam, houses collapse, forcing dwellers to reside in precarious barracks and tents in degrading life conditions. Out of the 50 hectares that were initially planned to be evacuated, only six hectares lie vacant. The fundamental obstacle Sonadac met was the resistance of urban dwellers around the issue of expropriation and compensation. The state agency was forced to slow down the

development process of the Avenue. Evictions were contested by the residents who negotiated multiple times for higher compensation such as additional flats or floor space, as a pre-condition for rehabilitation. The issue was further complicated due to an incorrect assessment of the number of persons that had to be relocated. There were many cases of large households vying for apartments for individual inhabitants. Today, the problem is compounded as the dwellers who were minors during the first round of evictions have grown up and can now rightfully claim relocation facilities for their own children and families. Thus, although the management team of the Sonadac has been renewed – these challenges presage little possibility of progress in the near future.

The failure to realize the Avenue Royale project can be seen as a case of contestation of the capacity of local authorities by other dynamics of power- grassroots mobilizations which thwart the project and influence its outcomes. On the contrary, the construction of the mosque and its financial support was directly state-enforced, and resulted from the political will of the King. It required the participation of the citizens through tax burdens that were directly collected by the prefecture or municipality, with the help of local authorities such as caïds and pachas. It was a collective project with a strong meaning for every Moroccan. Furthermore, contrary to the Avenue Royale project, it did not imply displacements. The Royal Avenue faced diverse impediments related to local dynamics raised by the interest of the actors affected by the project, financing methods, and failures in the planning of the project. For the local inhabitants, this project had a limited symbolic significance. Additionally, the demand for compensation of dwellers resisting eviction and relocation represents a limit to the total centralization of power into the hands of the royal family and political power. ■

EMERGING UNDERGROUND YOUTH CULTURE: CASABLANCA'S ABATTOIRS

LOUISE COUSYN, ROMAIN EYSSERIC

Against a state-led promotion of the Moroccan culture, a group of young artists have turned the old slaughterhouses of Casablanca into a large laboratory for developing new means of expression. Only a few kilometers away from the Hassan II mosque and its Avenue Royale, la Fabrique culturelle hosts a space for creating alternative urban arts.

Casablanca's slaughterhouses were built in 1922 by the French architect Georges Ernst Desmarest, in response to the rapid urbanization that took place after the establishment of the French protectorate in 1912. Symbol of modernity and progress back then, the site however gradually failed to cope with upgrades in standards and it was finally closed in 2002. Both cultural groups and real estate developers spotted the potential of such an imposing structure (53,700 sqm in the center of Casablanca). After hosting several festivals, it was then inscribed as a historical monument. Thanks to the support of the city of Amsterdam, the Moroccan authorities fully recognized the Abattoirs as a cultural center in its own right, named the "Fabrique Culturelle" or Cultural Factory. In 2009, the organization Casamémoire signed the first convention with the city council: a lease, which is renewed every year. This agreement stipulates the need to organize "large-scale cultural and artistic events", especially during the inauguration, gathering more than 20,000 people over a single weekend.

While being one of the most technologically advanced facilities at that time, the Abattoirs were built with regard to the traditional Moresque style. Round arches, frescos and arabesques, flat roofs, small turrets represent the influence of the traditional cultural models. However, the remaining signs of the traditional aesthetic are marked by dilapidation and their preservation does not appear to be the goal of the current activities taking place in the Abattoirs. Instead, what first draw attention are the graffiti and paintings covering the walls of the two main buildings separated by a central street. The aesthetic of those graffiti resembles the one often noticeable in other international capital cities, and thus recalls the strong 'alternative' dimension of this 'subculture', as well as its relation to claims and contestation for space and recognition. Similar forms of street art, contrasting with the traditional culture, are present on walls across Casablanca, showing the population's willingness to render their alternative artistic practices visible in the public space.

Reconfiguration of an authentic place

Our visit and discussion with the artists in charge of managing the place gave us a good insight of the conditions of emergence and development of alternative cultural forms in Casablanca. A young circus troupe had put up its equipment in one of the houses, and explained how the Fabrique was actually

a chance for them, and for many other groups, as it was the only place in Casablanca where infrastructures were accessible for such activities: “here, what is good is that everybody is welcome, everybody can come to do his stuff, there is no problem”. Apart from circus, the Abattoirs host a large variety of artistic activities such as theatre, painting and sculpture, music, providing a space for both artistic production and diffusion through exhibitions and concerts. The rehabilitation of a disused industrial plants and its reversion into a place for alternative cultural activities, resonate with similar experiences occurring in European cities, such as in the neighborhood of Montreuil in Paris or Neukölln in Berlin, where abandoned urban spaces constitute a fertile spatial resource for new dynamics of artistic creation. Thus, the Fabrique Culturelle may be seen as a tentative experience resembling, for example, the famous Tacheles in Berlin, or Les Frigos in Paris, both representative of a trend taking place into large cities and consisting in the occupation and reversion of disused urban spaces by underground or alternative artists.

The political dimension of those projects should not be undermined, being a representation of the ‘unplanned urbanity’ likely to foster groundbreaking artistic practices and innovative social experiences. Similarly those experiences are the occasion for informal actors to gain a role and a visibility into the public debate about urban changes and production of the city. But another common characteristic of those spaces is their often-precarious legal status stemming from the difficult negotiation process at play with the local authorities.

Public recognition and value clashes

At the Fabrique Culturelle, the conditions for those activities to be practiced and represented remain precarious, primarily due to the limited support from the local government. Despite the paintings and the little equipment we could observe (a skate park for example), the site remains disused, and the infrastructures dilapidated. When we asked a member of the Fabrique’s staff about their rehabilitation project, he mentioned a music recording studio, a



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

conference room, a library, and other types of spaces, showing us they had many ideas and desires for the development of the place. The reason holding them up in undertaking such projects seemed to be linked to their legal situation. Indeed, as a member of the Fabrique's staff pointed out: «We didn't get a long-term permission, but just a permission to be renewed each year ... And we are not allowed to accept donation, our legal status prevent us from doing so ... What we ask is a long-term permission, five years, to be able to develop a project. We just received the 2011 subsidies, whereas we are now in 2014 ... we do our stuff with nothing». The difficulties encountered in the negotiation process with local authorities for acquiring a stable legal situation, which would lead to better funding opportunities, were framed as stemming from the government's failure to grasp the importance and potential benefit of cultural forms that go out of tune according to the traditional ideal. Overall, the Fabrique Culturelle is a unique experience in Morocco that represent a tentative adaptation of the industrial plants reconversion concept - which we

observe in European cities - to the Moroccan context. In this regard, it is well and truly a place of artistic innovation breaking away from the traditional models advocated by public policies. But it also goes along with the precarious legal situation characterizing those places, which however seems particularly restraining for the case of the Abattoirs, since the perpetual threat of permission withdrawal by the authorities, and the resulting lack of financial support, maintain the movement nascent and prevent it from developing to the fullest extent. For a place that was already visited by more than 400,000 people since 2009, where an artistic festival attracted more than 30,000 people, and whose development is strongly supported through partnership with similar projects in European cities, the lack of local authorities support is striking and frustrating. But conversely, it also tells a lot about the strength, the determination, and the popularity of groups that advocate for alternative cultural movements, and innovative uses of the urban space.

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PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

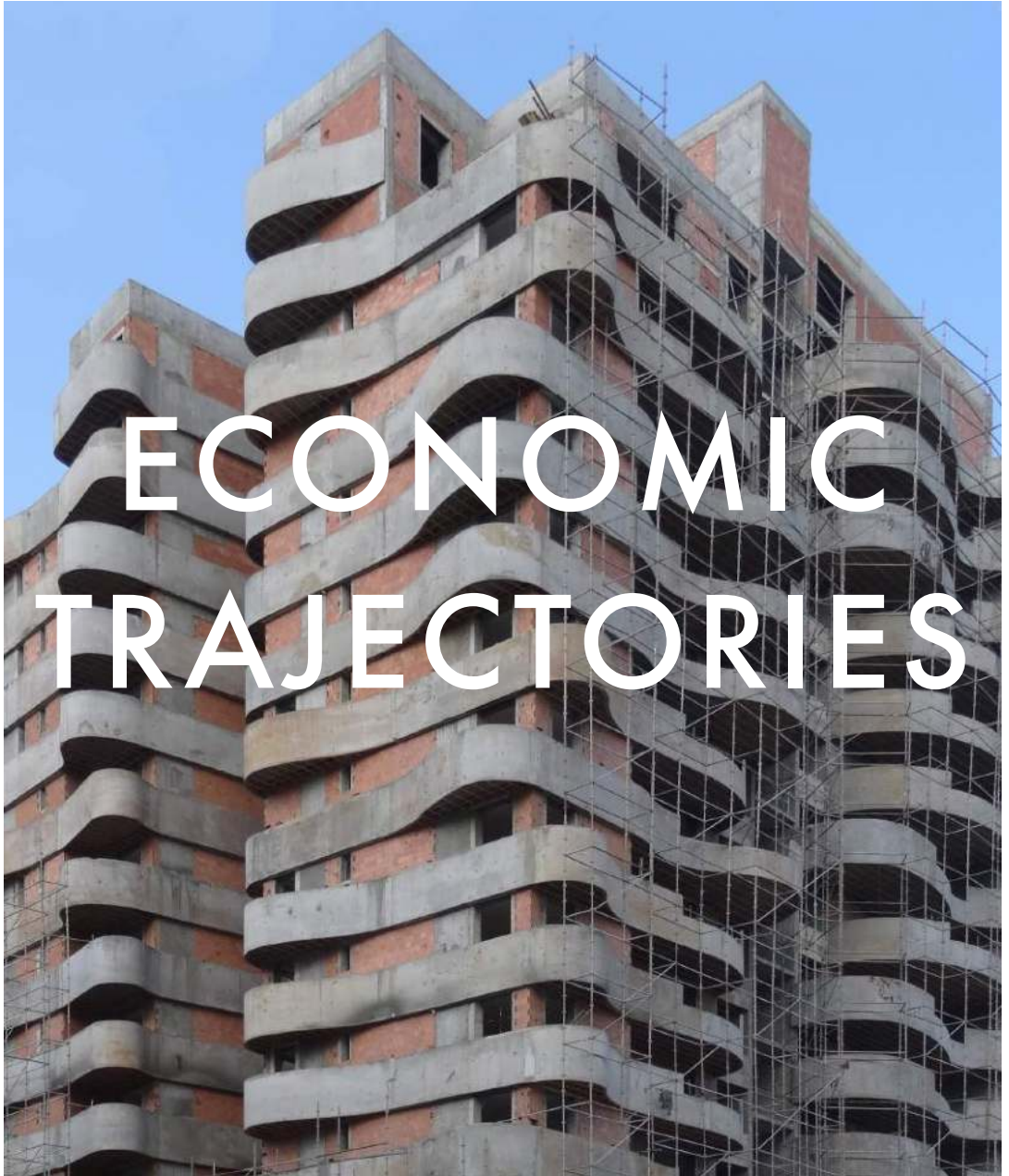


PHOTO: FERDINAND CAILLOT

At the dawn of the 20th century, Morocco is a country in full expansion, and which can take advantage of its generous natural resources. The reorientation towards international tourism and liberally funded projects illustrates the arrival into the globalized economy.

NEW DOORS TO MOROCCO: MARINA PROJECTS IN CASABLANCA AND TANGIER

FERDINAND CAILLOT, THOMAS CHAILLOUX, NOEMIE FOMPEYRINE

In the context of the King's liberal-oriented strategy for Morocco's economic development, many recent projects are planned to enhance the attractiveness of coastal hubs. Using their historical cosmopolitan heritage to advantage, Casablanca and Tangier appear to be privileged places for the implementation of prestige projects, framed by Public-Private Partnerships (PPP).

The Casablanca Marina Project, launched in 2007, is an ambitious urban renewal of the seafront, divided into two different parts: the Casa-Marina and the New Marina. We visited the former with the foreman of Al Manar, a construction company affiliated to the Compagnie Générale Immobilière (CGI). In comparison, the Tangier Marina Project, started in 2010 under the control of the Société d'aménagement pour la reconversion de la zone portuaire de Tanger (SAPT), is based on the restructuring of the historical port, and closely-linked with the restoration of the medina.

Urban integration and economic objectives

Casa-Marina is located on the seafront of Casablanca, on the axis of the Avenue Royale. Urban renewal has been occurring in the area, and Casa-Marina is planned as a mixed-use development, with commercial, residential and office spaces. The residences are studios and premium luxury apartments, with individual units starting from 300 square metres. In total, there is 100 000 square metres available, and a considerable part of it has been sold. However, the project is facing delays and only two buildings were in the delivery phase by January 2014. While the project is being marketed to the elite- the Moroccan upper class, and wealthy foreigners- "anyone that can afford it is welcome", according to the foreman. Prices are very high for the Moroccan real estate market –between 35,000 and 45,000 dirhams per square meter within the Marina, and 25,000 dirhams further away. The New Marina part, to be built, will include a luxury hotel, a mall, and a skyscraper, symbolic of the urban renewal of Casablanca. The foreman, when questioned, was unaware of any public transportation plans. The project focuses on personal vehicles, he answered, and the large underground parking areas evidence are yet another clue of the targeted clientele. And with the proposed connection of the Marina to the rest of the city through the Avenue Royale now indefinitely halted, the project promises to create an enclave of the wealthy.

The Tangier Marina aims at enhancing the use of the seafront of the city. From the fishing and yachting harbour, a ropeway will connect the marina with the upper side of the Medina, and link the Marina with the city. New municipalities replaced old markets and car pounds: museums, nurseries, shops, hotels, and a conference hall, a new cultural centre designed to be able to compete with other Mediterranean cities. The project bets on the attractiveness of the historical and cultural city of Tangier, whereas in the case of Casablanca, the Casa-Marina is a regeneration project which builds upon the city's reputation as the financial center of Morocco. In Casablanca, the lack of public transport connections isolates the project from the city; in Tangier, while the Marina is connected to

the old city, the Medina itself is not well-connected to other neighbourhoods by public transportation. The tourists thus remain separated from the local inhabitants. In both cases, the urban renewal seems to be limited to these mega-projects without attempting to encompass the city in the development.

Policy choices

Both marina projects were conceived as integrated projects, focusing on creating a multifunctional area of the city rather than on individual megastructures. At the Casa Marina, the foreman of Al Manar explained that there was an aim to promote public space and environmentally-friendly pedestrianized areas. The parking spots are thus planned at basement level, an

From the hills of Tangier, crowded with the traditional medina appreciated by tourists and locals alike, we catch a view of the bay where the city is nested. The waterfront and the marina in the background are platforms for international economic development.



PHOTO: NOEMIE FOMPEYRINE

expensive proposition considering the proximity of the sea. In the context of the architectural competition seen in globalizing cities, recognised French urban planners – Yves Lion, laureate of the “Equerre d’argent” award in Beirut, and François Leclercq – were chosen to make the development plan. Workshops, following an ‘innovative’ management method, were organized to plan this integrated city. Harmonisation is not a salient feature of the Casa Marina project as multiple developers are responsible for site development and have been given the freedom to design their sites, resulting in a mix of materials and architectural styles. Construction work is delayed, with the Casa Marina running 2-3 years behind schedule, while the New Marina, supposed to start in 2012, has not yet begun. In Tangier, the project was well-advanced and almost 50% of the work has been completed. While the Tangier Marina too seems to be characterized by “exclusivity”, as in Casablanca, it is distinct in its cultural appeal, capitalizing on the historic and Oriental symbolism of Tangier, and accompanied by a gentrification of the Medina.

Financing the projects

In Casablanca, 30% of the project capital is from foreign direct investments, and comes from the United Arab Emirates (UAE); the remaining 70% is public money. The distribution varies depending on the different parts of the project. The King has directly negotiated investments from the UAE during a visit in the Gulf in 2009. However, due to the financial crisis, construction was stopped for 2 years because of the sudden shortage of funding from the national company Sama Dubaï. Therefore, this transnational partnership is the reason for both the project’s implementation and delays.

In Tangier, the total investment for the Marina is estimated to be around 7 billion dirhams, out of which 5 billion dirhams is for urban components



Promotional poster for the new Marina in Casablanca, emphasizing modern architecture and conspicuous lifestyles.

PHOTO: FERDINAND CAILLOT

– 3,3 billion dirhams being provided by the urban community of Tangier and the city of Tangier, and the rest supplied by a consortium of 20 private partners. While the development of Tangier Marina was marked by the participation of public actors, the planning of Casa-Marina did not involve public actors, despite the innovative use of workshops in the planning process. The apparent contradiction between the weight of public financing and the near-negligible participation of public actors in Casablanca is evident in the outcome: turned towards the outside, the project has a limited impact on the urban renewal of the city.

Both projects reflect some of the strategic priorities defined by the King in his speech of October 2013: to globalize by turning the Moroccan economy outwards. The focus on Casablanca and Tangier illustrates the will to make Morocco the gateway to the Mediterranean region, a privileged space between Europe, Africa and the Middle East. With attractive hubs planned in a mixed-use development perspective, consisting of tourist and commercial facilities, this economic and urban policy bets on a mega-project based renewal dependent on foreign inputs, and only time will tell if it has positive externalities on the city as a whole. ■

THE MEDINA OF CASABLANCA: HISTORIC HERITAGE IN THE CITY CENTER

BENEDICTE BUSQUET, JUAN CRISTELLYS

One prevailing theory in the field of Arab urban studies believes that there will be a convergence among certain cities towards a 'Dubai model' of urban development, characterized by financially-driven urban economic growth aiming to accomodate the needs of capital.

Throughout our stay in Casablanca, it was impossible to avoid comparisons to the 'Dubai model' when observing the urban development in the city, which seemed to be almost unilaterally focused on creating world-class facilities and infrastructure to attract capital and foreign investments. Consequently, while Casablanca is now the economic and financial hub of the region, recent trajectories of spatial planning and re-configuration of the urban landscape based on economic growth have been at the expense of the city's historic and colonial heritage. This is especially true of the transformations witnessed in the city centre of Casablanca. Laissez-faire seems to be the overarching standard of planning in the city as regards the urban heritage. Thus, Casablanca which is one of the richest, if not most diverse places in the world to experience art deco architecture, has been seeing the progressive disappearance of its architectural legacy under the onslaught of capitalistic urban growth. Lack of investment in the city centre to protect and restore old art deco buildings, compounded by an unconcern for cultural preservation, have led to a

chain of demolitions of noteworthy architecture. Emblematic buildings such as the Paris-Maroc Stores, Municipal Theatre, Anfa Hotel have succumbed to neoliberal expansionism. A project envisioned by Henri Prost, an urban planner who shaped much of the city, to make the city centre a new town with large avenues radiating from the Place des Nations Unies, a comprehensive ensemble comprising modern art deco and Neo-Mauresque architecture, has failed over time and with changing interests.

Historic Preservation

However, several civil society associations exist which promote the cultural and patrimonial richness of Casablanca. The best-known is Casamémoire, which works towards the development of stronger regulations to protect the architectural heritage of Casablanca from growth-driven demolitions, and to shape a more sustainable urban renewal. While these initiatives are essential and praise-worthy, our observation was that they held little weight in decision-making processes. This may be, in part, due to the relative unconcern of not just the authorities but also the Moroccan public, which seems not to value cultural preservation as we, the foreigners, might do. Recent projects in the city centre demonstrate both the political will to develop Casablanca in keeping with international standards, as well as the lack of political will to

manage urban heritage in a sensitive and sustainable manner- the tramway project is an example of this. Inaugurated in December 2012, the project boasts international companies and management, with the construction being handled by Systra, and the tram wagons provided by Alstom, a leader in the field and contracted for a similar project in Dubai, the Al Sufouh tramway. The tramway route with its 49 stops is designed to connect parts of the city such as the financial district, university area and the markets, but also, it excludes other parts of the city, creating an informal segregation of spatial development based on mobility. This spatial inequality is reinforced by the cost of travel, which at 6-7 dirhams per trip is unaffordable for most modest households. With an infrastructural quality comparable to that of Paris, and the convenience of mobility targeted towards specific parts of the city, Casablanca's neo-liberal trajectory of growth nevertheless affects the whole city. This is evident from the further deterioration of the city centre, which has become fragmented as

a result of the tram infrastructure, its large avenues and public spaces sacrificed to enhance the mobility of a privileged few. While the heritage of Casablanca's city centre is challenged by the intensifying economic growth, the historic built environment of the city's old medina is endangered by neglect. Unlike the old medina of Tangier which has been re-appropriated as a site of preserved and restored traditional culture, Casablanca's medina remains a densely crowded, dilapidated location. A local centre of market activity, the medina remains popular with the inhabitants of the surrounding areas but the lack of official attention on it is seen in the relatively few numbers of tourists in the area. Regardless, the medina appeared to us to be a social hub as it fostered a lively interaction among all those in it, the old and the young, men and women; the 'village spirit' and vernacular architecture were in stark contrast to the surrounding city, separated from the medina by its ancient walls. People seemed surprised to see us as we walked through the bustling market, making us further believe that few foreigners are directed to this forgotten heart of the historic city- another indication of the state's single-point agenda of neoliberal development in Casablanca, compared to the valorisation of culture seen in the development of other Moroccan cities like Marrakech, Fes and more recently, Tangier.

Morocco's vision for Casablanca thus seems to be moving the city away from its colonial heritage and traditional roots and towards a more global metropolitan character, as seen by its neglect and demolition of old culturally-rich areas in favour of greater focus on international infrastructures, and flagship projects like the commissioning of a star-architect designed theatre in the administrative district, and the luxury and finance districts of the Casablanca Marina.

■



PHOTO: AMELIE BENSIMON



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

Economic growth isn't only encouraged in the central urban areas. In the Northern region of Morocco, an integrated development strategy has emerged, including a new transshipment port of international envergure, a new city and a number of free-trade zones for industrial activities.

TANGIER MED, CATALYST AND SYMBOL OF MOROCCO'S RISING GLOBAL WEIGHT

DIANE BARBE, VIRGINIE MAUZ, MARION SEVRIN, LOUISE THALLER

Created in 2002, the Tangier-Mediterranean (Tangier Med) harbor project is characteristic of Morocco's neoliberal strategies of economic development in North Africa, also illustrating the rising position of the Northern region of the country. Here, an attempt is made to assess the impact of the port at the regional level, and understand the international economic strategies which have led to its creation.

Tangier Med is a salient element of the metropolization pattern currently underway in the Tangier-Tetouan region. The industrial port benefits from a favorable geographical context: it is located between the two cities of Tangier and Tetouan, and is situated right across the Spanish coast, on the Southern side of the Gibraltar Strait. Compared to the port of Casablanca, it offers the advantage of being a deep-water port, and can therefore offer transshipment amenities for industrial trade at the global scale. The development of two terminals, one of which has been completed in 2013, corresponds to a global investment of MAD 35 billion .

The construction of the first phase (Tangier Med I) was accompanied by an MAD 20 billion investment in the development of transportation systems between Tangier and its port, as part of an ambitious connectivity strategy linking the industrial hub with its hinterland. In particular, a railway provides rapid

connections between Tangier and the pedestrian maritime station of Tangier Med, which began operations in late 2013 . In addition to the network of highways under construction, it illustrates the process of development in the region, galvanized with the construction of the port and strengthened through substantial transportation systems. With the creation of a new pool of employment and investment in the area, the Tangier Med project has also activated a new pattern of mobility for micro-economic dynamics, with workers mostly residing in Tangier and commuting to the port. The revitalization strategy developed by the Wilayah of Tangier aims at being an extensive one: for instance, social aspects of the development were not neglected, through specific efforts on schools in local villages, health centers and subsidies for community development. While we were not able to obtain data on the effect of the Tangier Med project on local livelihoods, it was stated in a communication with port officials that the port prioritizes the employment of local workers, for better integration with the surrounding communities. Processes of land acquisition for the realization of Tangier Med remain opaque, however, and we can only report that at least one village of fishermen were displaced by the construction of the project.

Global market integration

Crucial to the social and economic development of the Tangier metropolitan region, the Tangier Med port is a strategic component of a national commitment to integration into global neoliberal trends, consistent with Morocco's economic liberalization since the late 1990s. Ideally situated at the crossroads of major international trade routes, the port is projected to become an important redistribution center due to the presence of logistical free zones adjacent to the port. Tangier Med I reached a capacity of 3.5 million containers in 2010; with the opening of the Tangier Med II terminal, this figure is anticipated to go up to 8 million, making it the highest-capacity port on the Mediterranean Sea, and in Africa. In particular, it exceeds the capacity of its competitor of Algeiras in Spain, which was until now the nodal point for these trade routes. According to Mohamed L. Benotmane, professor at Rabat's Law Faculty, Tangier Med is likely to "rebalance Morocco's position in the Strait region".

In 2007, Renault-Nissan decided to take advantage of the excellent location and fiscal advantages (free-zone) of the port, by locating its biggest vehicle production plant in Tangier Med, which is now a key element of Renault's supply chain, with the concession of a 30-year contract for the automobile terminal. This exemplifies the increasing importance of international corporations in the region: as of 2011, over 340 foreign companies were settled in the Tangier Free Zone, located some 30km away from the port. This corresponds to a pattern of territorial development articulated around industry and tourism, of which the creation of Tangier Automotive City and the new Marina are striking examples- these projects are addressed in other articles within the report.

Upon completion, the port of Tangier Med should be the largest transbordertment hub of Africa and the Mediterranean. Its international reach would be a platform for Morocco's economic development.

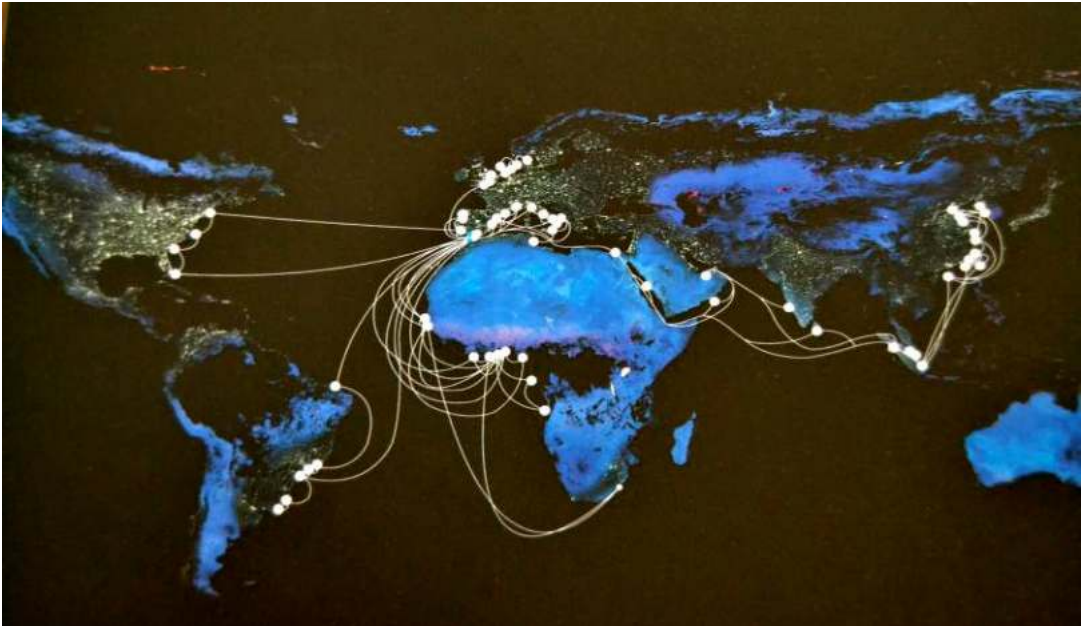


PHOTO: MONSERRAT ALCAZAR



PHOTOS: MONSERRAT ALCAZAR

Overall, the region of Tangier-Tetouan is prone to a pattern of development which can be qualified as “metropolization”, where there is an increasing connectivity between different poles of economic activity, driven by a strong political will and a growing role of private international actors.

Symbols of growth

The reorganization of a new hierarchy of economic power in the Mediterranean region is being measured in both symbolic and geopolitical terms- in Morocco, the former is expressed through the magnitude of development projects which are driving forward the ‘urban revolution’, motivated by Royal ambition . Accordingly, cities are being transformed through ‘mega-projects’ which attract foreign investments and involve privatization on a large scale. In the case of Tangier, the flagship project is a newly-planned business district in the city, directly connected to the port and the industrial zones of activity, called “Tangier City Centre”, which has been advertised to foreign investors as a “world class destination which is set to return to its former glories” . This strong branding seems to have impacted foreign regional investors, such as the Kuwait-based Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD), which granted Tangier-Med a loan of almost 130 million euros. In the Fund’s own words, its strategy is to give “preference

to projects which are vital to the Arab world”. Tangier-Med, because of its significance at the international scale, seems to crystallize geopolitical stakes related to the influence of the Gulf in the Arab World, and shows the increasing transnational cooperation between private actors, characteristic of neoliberal economies. The importance of international branding and image-making in the Tangier-Med project is emphasized by the involvement of the world-famous architect Jean Nouvel, in the design of the logistic, industrial and services center, revealing the symbolic role of this project in promoting Morocco as a country of development, quality and prestige.

Tangier-Med can thus be said to be one of the epicenters of Morocco’s regional and international growth, benefitting from the focus on North Morocco by King Mohamed VI, who outlined the coordination of industry as a territorial development policy and has been a central figure in Morocco’s economic regeneration since the turn of the 21st century. ■

BUILDING NEW CITIES IN METROPOLIZING MOROCCO: THE CASE OF CHRAFATE

CLEMENT HUGON, ADRIAN NIETO, ADRIEN SIMORRE

On January 8th 2009, the King Mohammed VI officially launched the “New City of Chrafate” project in the Tangier-Tétouan region. The goal was to create a new housing reservoir to accommodate incoming workers, attracted by a strategy of regional economic development.

By 2010 the project started to consolidate with the creation of the “Société Al Omrane Chrafate” (SAOCH), a state-run construction company. Al Omrane and the local authorities drafted the project two phases, leading to the building of 1,800 houses and apartments on 2 different plots covering 8 hectares total. With an initial budget of 220 million Moroccan Dirhams (MAD, 27 million USD) and along with other structural facilities to improve the communication, the initial phase of the project is modest compared to the master design of the project. Chrafate will constitute indeed the residential area of a new center for economical dynamism. Two neighboring free trade zones (FTZs) called Melloussa I and Melloussa II, meant to welcome Renault subcontractors, and called Tangiers Automotive City (TAC) will provide employment. Both of them are currently under development but have been inaugurated by King Mohammed VI on February 9th 2012. The official planning divides the entire area as follows: out of the 770 hectares, 55.23% are going to be intended for housing and industrial

facilities areas, 9.91% to community facilities, 8.96% to regulated natural area, 8.3% to green spaces, and 17.6% to roadways and main plazas. At the same time within the territory comprehended for the industrial facilities and social housing the distribution goes as follows: 43.68% for what is denominated as group houses (described as collective housing ground floor plus four floors), 38.8% for individual low-income villas and 18.14 for low-income individual houses. The articulation between Chrafate and the TAC does not come only due to the spatial proximity of two areas (they are separated by 5 to 11 kilometers depending on the place of residence). A broader social plan will support the integration of Chrafate, including social housing for the workers as well as public transportation workshops and continuous training provided by the French-Japanese automotive group. The motto of Chrafate is to be the “crossroads of the main roads” equipped with all the urban services to keep up with the massive creation of jobs expected (300 000 potential jobs is the calculus). To round up the long term vision for Chrafate, Al Omrane and the Tanger Méditerranée Special Agency (TMSA) have imposed strict standards of sustainability and ecological footprints for the building of properties. The total cost of the project by 2030 is estimated around 24 billion MAD (3 billion USD), all aggregated investments, public and private, included.

«It was hard to believe that these bare hills were to become a vibrant urban center, which could redefine the region's economic dynamism. It really had us wondering: what is a city? How does it emerge from the ground, how does it become the place which attracts most migrants? Can Al Omrane really create one from scratch by directing people to settle in this location?»

– Diane Barbé

Regional Industrial Development

The Chrafate/TAC project is not entirely new in its premises. In fact, in 1960, Tangiers was the first Moroccan city to be allocated with large scale tax free zones (before Casablanca) and remains today the largest free trade zone (FTZ) area in the Kingdom. Yet, this area is only a portion of Tangiers-Tétouan administrative region, which is clearly traversed by unequal dynamics. That is, whereas Tangiers and the coast largely benefit with technology exchanges around the Mediterranean, the Tétouan province, westward, remains mostly rural and dedicated to primary sector activities. Consequently, if the Tangiers-Tétouan is the

third region countrywide in terms of tertiary jobs, 68% of them are located in the Tangiers-Asilah préfecture, bearing in mind that the tertiary sector accounts for 49% of the region GDP. Chrafate and the TAC are at heart of the plan to balance these sectoral inequalities and which include at a larger scale the articulation between the Renault Nissan Green Factory northward and Tanger Med. Largely relying on FTZs, local authorities have indeed engaged since the beginning of the 2000's large neoliberalistic reforms to attract high value-added industries throughout the region, in order to oversee more efficiently Tangiers' development as



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

well as to expand the metropolitan urban fabric. Offshoring is the second pillar of this strategy and aims at attracting specialized tertiary industries. Overall, these two steps rely massively on hefty projects and infrastructures which are able to generate at a medium term considerable employment dynamics (the Renault plant itself is planned to generate 50 000 new jobs by 2020). To round up these strong policy orientations and using mostly national funds, transportation infrastructure has been considerably upgraded. The case of Chrafate is highly indicative, as it is critically located near a highway node (under construction) which stresses the centrality of the New City in the region: 19km away from the outskirts of Tangier, 26km to the Port Tangier-Med and 34km to the city of Tétouan. Chrafate will dispose of dedicated bus lines both to ensure the commute to Tangiers. A last point to be mentioned in order to understand the regional dimension of the Chrafate/TAC project is its appropriateness with the “advanced regionalization” as exposed by King Mohammed VI in 2010; the plan is designed to give clearer attributions to local powers, in boosting their autonomy and encouraging the redeployment and investment in regional assets. The Chrafate project is a case in point epitomizing the reorganization production efforts in Tangiers (critically visible with the case of ports) and the revitalization of the Tétouan territory in using affordable real estate to attract Direct Foreign Investments.

National Ambitions

Out of the regional scale, one can observe a national trend that involves public/private partnerships to finance new cities and innovating projects, conforming to the King's intention. Al Omrane is a good example of such a pattern. In arabic, Al Omrane means “The urbanism”. The name is revealing : indeed, it is the main operator of the Kingdom for housing and urbanism. Created in 2007 by a holding of different

companies under State leadership, it is today the “right hand of the State” for housing and urban planning, and it invests about 7 Million MAD each year (about 850 million US\$). It remains strongly linked with State institutions, as the management board is under the constant surveillance of a supervisory board constituted of Ministries officials. The organization of Al Omrane is revealing of the neo-liberalist trend affecting the urban planning in Morocco. In the facts, it leads to an economical efficiency, as the budget of Al Omrane has been balanced during the last years. But Al Omrane also had to face criticisms, particularly vivid with regards to “New City” projects. Looking to what has already been done in other regions is highly indicative, as Al Omrane has three other projects similar to Chrafate. Two of them have already been constructed : Tamansourt, near Marrakech, and Tamesna in the Greater Rabat vicinity. In both projects, complaints have brought about the failure of some private investors to stick to their initial commitment. Also, the lack of public transportation infrastructures has been pointed out, and analyzed as a lack of organization in planning. These kind of problematics and critics seem to be characteristics of such organization based on a public/private partnership, even if the outcomes seem to be positive in economical terms. The difficulty to integrate these particular plans into larger scaled approaches appear to be a central node. Chrafate project, as we have been witnessed of, is only at its beginning : however, it will have to deal with these issues if Al Omrane wants to maintain its legitimacy and a popular support to these innovative projects. Such projects can be linked -with some limits-, with the Logan and Molotch's theory of growth machines. The theory considers such projects as a pluralistic strategy increasing land value. It is a good framework to understand the strategy of Al Omrane, particularly in regard to the multi-actor involving projects of new cities.



PHOTO: BENEDICTE BUSQUET

As external observers, we can conclude that Morocco seems to be working on an innovative way to deal with housing and urban issues. Al Omrane appears to be the key actor to understand this new pattern, and its organization is as characteristic as the problems faced by Morocco in solving its housing shortage in city-region areas. However, it is important to look at these projects of new cities beyond the mere construction of housing : the idea is also to create an economic dynamic based on a snowball economical effect, with the construction of public infrastructures, and economic areas (“economic hub”). In that way, it is difficult from an European point of view, where such projects are rare, to establish criterias to evaluate these projects. If the economic criteria is chosen to be central, Al Omrane seems to have won his bet. Regarding to other criterias, such as “the appropriation” of new cities

by inhabitants, as referred to in official documents of Al Omrane, it is more complicated. What have be done in other countries can give clues to evaluate the future of these cities : in Egypt, the scandal of Cairo’s desert cities, where eight new towns have been constructed since 1974, but nowadays with 63% vacant, has pointed out one of the main risks of these projects. The future of these new cities will show if this new pattern for housing issues in Morocco manages to be at the same time economically efficient and relevant regarding to the housing problems faced by Morocco. ■

DECISIONS AND CONSULTATION: CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION IN MOROCCO'S FIRST HIGH-SPEED RAIL

REMI CALISKAN, ORIANE LEMAIRE

Prospects of economic development with the construction of a high-speed rail line along Morocco's Atlantic Coast have dominated the political discourse since its launch in 2005. However, the stakeholders that have been involved in the decision-making may not be adequately representative of affected members of civil society, putting in question the efficacy of the implementation process.

In 2005, Mohammed VI announced the development of a High Speed Rail (HSR) project on the Atlantic coast that is intended to connect Casablanca and Tangier by 2015, and eventually, Tangier to Kenitra by 2020. This major infrastructure would help reinforce the connection between the two predominant economic clusters, namely Casablanca's national business districts and Tangier's maritime hub, by covering the 350 kilometres in less than two and a half hours. At the same time, the Atlantic HSR is a prestige project, as the first HST in North Africa, as well as a potential vehicle for important technology transfers to Morocco. Thus, the HST is seen as an economic opportunity for Morocco, a catalyst in the ongoing littoralisation and metropolisation processes in the northwest of the country. Since people and goods commute constantly in the neoliberal vision of large cities that has been embraced since the 1990s,

accessibility and mobility have come to gain an important place in the Moroccan political agenda.

The construction of a HSR represents both a source of economic development and a catalyst to help the country enter the globalized markets. Casablanca is its paramount business and investment centre and since the early 2000s, Tangier's role at the national level grew rapidly thanks to the creation of Tanger Med, which happens to be Africa's largest industrial port. In addition, its car and agri-food sector industries are increasingly dynamic. Both metropolises have imposed themselves as national economic clusters, and with Marrakech, they are every year the host to millions of international visitors. Therefore, this railway connection is perceived as a national priority, and regional development schemes orient their strategy around this project. At the national scale, the Makhzen (Royal Office), Ministry of Transport,

Small-scale protest against the HSR outside the Wilayah of Tangier (January 2014)



PHOTO: ORIANE LEMAIRE

and National Railways Office together are leading the project and the apparent consultation process, and an effective cooperation is seen between these agencies. Among the variety of actors involved in the process, the Wilayas - an influential wing of the central power at the regional scale - and associations are also involved in the projects development to a certain extent. This approach was adopted in the hope to increase the efficacy of the project and speed up the delivery of the HSR.

Democratic process?

While the importance of the HSR in the developmental trajectory of Morocco is undeniable, questions have arisen over the efficiency of the planning and implementation process, as public consultation and debates ought to have been a necessary part of the procedure. Besides which, the planning of the HSR and its hastened development were questionable - perhaps, other railway networks, such as the line joining Casablanca, Rabat, Meknes, Fes and Oujda represented development alternatives that could have been more investigated. Instead, the consultation has yet to involve inhabitants concerned by land expropriation and relocation in public discussions, and the decision-making process remains closed to debate. Despite the projected economic prospects, we observed a number of public protests against the HSR- in front of Wilaya at Tangier, we encountered a 15-people demonstration organized by local inhabitants concerned by land expropriation and relocation. They accused the government and national agency- distinctly leaving the royal power out of the blame- of expropriating their land without a previous necessary dialogue and reasonable compensation. Several associations have been formed to represent the civil society such as Stop TGV, Transparency International, or CapDéma. They attempt to organize protests and civic movements in order to get involved

in the project development, especially in the planning of the rail layout. Nonetheless, the government plans remain unaltered, and the political tension was evident not just through the protest, but also when the public relations representative of the agency-in-charge avoided questions on the five-year transportation policy implemented at the regional scale. Our impression was that of a gap within Moroccan society. The HSR project is the result of a decision taken solely by the central power in cooperation with French industries whose interests in the process are clear-cut. No calls for bids were conducted.

Moreover, the implementation has yet to involve the civil society or their representatives such as the universally elected mayors who are barely granted any political responsibility. In such a context, we are tempted to suppose that there exists an informational asymmetry between a central technocratic elite and the majority of the Moroccan population, pushed to the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid due to a lack of meaningful representation. Obviously, some of the above-mentioned associations attempt to release official information, but their efforts remain ineffective when compared with the marketing campaign surrounding the HSR, and its promotion as a matter of public interest. The question remains open: do public claims driven by the aggregation of personal interests differ from public interest in the project? There is a need to address the ambiguity of the notion of "public interest" and its use to legitimate action from the State. Moreover, in the Moroccan context, public consultation continues to be perceived as an optional part of the development process, one which could, in fact, prevent or slow down the implementation of a project: how can democratic processes be successfully integrated into the Moroccan institutional framework? ■

CONCLUSIONS: COMPLEX LAYERS IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT

FANNY LEROSIER, FRANCOIS MASSAT

The Moroccan cities of Casablanca and Tangier provide an insight into the complexity of city development. In this case, it combines regional and central public policy and the devolution of the administrative structure. When looking at mechanisms of governance in the two cities, the complexity of the political architecture conveys the image of the Baudelairian palimpsest —an ongoing and multi-scalar project.

Although the cities of Casablanca and Tangier elect a mayor, their urban development is elaborated at a regional scale by the Walis, and at a national level, by the King Mohammed VI. If a trend of decentralisation has been noted with the appearance of strong regional entities, of which Casablanca and Tangier feature prominently, it must not be mistaken with de-concentration. Greater Casablanca and Greater Tangier have clearly become magnets in Morocco, attracting migrants and foreign investment, and hence, they are quite economically independent. However, the Moroccan State, at the head of which is the King, remains the central initiator in these grand projects. The King is not just a mere facilitator and it is quite striking to see that the metropolitan development of the two cities is always carefully planned and localised by the State. As proof, the Walis are appointed by the King.

The strong and overbearing presence of the King, brings into question issues of democracy in Morocco and the role dedicated, or left aside to the citizens of Morocco. This issue remains all the more relevant for the slum-dwellers, who enter the city through informal economies and systems. Still, their presence cannot be ignored, particularly in Casablanca. If the Moroccan State endeavours to hide this population from the tourists thanks to the “tourist police”, it seems the slum-dwellers have acquired some rights through a process of clandestine urbanism. When informal development takes precedence and locals make their voice heard while using legal means to fight eviction (such was the case in Avenue Royale in Casablanca), exemption from the law seems to be a way to reduce social upheaval and therefore, constitutes a political tool for poor citizens.

If this process of clandestine urbanism exists, this is not the only instrument used by citizens to preserve their city. In fact, some have decided to come together to promote the cultural value of their city. Culture is a real instrument of power and action in this sense and the example of the association “Casamémoire” is particularly telling. Opposing certain attempts to demolish the historical core of Casablanca, they have also promoted its architectural diversity and have succeeded in having their city apply to become part of the UN world heritage program. In Tangier,

local residents such as Rachid Tafersitti, stand for the preservation of their city, sharing with passion the history of the Medina and strongly advocating for its protection as a precious cultural icon for the city.

However, in this fast-growing country, culture sometimes gives way to projects of economic significance. As Morocco intends to benefit from, as much as possible, the development of new markets and capital, it seems classic urban planning principals - the standard development of new projects, will not suffice. As they are more localised, they enable a more rapid rise of emblematic programs and are more apt to capture foreign investment, hence the success of the port of Tanger Med. Nevertheless, they also create problems: the absence of foreign investment in the midst of the economic crisis in 2008 provoked the temporary halt of Casablanca's Marina for 3 years. The role dedicated to the attraction of foreign investment and the development of neoliberal policies are key to understanding the quick development of Casablanca and Tangier. We must also bear in mind that it reinforces the country's dependency on foreign support, and that a local backlash may be more likely than not in the future.

We can also discern strong globalisation forces that have not prevented Morocco from maintaining important links with Europe. After all, the former King Hassan II said "the roots of Morocco are in Africa, but its leaves strive and breathe in Europe". In that sense, Morocco's further integration towards its European neighbours, appears to be one of the top priorities of Mohammed VI. Indeed, Tangier Med, through its proximity to Spain and strategic location close to the Strait of Gibraltar, the entry to the Mediterranean Sea, is appealing to European investors seeking local partnerships. The inauguration of the new LYDEC infrastructure by the King and French President, François Hollande is further proof of the involvement of European partners, who contribute

to Morocco's development. Finally, the education of Morocco's youth, retains strong links to Europe, as illustrated by the Engineering School of Tangier we visited while in Morocco, who has split its curriculum between Tangier and another management school in Paris. Furthermore, Morocco is home to the highest number of French High Schools - lycées Français, outside of France.

On a final note, if this report cannot by itself, embrace the entire complexity of the issues of governance in Casablanca and Tangier, we do believe that meetings with the local and national stakeholders paired with our readings and analysis of the situation have enabled us to gain some insight in to the pressing issues at stake in these two cities, and of their governance. As Baudelaire said: "Swarming city, city full of dreams... where mysteries flow everywhere like sap", cities are palimpsests that cannot be completely understood. We hope, having sparked the reader's curiosity with some background information, they will be motivated to find out more about these mysteries. ■

The Wali's public relations representative speaking on cultural and regional projects for the city of Tangier (January 2014)



PHOTO: CLARA VADILLO

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A WORD FROM THE ACADEMIC TEAM

On January 2014, the Sciences Po 'Governing the Large Metropolis' masters programme (GLM programme) took a group of 47 first year students to the rapidly expanding cities of Casablanca and Tangier, Morocco, for an intensive one week on-site visits, during which the students had the opportunity to meet local actors of the cities' development, including urban planners, academics, economic actors, private developers, local associations, political representatives and officials. The experience was substantive, as it allowed the students to match their theoretical background to on-site reality. This report, exclusively written by the students, is the result of their observation and analysis, nourished by preparatory lectures, local interviews and various exchanges with the local actors.

This study trip has benefited from the guidance of local actors, who have spontaneously agreed to dedicate some of their precious time to our students: Casablanca Urban Agency, INAU, LYDEC, Casamémoire, Tanger Med, Al'Omrane, Tangier Willaya and Tangier City Mayor, Chifae association, CESIM. The GLM programme would like to thank in particular Gabriel Miguez, Victor Said, Muriel Sorel, Rachid Tifersitti, Olivier Toutain and Lamia Zaki for their helpful advice in preparing this study trip and their continuous assistance while in Morocco. Other thanks go to Amin Allal and Mercedes Jimenez.

Agnès Deboulet, GLM Faculty
Régine Serra, GLM Pedagogical Director
Tommaso Vitale, GLM Scientific Dean

